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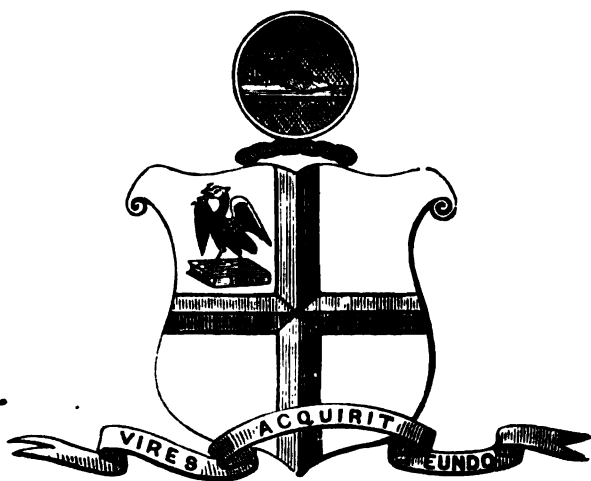
FROM

The Society



F. 71

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
OF
LIVERPOOL,
DURING THE
SEVENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1888-89.
No. XLIII.



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The Society

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The Authors have revised their Papers.

The Authors alone are responsible for facts and opinions.

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Greenwich.
- 3.—1840 James Nasmyth, F.R.S., *Penshurst, Kent.*
- 4.—1844 T. B. Hall, *Crane House, Yarmouth.*
- 5.—1850 The Rev. Canon St. Vincent Beechy, M.A., Rector of
Hilgay, Norfolk.
- 6.—1851 The Rev. Robert Bickersteth Mayor, B.D., Rector of
Frating, Essex.
- 7.—1861 The Rev. Thomas P. Kirkman, M.A., F.R.S., Rector of
Croft, near Warrington.
- 8.—1865 The Right Rev. T. N. Staley, D.D., late Bishop of
Honolulu, Vicar of *Croxhall, Staffordshire.*
- 9.—1865 Sir Edward J. Reed, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.P., *Hextable,
Dartford, Kent.*
- 10.—1865 Cuthbert Collingwood, M.A., M.B., F.L.S., 4 *Grove-
terrace, Belvedere-road, Upper Norwood, Lon-
don, S.E.*
- 11.—1867 Sir J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., Principal
and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University,
Montreal.
- 12.—1868 Captain Sir James Anderson, 16 *Warrington-crescent,
Maida Hill, London, W.*
- 13.—1870 Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., etc., *High
Elms, Farnborough, Kent.*

- 14.—1870 Professor Sir Henry E. Roscoe, M.P., F.R.S., etc.,
Owens College, *Manchester*.
- 15.—1870 Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, M.D., F.R.S., etc., *Kew*.
- 16.—1870 Professor Brown Sequard, M.D.
- 17.—1870 John Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., *Ware Priory, Herts*.
- 18.—1870 Professor Thomas H. Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., 4
Marlborough Place, London, N.W.
- 19.—1870 Professor John Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., Royal
Institution, *London*.
- 20.—1870 The Rev. Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D., *Binfield*,
Bracknell, Berks., Ex-PRESIDENT.
- 21.—1874 Professor Alexander Agassiz, Director of the Museum
of Comparative Zoology, *Harvard, Cambridge*,
Massachusetts.
- 22.—1874 Professor Frederick H. Max Müller, LL.D., *Oxford*.
- 23.—1874 Sir Samuel White Baker, Pasha, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., etc.,
Sandford Orleigh, Newton Abbot, Devonshire.
- 24.—1877 The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.R.S., Foreign
Secretary of R.A.S., etc., 9 *Grosvenor-square*,
London.
- 25.—1877 Albert C. N. Günther, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., British
Museum.
- 26.—1877 Adolphus Ernst, M.D., Principal of the Department of
Science, Philosophy, and Medicine, University
of Caracas.
- 27.—1877 Dr. Leidy, Academy of Science, *Philadelphia*.
- 28.—1877 Dr. Franz Steindachner, Royal and Imperial Museum,
Vienna.
- 29.—1877 The Rev. H. B. Tristram, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Canon
of Durham, *the College, Durham*.
- 30.—1881 H. J. Carter, F.R.S., *The Cottage, Budleigh Salterton*,
Devon.
- 31.—1881 The Rev. Thomas Hincks, B.A., F.R.S., *Stokeleigh*,
Leigh Woods, Clifton, Bristol.
- 32.—1881 The Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., F.R.S., P.R.M.S.,
Ingleside, Lee, London, S.E.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

LIMITED TO THIRTY-FIVE.

- 1.—1867 J. Yate Johnson, *London*.
- 2.—1867 R. B. N. Walker, F.R.G.S., F.G.S., *West Africa*.
- 3.—1868 Rev. J. Holding, M.A., F.R.G.S., *London*.
- 4.—1868 George Hawkins, *Colombo, Ceylon*.
- 5.—1868 J. Lewis Ingram, *Bathurst, River Gambier*.
- 6.—1869 George Mackenzie, *Cebu, Philippine Islands*.
- 7.—1870 The Venerable Archdeacon Hughes-Games, D.C.L.,
Isle of Man.
- 8.—1874 Samuel Archer, Surgeon-Major, *Singapore*.
- 9.—1874 Coote M. Chambers, *Burrard's Inlet, British Columbia*.
- 10.—1874 Edwyn C. Reed, *Santiago de Chili*.
- 11.—1874 Millen Coughtrey, M.D., *Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand*.
- 12.—1875 Robert Gordon, Government Engineer, *British Burmah*.
- 13.—1877 Edward Dunkinfield Jones, C.E., *Sao Paulo, Brazil*.
- 14.—1877 Miss Horatio K. F. Gatty, *Altrincham*.
- 15.—1877 Dr. Allen, *Jamaica*.
- 16.—1877 Dr. George Bennett, *Sydney*.
- 17.—1877 Dr. David Walker, *Benicia, U.S.A.*
- 18.—1888 Wm. Henry Finlay, *Cape Town Observatory*.
- 19.—1884 Rev. W. G. Lawes, *New Guinea*.
- 20.—1884 A. W. Crawford, *Oakland, California*.
- 21.—1884 John Greenwood, Mining Engineer, *Melbourne*.
- 22.—1884 Robert Abraham English, *Simla*.
- 23.—1887 Rev. S. Fletcher Williams, 48 *Westbourne Grove*,
Scarborough.

ASSOCIATES.

LIMITED TO TWENTY-FIVE.

- 1.—Jan. 27, 1862 Captain John H. Mortimer, "America."
(Atlantic.)
- 2.—Mar. 24, 1862 Captain P. C. Petrie. (Atlantic.)
- 3.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain John Carr, ship "Scindia." (Calcutta.)
- 4.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain Charles E. Price, R.N.R., ship
"Cornwallis." (Calcutta and Sydney.)
- 5.—April 20, 1863 Captain Fred. E. Baker, ship "Nippon."
(Chinese Seas.)
- 6.—Oct. 31, 1864 Captain Thomson, ship "Admiral Lyons."
(Bombay.)
- 7.—April 13, 1865 Captain Alexander Cameron, ship "Staffordshire."
(Shanghai.)
- 8.—Dec. 11, 1865 Captain Walker, ship "Trenton."
- 9.—Mar. 23, 1868 Captain David Scott.
- 10.—April 7, 1884 Captain G. Griffith Jones, barque "Hermine."
- 11.—Dec. 13, 1886 Captain W. C. Seabrook, Liskeard, ship
"Lord Lytton."

LIST OF BOOKS
PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY DURING THE
SEVENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1888-89.

A.

- Abbeville, Société d'Émulation. Bulletin des Procès Verbaux, 1886-87.
- Amsterdam, Königliche Akademie van Weten. Jaarboek 1886-87. Verslagen en Mededeelingen : Letterkunde, iii-4 ; Naturkunde, iii-8, 4 ; Latin Prize Poems : " Me Puero " ; " Ad Urbem Bonomiam " ; " Matris Querela " ; " Esther " ; " Susanna."
- Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal.
- Antiquaries, Society of, London. Proceedings.
- Antiquaires, du Nord, Société Royale des, Copenhagen. Mémoires.
- Archæological and Historical Society, Chester. Journal, Session 1886-87.
- Archæological and Natural History Society, Somersetshire. Proceedings.
- Architects, Royal Institute of British, London. Journal of Proceedings, vol. iv-19, 20 ; v-1-18. Transactions, vol. iv. Kalendar, 1889. Papers : " Conservation of Ancient Monuments," and " Hints to Workmen."
- Arts, Society of, London. Journal to date.
- Arts, Royal Scottish Society of, Edinburgh. Transactions.
- Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Royal, London. Transactions.
- Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Journal : Philology, lvii-1, 2 ; Natural History, lvii-2, 8, 4, 5 ; Proceedings.

- Astronomical Society, Royal, London. Monthly Notices.
Astronomical Society, Liverpool. Journal and List of Members.
Astronomer Royal. Greenwich Observations, 1886 : Cape Observations, 1882-84 ; Cape Annals, vol. ii, part 2.

B.

- Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society. Report, Session 1888-89 ; President's Address.
Bordeaux, Société des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles ; Mémoires.
Boston, U.S., American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Proceedings.
British Museum. Catalogue of Birds, vol. xiv ; Catalogue of Chelonians, 1889 ; Catalogue of Marsupialia, 1888 ; Catalogue of Fossil Cephalopoda, part i, 1888 ; Catalogue of Fossil Fishes, part i, 1889 ; Catalogue of Fossil Reptiles and Amphibia, parts i, ii.

C.

- Canadian Institute, Toronto. Proceedings ; Annual Report, 1888.
Carruthers, Rev. G. T. Pamphlets : "The Planets upon Cardioides" ; "The Cause of Light" ; "The Cause of Electricity, with Remarks upon Chemical Equivalents."
Chemical Society, London. Abstracts, 59-71 ; Journal and Index.
Chester, Society of Natural Science and Literature. Report, &c., 1888-89.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Transactions.
Copenhagen, Académie Royale. Bulletin.
Cornwall, Royal Institution of. Journal.

E.

- Engineering Society, Liverpool. Transactions, 1887.
Engineers, Institute of Civil, London. Minutes of Proceedings, vols. xciv, xcv, xcvi. Brief Index.
Engineers' Report, 1888, U.S. Army, Chief of, 4 vols.

F.

Finnish Scientific Society, Helsingfors. Proceedings, xviii, xix ;
Acta, tomus xv ; Finlands Natur och Folk, heft 4, 5, 6, 7 ;
Organisation and Work, 1888-1858.

G.

Geographical Society, Royal, London. List of Fellows.
Geographical Society, American, New York. Bulletin.
Geographical Society of Australasia, Royal, Queensland Branch.
Proceedings and Transactions, 1887-88.
Geologists' Association, London. Proceedings.
Geological Association, Liverpool. Journal, 1887-88.
Geological Society, London. Quarterly Journal ; List of Members, &c.
Geological Society, Royal, of Ireland. Proceedings.
Geological Society, Edinburgh. Transactions.
Geological Society, Glasgow, Transactions.
Geological and Polytechnic Society, Yorkshire. Proceedings.
Geological Survey of India. Records, vol. xxi-8, 4 ; xxii-1, 2.
Geological Survey of U.S. America. Monograph, xii (Leadville)
and Atlas ; Bulletin, no. 40 to 47 ; Mineral Resources, 1887.
Geology, a Bibliography of Indian, by R. D. Oldham, F.G.S.
Glasgow Philosophical Society. Proceedings, 1887-88.

H.

Hardwicke's " Science Gossip," to date.
Haarlem, Société Hollandaise des Sciences ; Archives Néerlandaises.
Harvard College Report, 1887-88.
Harvard University Bulletin.
Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. Bulletin, vol. xiii-10 ;
xiv and xv (Cruises of the " Blake ") ; xvi-2, 3, 4, 5 ; xvii-1,
2, 3 ; Memoirs, xiv, no. 1, part ii-1 (Development of Osseous
Fishes).

Health Report, Liverpool, 1888.

Historical and Archæological Collections of Montgomeryshire.

I.

India, East, Association, London. Journal.

India, Great Trigonometrical Survey, vol. x (Telegraphic Longitude Operations).

Insectos Dípteros de Chile, Catalogo, por E. C. Reed.

Irish Academy, Royal. Proceedings and Transactions.

J.

Japan, Imperial University of. Kalendar, 1888-89.

K.

Königsberg Physikalisch-ökonomische Gesellschaft. Schriften, 1888.

L.

Leeds, Philosophical and Literary Society. Report, 1888-89.

Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society. Transactions.

Library Report, Astor, New York, 1888.

Library Report, Liverpool Free Public.

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Linnean Society, London. Journal: Botany, 156, 157, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 178; Zoology, 119, 120, 121, 182. List of Members, &c.

Liverpool Philomathic Society. Proceedings, 1887-88.

Liverpool Science Students' Association. Report, &c., 1888.

M.

Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Memoirs and Proceedings, vol. xxxi.

- Medical and Chirurgical Society, Royal, London. Proceedings ; Transactions, vol. lxxi.
- Meriden Scientific Association. Transactions, 1887-88.
- Meteorological Society, Royal, London. Quarterly Journal.
- Metereological Society of Scotland. Journal, 1887.
- Commission Météorologique de la Gironde. Observations Pluviométriques et Thermométriques, 1886-87.
- Meteorology, Contributions to, by E. Loomis, chap. iii.
- Microscopical Society, Royal, London. Journal.
- Milan, Reale Istituto Lombardo. Rendiconti, xx ; Memorie xiv-2, xviii-1.

N.

- Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, Bath. Proceedings.
- Natural History Society and Field Club, Hertfordshire. Transactions.
- Natural History, Society of, Boston, U.S. Proceedings.
- Natural History, Transactions of, Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- " Naturalist " and " American Naturalist " to date.
- Naturalists' Club, Berwickshire. Transactions, 1877-88.
- Naturalists' Field Club, Belfast. Report, &c., 1887-88.
- Naturalists' Field Club, Liverpool. Proceedings, 1888.
- Naturalists' Society, Bristol. Proceedings, vol. v-1, 2.
- Naturalistes, Société des, Kieff. Mémoires, ix-1, 2 ; x-1.
- " Nature " to date.
- Naturforsker, Scandinaviske. Forhandlinger, 1886.
- " Nunel Valemik " (a monthly Volapük Journal). No. 1.

O.

- Ordnanee Report, U.S. Army. 1888.

P.

- Peabody Museum, Cambridge, U.S. Report, 1888 ; Archæological and Ethnological Papers, no. 1.

- Philadelphia, U.S., Academy of Natural Sciences. Journal.
 Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society. Transactions ;
 Supplementary Report on International Language ; Magellanic Premium Rules ; Philipps' Prize Essay Fund Rules.
 " Philadelphia Folklore," by H. Philipps.
 Philadelphia, Franklin Institute. Journal.
 Philadelphia Societies' Constitution Celebration Banquet.
 Physical Society, Royal, London. Proceedings, 1887-88.
 Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle, Société de, Genève.
 Plymouth Institute. Report and Transactions, 1888-89.
 Polytechnic Society, Royal, Cornwall. Report, 1888.
 Polytechnic Society, Liverpool. Journal, 1887-88.

R.

- Royal Institution of Great Britain and Ireland. Proceedings.
 Royal Society. Proceedings, nos. 270 to 281.
 Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions, 1887.
 Royal Society of N.S. Wales. Journal and Proceedings.
 Royal Society of Victoria. Transactions and Proceedings.

S.

- Salem, U.S., Essex Institute. Bulletin.
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. Miscellaneous Collections, xxxii-xxxiii.
 Statistical Society, Royal, London. Journal, 1888-89 ; Index, 1878-87.
 St. Petersburg Académie Impériale des Sciences. Bulletin.
 Strassburg University. Forty-seven Doctoral Theses, viz:—
 De jurandi apud Athenienses formulis ; De Aesculapi Figura ;
 De scholiis Theocriteis vetustioribus ; De doctrinae metricae ab Eustathio servatis ; Quaestiones Plantinae de pronomibus.
 Die Mundart des Kantons Falkenberg (Lothringen) ; Der Elsassische Dichter, Hans v. Bühel ; Ueber die Syntax des Italienischen des xiii Jahrhunderts ; Shakspeare's Metrik ;

Richard von Cornwall; Laute und Lautentwicklung des Sicilianischen Dialektes; Kunstausdrücke der Meistersinger; Poetik Bodmers und Breitingers; Das erste Stadium des I-Umlants im Germanischen; C und Ch vor Lateinischen A. im Altfranzösischen; Das lateinische suffix—*alis* im Französischen; Ueber Gebrauch und Stellung des Adjectivums in Wolfram's "Parzival;" Ueber die Endungen des Praesens im Altprovenzalischen; Zu dem mittenglischen Fabliau "Dame Siriz;" Ueber die Abhängigkeit Locke's von Descartes.

Zur Geschichte Alexander's II; Conrad von Scharfenberg, Hofkanzler, 1200–1224; Clemens VII und Karl V; Die Schlacht bei Prag, am 6 Mars, 1757.

Ueber quadratische Strahlencomplexe; Zur Theorie der linearen Substitutionen; Ueber beide specifische Wärme des Wasserdampfs; Ueber eine neue Säure; Dampfspannungen von Salzlosungen; Condensation von Acetessigester, 2; Ueber Zerstäuben einer Kathode; Ueber neue Synth. mit Oxal. u. Malonsäureester; Einwirkung von Butyraldehyd auf Bernsteinsäures Natrium; Zur Constitution der Vinaconsäure; Polarisation in Cobalt und Nickel; Abkühlung der Kohlensäure bei Ausdehnung; Phasenänderung des Lichtes bei Reflexion; Wind und Meeresströmungen im Gebiet der kleinen Sunda Inseln; Winden en Regenverdeeling over Sumatra; Submarine Erdbeben und Eruptionen; Aenderung der Gleichgewichtsflächen der Erde; Zur Kenntniss des Drachenblutes; Zur Kenntniss der Athmungsorgane der Pflanzen; Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Pyrenomyceten; Ueber die Bäume der Aegyptischen Texten; Zur Kenntniss des Japanesischen Klebreises.

V.

Victorian Year-Book, 1887–88.

Vienna, Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Math.-naturwiss. Classe, Anzeiger; Phil.-Hist. Classe, Berichte, Bl. cxiv–2, cxv, cxvi.

Y.

York, New, Academy of Sciences. Annals, vol. iv-5, 6, 7, 8;
Transactions, vii-8-8.

Z.

Zealand, New, Institute. Transactions and Proceedings, 1887 and
1888.

Zoological Society, London. Proceedings.

Zoological Society, Philadelphia. Report.

Zoology of Victoria, Prodrromus of the, parts xvi, xvii.

Zoology, see under Harvard Museum, Linnean Society, Natural
History Societies, etc.

SOCIETIES, ACADEMIES, AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

TO WHICH THIS VOLUME IS PRESENTED.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

<i>Aberdeen</i>	- - -	The Dun-Echt Observatory.
<i>Alnwick</i>	- - -	The Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Bath</i>	- - -	The Natural Historical and Antiquarian Field Club.
<i>Belfast</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Belfast</i>	- - -	The Natural History and Philosophical Society.
<i>Birkenhead</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Birkenhead</i>	- - -	The Literary and Scientific Society.
<i>Birmingham</i>	- - -	The Philosophical Society.
<i>Bootle</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Bristol</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Society.
<i>Buckhurst Hill</i>	- - -	The Epping Forest Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Chester</i>	- - -	The Society of Natural Science.
<i>Cambridge</i>	- - -	The Cambridge Union.
<i>Dublin</i>	- - -	The Royal Irish Academy.
<i>Dublin</i>	- - -	The Royal Geological Society of Ireland.
<i>Dublin</i>	- - -	The Royal Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Botanical Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Geological Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Meteorological Society of Scotland.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Philosophical Institution.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Royal Observatory.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Royal Physical Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Royal Scottish Society of Arts.

<i>Edinburgh</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Society.
<i>Falmouth</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society.
<i>Glasgow</i>	-	-	-	The Philosophical Society.
<i>Glasgow</i>	-	-	-	The Geological Society.
<i>Glasgow</i>	-	-	-	The University.
<i>Greenwich</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Observatory.
<i>Halifax</i>	-	-	-	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Hull</i>	-	-	-	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Anthropological Institute.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Society of Antiquaries.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Institute of British Architects.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Society of Arts.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Astronomical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The British Association.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The British Museum.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Chemical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Geographical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Geological Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Geologists' Association.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Institution of Civil Engineers.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The East Indian Association.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Linnæan Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Meteorological Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Society for Psychical Research.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Microscopical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Institution.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Society of Literature.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Statistical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Zoological Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Editor of "Nature."
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Editor of the "Journal of Science."
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Editor of "Science Gossip."
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Editor of the "Scientific Roll."

<i>Leeds</i>	- - -	The Philosophical and Literary Society.
<i>Leeds</i>	- - -	The Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.
<i>Leicester</i>	- - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Architectural and Archæological Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Astronomical Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Chemists' Association.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Engineering Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Geological Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Geological Association.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Microscopical Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Philomathic Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Polytechnic Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Athenæum Library and News Room.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Liverpool Library.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Lyceum News Room.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Medical Institution.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	The Royal Institution.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - -	University College.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - -	The Literary Club.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - -	Chetham Library.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - -	Owens College.
<i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i>	-	The Natural History Society of Northumberland and Durham.
<i>Oxford</i>	- - -	The Ashmolean Society.
<i>Oxford</i>	- - -	The Union Society.
<i>Penzance</i>	- - -	The Royal Geological Society of Cornwall.
<i>Plymouth</i>	- - -	The Plymouth Institution.
<i>Taunton</i>	- - -	The Somersetshire Archæological Society.
<i>Truro</i>	- - -	The Royal Institution of Cornwall.

<i>Watford</i>	- - -	The Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club.
<i>Welshpool</i>	- - -	The Powys-Land Club.
<i>Whitby</i>	- - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.

BRITISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.

<i>Bombay</i>	- - -	The Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>Boston</i>	- - -	The American Academy of Arts and Science.
<i>Boston</i>	- - -	The Massachusetts Board of Education.
<i>Boston</i>	- - -	The Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity.
<i>Boston</i>	- - -	The Natural History Society.
<i>Boston</i>	- - -	The Public Library,
<i>Buffalo</i>	- - -	The Society of Natural Sciences.
<i>Calcutta</i>	- - -	The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>Calcutta</i>	- - -	The Geological Survey of India.
<i>Cambridge (Mass)</i>	-	Harvard University.
<i>Cambridge (Mass)</i>	-	Museum of Comparative Zoology.
<i>Cambridge (Mass)</i>	-	The Peabody Museum of American Archaeo- logy and Ethnology.
<i>Chicago</i>	- - -	The Public Library.
<i>Davenport</i>	- - -	The Academy of Natural Sciences.
<i>Melbourne</i>	- - -	The Royal Society of Victoria.
<i>New Haven</i>	- - -	The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The Academy of Sciences.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The Astor Library.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The American Geographical Society.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The City University.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The State University.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The State Library.
<i>New York</i>	- - -	The American Museum of Natural History.
<i>Otago</i>	- - -	The University.

<i>Ottawa</i>	- - -	Geological and Natural History Survey.
<i>Ottawa</i>	- - -	The Library of Parliament.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Academy of Natural Sciences.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The American Philosophical Society.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Franklin Institute.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Pennsylvania Board of Public Education.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Zoological Society.
<i>Salem</i>	- - -	The American Association for the Advance- ment of Science.
<i>Salem</i>	- - -	The Essex Institute.
<i>San Francisco</i>	- -	The Lick Observatory.
<i>Sydney</i>	- - -	The Royal Society of New South Wales.
<i>Sydney</i>	- - -	The Department of Mines.
<i>Toronto</i>	- - -	The Canadian Institute.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Department of Agriculture.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Naval Observatory.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Smithsonian Institution.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Department of Ordnance; the Depart- ment of the Chief of Engineers; the Department of Agriculture; the Depart- ment of the Interior.
<i>Wellington</i>	- - -	The New Zealand Institute.

 FOREIGN.

<i>Amsterdam</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences.
<i>Antwerp</i>	- - -	Antwerp Literary Society.
<i>Berlin</i>	- - -	Die Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Bordeaux</i>	- - -	La Société des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles.
<i>Brussels</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

<i>Cherbourg</i>	- - -	La Société Nationale des Sciences Naturelles.
<i>Christiania</i>	- - -	The University.
<i>Copenhagen</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale.
<i>Copenhagen</i>	- - -	La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.
<i>Geneva</i>	- - -	La Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle.
<i>Gottingen</i>	- - -	Die Königliche Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften.
<i>Grieswald</i>	- - -	The University.
<i>Harlem</i>	- - -	La Société Hollandaise des Sciences.
<i>Helsingfors</i>	- - -	La Société des Sciences de Finlande.
<i>Kief</i>	- - -	La Société des Naturalistes.
<i>Königsberg</i>	- - -	Die Königliche Physikalische-ökonomische Gesellschaft.
<i>Milan</i>	- - -	Il Reale Istituto Lombardo.
<i>Munich</i>	- - -	Die Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Paris</i>	- - -	L'Ecole Polytechnique.
<i>Presburg</i>	- - -	Der Verein für Natur- und Heil-Kunde.
<i>St. Petersburg</i>	- -	L'Académie Imperiale des Sciences.
<i>Stockholm</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royal Suedoise des Sciences.
<i>Strasburg</i>	- - -	La Bibliothèque Municipale.
<i>Strasburg</i>	- - -	De Kaiserliche Universitäts und Landes-Bibliothek.
<i>Tokio</i>	- - -	The University.
<i>Toulouse</i>	- - -	L'Observatoire Astronomique.
<i>Vienna</i>	- - -	Die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Vienna</i>	- - -	Die Geographische Gesellschaft.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, 1887-88.

Dr. *The Literary and Philosophical Society, in Account with F. W. EDWARDS, Treasurer.* Cr.

1887-88.		£	s.	d.	1887-88.		£	s.	d.
To Cash paid Rent of Royal Institution		20	0	0	Balance from 1886-87		49	8	1
" " Refreshments and Attendance		25	2	8	Biology Report Sales		6	9	0
" " Printing Circulars		9	18	0	By Cash from Subscriptions :—				
" " Editorial Fee		10	10	0	6 Entrance Fees, at 10s. 6d.		23	8	0
" " Secretary's Expenses		12	8	8	150 Annual Subscriptions, at 21s.		157	10	0
" " Treasurer's "		8	17	6	1 Arrear, at 21s.		1	1	0
" " Librarian's "		2	10	0			161	14	0
" " Stationery, &c.		14	11	0					
" " Sundries		0	5	9					
" " Printing and Binding Vol. XLII.		88	4	0					
Balance		30	8	11					
		£217 11 1					£217 11 1		

Audited and found correct,

(Signed) B. L. BENAS,
JOHN S. HICKS.

£217 11 1

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LIVERPOOL
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.—SEVENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 1st, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting of the previous Session were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary read the following

REPORT.

The Seventy-Seventh Session of the Society has been one of continued prosperity.

The Volume of *Transactions*, which is larger than usual, is in the press, and will shortly be issued to the Members.

The Council notes with pleasure that all the papers contributed to the proceedings have been of great interest, and have induced considerable discussion, and that some of the papers printed are of exceptional value.

The continued good attendance at the meetings causes much satisfaction. Fourteen Ordinary Meetings were held during the past Session, with an average attendance of 82.

The scheme for the Amalgamation of the Libraries of the

various Societies meeting in the Royal Institution, mentioned in the last Report, has been carried to a successful issue.

The Libraries have been placed under the management of a Joint Committee of the Societies and the Royal Institution, upon which Committee this Society is represented by the Librarian.

In furtherance of the plan of partial amalgamation of Societies, detailed in the last report, the Council invited the co-operation of several of the kindred Societies.

A joint meeting of this Society with the Liverpool Astronomical Society, was held on November 14th, 1887, at which all the papers were read by members of the Astronomical Society; the attendance was very large, and the meeting was in every respect successful.

A joint meeting was arranged with the Polytechnic Society, but unfortunately had to be postponed.

It is hoped that the scheme of partial amalgamation will not be allowed to lapse during the coming Session.

The number of the members has suffered a slight decrease. Since the last Annual Meeting nineteen ordinary members have resigned, and one has died. There have been added seven Ordinary Members and one Corresponding Member.

Amongst the resignations must be noticed that of Dr. John W. Hayward, for many years one of the Council, and a frequent contributor to the Societies proceedings.

The Council have also to record the death of a distinguished Honorary Member, Professor F. V. Hayden, Director of U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories; and also the death of Mr. Alfred Morgan, a former Hon. Librarian of the Society.

The Society now consists of 171 Ordinary Members, 32 Honorary Members, 23 Corresponding Members, and 12 Associates.

The Report was passed on the motion of Mr. BARON L. BENAS, seconded by Mr. MARPLES.

The HONORARY TREASURER'S Annual Statement of Accounts was then read, and was adopted on the motion of Mr. MARPLES, seconded by Mr. GUTHRIE.

The following Office Bearers were then elected: Vice-Presidents—Isaac Roberts, F.G.S., F.R.A.S., J. Sibley Hicks, F.R.C.S., F.L.S., Principal Rendall, M.A.; Hon. Treasurer—Frederick W. Edwards, M.S.A.; Hon. Secretary—John Rutherford, LL.B.; Hon. Librarian—R. McLintock.

The following Ordinary Members of Council were also elected: Miss Cradock, L.K.Q.C.P.I., Baron L. Benas, W. Watson Rutherford, Josiah Marples, John Newton, M.R.C.S., Chas. J. English, Gilbert M. Steeves, H. Longuet Higgins, Malcolm Guthrie, Rev. J. Polack, B.A., J. M. McMaster, G. Henry Morton, R. J. Lloyd, M.A., W. Walthew.

The Associates of the Society were re-elected.

The subscription for Ladies was fixed at 10s. 6d. per annum, and the Rules were altered to that effect.

Mr. JAMES BIRCHALL, the President, delivered his Second Presidential Address, on "The Church and the State in Mediæval Europe—The Church and the Empire."*

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 15th, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Walter Norris Jones was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

* See page 1.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS exhibited and described some Rare Plants from the Botanic Gardens (lent by the Curator).

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS read the following paper on

THE RARER METALS AND EARTHS.

(With illustrations.)

THE ELEMENTS.

The elementary bodies brought before you this evening depend for little of their interest on characters conspicuous to the eye.

Their original atoms accomplished stupendous primary functions altogether unseen. Some of them are invisible at ordinary temperatures; many are not found pure, *i.e.*, uncombined with other substances, and can only be obtained pure by an elaborate process which is very costly.

The atoms, though inconceivably minute, possess strong individual characters, and if we realise all that an element has done in the formation of earth, and sea, and air, and bring to aid our conception the fact that myriads of perfect atoms, with all their characters complete, are before us in a test-tube, which possibly looks quite empty—if we do this without prejudice—we shall, I think, accept as a reasonable inference that the part taken by the elementary atoms in the building up of Nature has not been that of bricks or hewn stones acted on by external forces, but much more that of the living cells in a living body; so that the world has not been massed as a heap, but developed by a cosmic spontaneity which belongs to life only.

SILICON.—An element very difficult of preparation. A brown powder, or in iron-grey crystals. Its oxide, **SILICA**, occurs in various minerals forming a large portion of the solid matter of the earth. Quartz, sandstone, sand, flint, agate, opal, rock-crystal, sinter, infusorial earth, spicules of

sponges, and the skeletons of Radiolaria, which last alone constitute thousands of square miles in the deep floor of the Pacific. The slender stems of cereals and other grasses owe to a glassy coating of silica their stiffness, upholding them in the air and sunlight, thus ripening their stalks and seeds to be the staff of life for man and beast. Silica, as glass, has reached high eminence in the history of civilised life, yet its past importance may be as nothing in comparison with its future usefulness should malleable glass become, in sufficient quantities, easily attainable. Not many human eyes have seen the brown powder, or the iron-grey crystals, representing the pure element, silicon, of all this astonishing wealth and variety of material. If it originally came into existence pure—untold eons in the past—probably its term was very brief. Yet on the properties (the Bios) of that particle of silicon rested the contour of our mountains and the limits of our oceans, and much of our life relationship in the world that then was to be.

Veiled for so long, silicon was first seen pure about eighty years ago, by Berzelius.

CARBON.—An element. Occurs as Diamond, Graphite, Charcoal. One of the four constituents of protoplasm, the physical basis of life. Wherefore, the chemistry of living organisms is called the Chemistry of the Carbon Compounds.

Amongst these are—Carbonic Acid, Oxalic Acid, Coal Pitch, Tar, Naphtha, Anthracite, Jet, Ethylene, Cyanogen, Prussic Acid, Petroleum, Marsh Gas.

ALUMINIUM.—Metal. Base of all clays, pipe-clay, porcelain, etc. One of the lightest, most easily worked, strongest, most durable, and uncorrodable, of all metals.

In quantity one thousand times exceeding iron; if it could be produced cheaply, it would become the most

valuable metal in the world. Its oxide occurs as sapphire, ruby, and emery; it occurs also in alum and felspar.

TITANIUM.—One of the rarer metals, known chiefly in a finely divided state. In combination it occurs in blast-furnace slags, in the form of copper-coloured, extremely hard crystals.

CADMIUM.—A tin-white metal, found associated with zinc. Used in various alloys. Its sulphide forms a valuable yellow pigment.

TUNGSTEN.—A white metal, very heavy, hard, and brittle. Obtained from Wolfram. A minute portion in alloy with the steel greatly increases the sustaining power of a magnet.

MOLYBDENUM.—A white, brittle, and very infusible metal.

Its sulphide yields an olive-green streak when used as a pencil.

COPPER.—This metal, with some of its many beautiful ores, compounds, alloys, and crystals, may be seen occupying a tray in the present series.

CONCLUSION.

The miscellaneous character of the communications invited for this evening admits not of any further notice of individual examples, and requires that my concluding remarks should be concise.

The classification of animals and plants in more or less extensive alliances—kingdoms, sub-kingdoms, classes, orders, families, and species, was accomplished long before the cause of their adaptability for such an arrangement was discovered.

We now know that it arose from hereditary development.

It was thought interesting when attention was first called to a like suitability amongst the Protozoa consisting

of a single cell; mere specks of jelly, with skeletons of lime or silica.

I am not aware that it was ever doubted that, *e.g.*, the marvellous suitability for being disposed in orders, families, genera, and species, amongst the microscopic Foraminifera, arose from the same source, the development always waiting upon life.

When, however, we descend immeasurably below the lowest living organisms, to the primordial elementary atoms, wondrous to relate, there is found a similar adaptation for divisions, and sub-divisions, and groups, and general arrangements in a definite order.

If it were possible for us to take a bird's-eye view of the seventy elementary atoms, exhibited in an arrangement shewing their properties, affinities, and relationships; their linear or spiral periodicity; the occurrence of an example of extreme rarity here and there; others of overwhelming redundancy; a little group like that of the halogens in its place; alliances of elements—monad, dyad, triad, tetrad, and so forth; remembering always that the basis of this amazing taxonomy, and the half of it has not been told, lies within the idiosyncrasies (may I not say the Bioi) of those seventy infinitesimal constituents of the cosmos—it may be doubted whether seventy plants or animals could be selected more clearly indicating the results of intelligent design than do the seventy elementary atoms.

MR. G. F. MOORE exhibited and described a disarticulated Skeleton of the Jaguar.

ON THE RECENT ABUNDANCE OF THE MADDER HAWK-MOTH (*Deilephila Galii*).

By JOHN W. ELLIS, L.R.C.P., F.E.S.

The year 1888 will be remembered in the annals of

natural history chiefly for the remarkable incursion of the Pallas's Sand Grouse, and for the unprecedented abundance of the beautiful lepidopterous insect, *Deilephila galii*, and, since the Liverpool district has been unusually favoured by the presence of this latter visitor, a brief account of its occurrence deserves to be recorded in the *Transactions* of this Society.

Deilephila galii (the madder hawk-moth) belongs to that family, the Sphingidæ, which has been considered by common consent the head and type of the Lepidoptera Heterocera, not only on account of the large size, but also because of the remarkable power of flight and the enormous development of the proboscis in the typical genus of the family.

Of the eight European species of the genus *Deilephila*, three occur in Britain, and two of these, *D. euphorbiæ* and *D. livornica*, are so scarce as to be considered only occasional visitants. The remaining species, *D. galii*, is somewhat more frequent, occurring sparingly on the Kentish coast in the neighbourhood of Deal, while occasionally specimens are met with in other parts of Britain.

The moth is of considerable size and beauty, expanding three inches from tip to tip of the wings, and in colour of a dark olive green on the forewing, with an irregular white streak from base to tip, while the hind wings are pale red, with a broad base, and a narrow border of black.

The larva is very conspicuous when full grown, being usually of an olive brown colour, with large pale yellow, dark-bordered, spots on each side, while the last segment is furnished with a strong recurved horn, as in most members of the Sphingidæ—this horn in *D. galii*, together with the whole of the last segment, being bright red. It feeds during August and September chiefly on the yellow bedstraw (*Galium verum*), preferring the scrubby to the luxuriant plants, and especially those growing on a sloping bank,

exposed to the sun and near to the sea. When full fed, it burrows just beneath the surface of the ground, and changes into a pale brown pupa, from which the moth emerges in the following July. The perfect insect is usually found hovering over flowers in the dusk of the evening.

Previous to 1870, the only recorded occurrences of this insect in Lancashire (and there were none recorded for Cheshire) were : near Bury, in 1842; Lytham, in 1859; and near Bootle. In 1870, several specimens of the moth occurred in Lancashire, at Staleybridge, Bolton, Warrington, and Huyton; while during the autumn of that year the larvæ were so frequent on the Wallasey sandhills that several collectors were enabled to breed series of eight or ten specimens.

During the succeeding eighteen years very few specimens of the insect occurred in Britain; but in August last the entomological journals announced the capture of specimens in the latter half of July, and in widely separated localities.

The capture of three or four specimens of the moth at or near Crosby, at about this time, put the Liverpool entomologists on the *qui vive*, and periodical visits were paid to the Crosby and Wallasey sandhills to look for the larvæ, with the result that on August 24th the first larvæ were found; and from that date until about the middle of September they occurred in profusion, while occasional specimens could be met with until the end of September. Certainly not less than 500 larvæ were found during this time on the Wallasey sandhills alone by the very large number of collectors who came from many parts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and even Yorkshire, for the purpose of adding this insect to their collections. It should be remarked that notwithstanding that the moth must have occurred in abundance at Wallasey to account for so many larvæ, not a single specimen of the

perfect insect has been recorded from this part of Cheshire. A few larvæ were found at Crosby, while others occurred at West Kirby; and, while occasional specimens have been picked up inland, at times feeding on willow herb, its old locality, the Deal sandhills, extending for about twenty miles along the Kentish coast, has produced the larvæ by thousands.

The question naturally arises: "From whence are these specimens derived?" a question not at present capable of a satisfactory solution. There are three theories that may, in some measure, account for this superabundance of a usually rare insect.

(1.) The opinion which chiefly prevails among entomologists is that the imagines which were captured in July were part of a swarm which had migrated (or been blown over) from the Continent, where the insect is usually common. Though there is no doubt of the possibility of such an occurrence, for swarms of butterflies have been met with at a greater distance from land than the few miles which intervene between the British and French coasts, yet the earlier records of its capture are not from localities in those portions of our island nearest to the Continent. The earliest capture recorded is in Co. Howth, on July 16th; then comes Aberdeen, on the 17th; Scarborough, on the 19th; Holloway, near London, on the 20th; Carlisle, on the 21st; Silvertown (Essex) and Stoney Stratford, on the 23rd; while it does not seem to have been met with on the Kentish coast until the 24th, although a number of specimens were taken there between that date and the end of the first week in August. If migration does account for the prevalence of *Deilephila galii* in Britain in 1888, they must have crossed upwards of 200 miles of sea intervening between the Danish or Norwegian coasts and Britain.

(2.) Another theory that has been advanced to account

for the prevalence of this species is that these specimens have emerged from pupæ which have been lying dormant in the locality of their capture for some years. It is a matter of common observation that when insects are kept in confinement there is a tendency in certain species for some of the specimens not to emerge from the pupal condition at the same time as the majority, but to "lie over" until the following year, or possibly for an indefinite number of years, as is certainly the case with *Eriogaster lvestris*, and probably others of the Bombycidae. If this be the case in confinement, how much more likely is it to happen when in a state of nature the insect is exposed to more variable atmospheric conditions—when it might happen that the whole of a brood, if the imagines emerged at the same time, would be destroyed, and the species exterminated in a particular district. Whether there is any tendency for *Deilephila galii* to so "lie over" in its pupal condition is not known; but the fact of the greatest outbreak of the species during the past season having taken place at those localities where it has more often occurred in previous years, viz., at Wallasey and Deal, would point rather to some power of lying dormant during the pupal condition than to its having reached these localities by migration; besides it is difficult to realise that a sufficient number of individuals of both sexes should reach, say the Wallasey sandhills, to produce the vast numbers of larvæ that have occurred there during the autumn.

(8.) There is yet another possible solution of the problem. We know that were it not for certain natural checks there would be no limit to the increase of any species of animal or plant, and we know, from experience, how a species tends to multiply to an indefinite extent when any of its checks are removed. Witness the result of importing the rabbit into a country like New Zealand, destitute of such

animals as stoats, weasels, and foxes, and where few raptorial birds exist.

Rarity or abundance of any species depends upon the balance of power between its reproductivity and its natural checks, and if the latter are present in a greater degree than the former, rarity, and possible extinction, must be the result. It is, to my mind, quite possible that the conditions of our climate, or the presence of certain enemies (ichneumon flies ?) so act as checks upon the increase of *Deilephila galii* in Britain that it barely manages to perpetuate its species. The few specimens which do arrive at maturity may very easily elude the notice of entomologists, as indeed is shewn by the before mentioned statement that, notwithstanding that the moth must have been tolerably common last July at Wallasey, not a single specimen has been recorded from Cheshire. But then comes a time when, in some unexplained manner, the season is either more suitable to the insect or is less favourable to its natural enemies, the species occurs in profusion, and a so-called "incursion" takes place.

Whatever be the explanation of the superabundance of the moth, both in its perfect and larval condition, there can be no doubt that in this species, at least, it has not been produced, as is suspected in the case of some insect pests, by human agency; and the present year will certainly be long known to entomologists as the "*galii* year."

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS read a communication upon "The Samoyedes East of the White Sea," and exhibited specimens of their clothing, &c.; and also exhibited some Mocha Stones.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 29th, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, President, in the Chair.

Miss Nicholson, Miss Raleigh, Messrs. W. P. Forster and J. R. Paton were duly elected Ordinary Members.

Principal RENDALL, M.A., read a paper on "The Cradle of the Aryans." *

The Rev. T. P. KIRKMAN, M.A., F.R.S., laid before the Society a paper entitled "The Complete Analysis of Four Autopolar 10-Edra." †

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 12th, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, President, in the Chair.

Miss Whitmore and Messrs. Amos Burn, J. W. Scholefield, J.P., S. A. Addinsell and W. Bryce Gillespie, were duly elected Ordinary Members.

Mr. F. W. EDWARDS, M.S.A., read a paper on "Commercial Education, including a Review of the Commercial Schools of the Continent." ‡

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 26th, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Francis C. Rennie was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

* See page 265.

† See page 45.

‡ See page 77.

A NOTE ON THEORETICAL EDUCATION ON THE
CONTINENT: BEING A REFERENCE TO MR.
F. W. EDWARDS' PAPER ON THAT SUBJECT.

By B. L. BENAS.

The discussion which took place at our last meeting on the subject of Commercial Education, which was so ably treated by Mr. Edwards, induces me to bring forward a short note on a system of training in France, in which I venture to think that even our neighbours across the channel admit our practical superiority—I allude to Political Education. After the Franco-German war, when Cæsarism and personal Government were temporarily out of favour with the French people, the leading Republicans thought to do for France what they so much admired in England, namely, that the people should learn to take an intelligent interest in practical politics and should understand the methods of self-government. They established in 1870 an institution called the *Ecole Libre des Etudes Politiques*, the object and programme of which I give you in a paragraph at foot.* Now after read-

* *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, but de l'Ecole.*—Dans son ensemble, l'Enseignement de l'Ecole des Sciences politiques est le couronnement naturel de toute éducation libérale. Son programme embrasse des connaissances auxquelles aucun homme cultivé ne doit rester étranger.

A un point de vue plus spécial, l'Ecole des Sciences politiques se propose le même but que l'ancienne *Ecole d'administration*. Chacune des grandes divisions de son enseignement constitue une préparation complète à l'une des carrières suivantes et aux examens ou aux concours qui en ouvrent l'entrée :

1. Diplomatie. (Ministère des Affaires étrangères. Légations. Consuls.) (1).
2. Conseil d'Etat. (Auditorat de 2^e classe.)
3. Administration. (Administration centrale et départementale. Contentieux des ministères. Sous-préfectures. Secrétariats généraux de département. Conseils de préfecture.)
4. Inspection des Finances.
5. Cour des Comptes.
6. Service Colonial. (Administration centrale (2).—Directions de

ing the curriculum of this college one would imagine that the training of prospective public men in France is far more perfect than our own, and so it is in some respects. For in fact what is the composition of our present House of Commons? The smallest minority consists of young men whose parents are possessed of ample means and who have been able to give their sons a University training and a life of physical and mental exercise with the direct object of serving the state. A majority, however, of the practical politicians of Great Britain, who have successfully served in several of the leading departments of state, have graduated perhaps from the parish vestry; in some cases have derived their tuition in public life from a municipal council, and very many others have acquired their knowledge of organisation from congregational meetings of dissenting bodies. This is especially the case in the United States. The admirable constitution of the great Republic of the West was framed to a great extent by men who were accustomed to lay down the rules and regulations of Puritan conventicles, and there are few such statesman-like documents left to posterity even by the most experienced and trained jurists or diplomatists. Both the English and Americans receive their political knowledge from the experience of life itself. The French on the other hand, seek to meet the exigencies of a throbbing and active civilisation by a fixed code of theoretical education. When a French governor of a colony finds himself face to face with a situation not calculated upon in his official training, he becomes to a certain extent helpless; whilst Englishmen and Americans use their ordinary

l'intérieur; administration des affaires indigènes; emplois dans les grandes compagnies industrielles et financières.)

D'autre part, le programme comprend des éléments d'instruction supérieure qui complètent utilement la préparation à certaines hautes positions commerciales. (Banques. Contentieux des grandes Compagnies. Inspection des chemins de fer, etc.)

business aptitudes, coupled with a common sense view of the situation, and thus in most cases they govern naturally and not artificially. There is much the same method adopted in English-speaking countries in their commercial education. Neither the British nor Americans are trained to Commerce theoretically, they go into the practical school of life, and it becomes a question of the survival of the fittest. No one could for a moment advocate an entire absence of training for commercial life, and leave it merely to the haphazard education of buying and selling; but I maintain there is such a thing as overtraining for commercial pursuits, and I fear both Germany and France will find that a lassitude will follow the ultra theoretical training which they now deem so indispensable for the moment. In the matter of technical education we have been, it must be admitted, somewhat behind the nations of the Continent, especially in the want of encouragement given to capable artisans, and in the scientific development of the appliances of manufactures, more especially in chemistry, in which department the Germans have had better opportunities. This, however, is being rapidly changed with us for the better. It remains yet to be proved whether practical commercial office training, following a sound all-round school teaching, is not in the long run better adapted for the idiosyncracies of English speaking people than a highly tempered course of theoretical commercial school studies, such as the French and Germans pursue. As successful business men among English-speaking people, the Scotch are decidedly in the very front rank, and as financiers they yield to no other community. The Scottish banking system is abreast of the financial requirements of every phase of advanced commercial civilisation, and they need fear no competition from either French or German bankers. In the British colonies, in India, and in South America, they are directors or managers of the

principal banking and financial institutions. Might we not rather look to the practical Scottish commercial training for emulation, rather than to the theoretical French or German methods?

Dr. J. BIRKBECK NEVINS read a paper on "The Changes of Dynasty, and of National, Political, and Religious Sentiment in France, as illustrated by the French Coinage from 500 B.C. to the Present Time." *

FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, December 12th, 1888.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. E. H. Cookson (Mayor of Liverpool) was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

Mr. GUTHRIE called attention to the Aquaphone, a recent discovery for transmitting sound through water.

Mr. JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S., read a paper "On the Origin of the Religious Idea." †

SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 7th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. F. J. Leslie, F.R.G.S., and the Rev. Lawrence P. Jacks, M.A., were duly elected Ordinary Members.

Rev. H. H. HIGGINS and Mr. F. ARCHER, B.A., exhibited and described a specimen of Wood Opal from the Nile Valley.

* See page 303.

† See page 185.

Miss FANNY L. CALDER read a paper on "Domestic Education in Elementary Schools." *

SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 21st, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S., read a paper "On the Religions of India; Ancient and Modern."

EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 4th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Dr. SHEARER communicated the following note:—"An Original Illustration of Goëthe's Law of Morphology in Plants."

ABNORMAL OR "ATAVIC" ROSE.

THE accompanying monstrosity, or abnormality, in the fruit of the *Rosa Spinossima* is one more beautiful, and to me, so far as the *Rosaceæ* are concerned, perfectly new illustration of the profound law in morphology, hinted at by Linnæus and established by Goëthe, viz., that the flower and fruit are composed of several successive whorls or series of modified leaves, folior appendages or phyllomes more or less altered and blended together to form compound organs, the fruit or *Cynarrhadum*, in the case of the rose, being formed from the union of the calycine leaves, or their petioles, with the dilated end of the receptacle, and enclosing several achenes. Typical formula S5 P5 A00 G1-00.

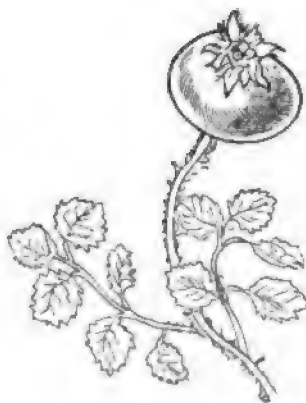
* See page 109.

In the *Rosaceæ*, the carpels are either enclosed within a hollow receptacle formed by the union of the lower parts of the calycine leaves with the dilated end of the receptacle forming the receptacular tube, or "hip," or Cynarrhadum, as in the roses proper, or they are free, not enclosed at all, but surrounded by the whorl of separate calycine leaves or sepals, as is the case in the raspberry, the blackberry, and the geum.

This latter, or free condition of the sepals, normal in the latter but abnormal in the rose, is the condition we met with in the specimen exhibited from the New Brighton sandhills last September, and here represented



There is



no trace of the cup or receptacular tube, the carpels are naked, seven or eight in number, and the calycine leaves, five in number, are foliaceous, much developed, and putting on a close resemblance to the odd leaflet of the ordinary pinnate foliage leaves. The circlet of leaves replacing the urn have long stalks and single rounded laminæ, and that they are clearly the representatives of the missing urn is

inferred not merely from their situation, springing from the top of the receptacle, but because in normal specimens the peduncle, whether long or short, is wholly destitute of leaves. Here, then, is no "freak of nature," no abnormality, except in the limited racial or tribal sense; but an illustration of retrograde metamorphosis or conformity to the all-embracing higher law of morphology, which regards all the organs as but modified leaves.

Here, as in a prism which splits up into its constituent colours the beam of light, is held out to human ken the solution of the enigma, or one of the enigmata, of vegetable existence. Here plant-structure is resolved into its elements and simple factors, that we might understand something of the mystery of the plan of creation, and perchance enter into some conception of the ideas of the Eternal who, to use the words of Bacon, "in his indulgent kindness towards mankind, had chosen for His playfellow the human soul."

Are we to suppose, on evolutionary principles, that the ancestral condition of the fruit in the Rosaceæ was comparable with that of the Rubas or Geum, and that the carpels in the primitive type were naked on the receptacle and unenclosed? In that case we have a reversion in the specimen before us to the primitive type, in other words, an "Atavic" rose.

"It is desirable," says Moquin-Tandon, "not to forget those extremely rare cases in which nature works, not in violation of her laws, but in deviation, so to speak, of her most common habits. These remarkable structures are indeed revelations."

The specimen was submitted for examination to the Rev. H. H. Higgins, M.A., Ex-President of the Society, who failed to discover any trace of insect action; and to Dr. Masters, of London, the well-known author of a work on Vegetable Teratology, who wrote to the following effect:—

I am quite of your opinion as to the nature of the case, and its evolutionary significance. I do not remember to have seen a similar case in the rose, though I have done so in the hawthorn. I should be disposed to attribute the appearance to a defect or arrest of development—"retrograde metamorphosis," if you prefer the term. The latter expression, however, seems to imply formative action even of a retrograde character, while, if I am right, the appearances are due to the lack of formative action.

Subsequently he wrote :

I suppose, on evolutionary principles, the presence of a succulent hip became gradually of advantage to the plant in facilitating the dispersion of the seeds by birds, and so the over-growth of the flower-tube became accentuated as we now see it. This *probably may have been the case*, I do not think we are justified in saying that it was.

Yet more striking, I might even say touching, are the illustrations we meet with of the *ascending metamorphosis* in plants. The bird cherry, the flowering currant, and the horse-chesnut afford examples, readily accessible in the spring of the year. Then, if you look carefully, you will be sure to encounter specimens of the bract's covering in the winter buds passing out of the simple boat-shaped form of the ordinary protective bract into the higher type of the foliage leaf of the respective tree.

Again, the spiritual suggestiveness of these abortive efforts after higher types need but be hinted at. In the words of Coleridge :—

"All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving."

Where sepals become petaloid, petals antheriferous, and stamens bear ovules, or become transformed into carpels, you have examples of the higher or ascending metamorphosis. A striking example of this is given by the late Professor Goeppert of Breslau, who presented to the Congress of Naturalists, at Vienna, in 1892, a monstrous specimen of a

poppy capsule, the stamens surrounding which had been transformed into dwarf capsules. In 1889, he discovered a whole field of popovers metamorphosed in the manner indicated. The central capsule was surrounded by from one to sixty small supplementary capsules, with ripe seeds in the latter as well as in the primary capsule. The monstrosity in question was proved to be capable of being perpetuated during at least two generations.

I have now in my garden a plant of the common German wallflower (*Cheiranthus cheiri*), maturing imperfect capsules, each composed of three imperfect siliquæ fused together, which I procured from St. James's market in the spring, and which as it flowered was found to be entirely destitute of both stamens and petals. The plant had a singular appearance in the absence of these essential organs, the vegetative force saved from which went apparently to the formation of these remarkable tripartite but imperfect siliquæ.

The subject of this paper furnishes an illustration of how the common law of formation in the case of the fruit of the rose has been superseded, for the nonce, by a higher law which appertains to and regulates development throughout the entire vegetable kingdom.

If one general law may thus be crossed and contravened by another and yet higher law, why should we doubt the possibility of occasional exceptions to the general order of Providence, seeing the world is not an automaton, or piece of blind mechanism and dead uniformity, but the theatre of the operations of an Eternal mind? For what are miracles after all? A miracle is the *unusual*, while natural law is the habitual, method of the Divine action. To me, indeed, it seems that the now widely accepted doctrine of Evolution of new species implies interferences with the existing order of things which, however we may blind ourselves to their real nature by attributing them to laws of variation and environ-

ment, are for ever impossible in the absence of Spirit, and hardly differ from the miraculous except in the gradual manner of their operation.

Mr. ROBERT F. GREEN read a paper on "The Arabian Nights." *

NINTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 18th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Dr. J. MURRAY MOORE, late of Auckland, New Zealand, who has returned to practice in Liverpool (introduced by Dr. SHEARMER), exhibited the following bones of the extinct, wingless, gigantic bird, the "*Moa*," found in the Abbey Caves, near W. Nangarei, North Island :—

- 2 Right Femora.
- 1 Left Femur.
- 2 Right Tibiæ.
- 1 Left tarso-metatarsal bone.
- 1 Right ditto.

Dr. MOORE said it was a well ascertained fact that a race of Strathiens birds, of very large size, the skeletons of some showing that they stood fourteen feet high, had existed in New Zealand down to (possibly) the earliest historic period. There are more than thirty entire skeletons to be found in the museums of Australasia and Europe. Seven distinct species of the *Dinornis* have been described by Professor Owen, who first named the bird, and others. The remains of the *Moa* have been found in and beneath alluvial drift, deeply embedded in swamps and gravels, or in limestone caves, as in the instance of these seven bones. As the Maories of New Zealand have traditions of the existence of

* See page 247.

the *Moa*, the name also being a genuine Maori name, it is highly probable that the earliest Maori immigrants—say, about 1100 A.D.—saw the birds; and, food being very scarce, hunted them down and exterminated them. The word *Moa* in Maori also means a ploughed field, from which scholars have argued that these birds scratched up with their powerful claws the flat ground in searching for roots, seeds, and grubs, and thus gave the natives the first idea of how to cultivate the ground by harrowing, etc. The larger number of *Moa* remains have been found in the Middle Island.

The *Sphaeria Robertsii* is the caterpillar of a moth called *Hepialus Virescens*, from the head of which a long fungus grows. It is found chiefly near the roots of the Rata tree (*Metrosideros robusta*). While burying itself in the earth for the purpose of changing into the chrysalis state, this caterpillar gets the spores of the fungus into its mouth, or between the head and its first ring. The spores then vegetate and feed on the body of the caterpillar, soon killing the insect; and, finally, filling up all its interior with a moist whitish-yellow substance, like fern-root, but leaving the outer skin perfect in form. The length of the caterpillar is from one to four inches, and of the fungus-stalk growing out of its head from three to ten inches. Sometimes it throws out two seed-stalks. Having completed its spores it dies. When freshly gathered the Maories eat it. When charred in the fire the natives use them to colour the wounds in the process of tattooing. The native name is *Pepeaweto*. The growth is analogous to that found occasionally on a species of Longicorn beetle. A species of *Sphaeria* is found in New Guinea, and one in China.

PHOTOGRAPH OF A YOUNG GORILLA.

Mr. T. J. MOORE exhibited to the meeting a photograph,

lent to him for the purpose by Mr. R. W. Roulston, of a young female Gorilla, which had recently been living for some time in the possession of Mr. J. J. Jones at Ngove, a trading station on the West Coast of Africa, about one degree south of the equator.

Mr. Jones had trained the creature to follow him like a dog, and she had recently accompanied him on a journey to Sette Camma, a distance of some twenty miles, walking all the way. Jennie, as this baby gorilla has been called, sleeps in her master's room and follows him wherever he goes, weeping like a child if left behind. She has acquired many civilized tastes and habits, not all to be commended, and will drink tea, ale, brandy, etc., out of a cup or glass, displaying the utmost carefulness not to break the vessel, and will, in fact, do almost anything her master tells her, and is so intelligent and affectionate as to greatly astonish and interest all who have seen her. She will, Mr. Jones states, do almost everything but talk, and her eating is as varied and injudicious as her drinking, including salt beef, pickles, jam, bread, fowl, fish, etc.*

Mr. FRANCIS C. RENNIE read a paper on "Tom Hood."

TENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 4th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. WALTHER exhibited and communicated a note upon some Japanese books.

* A facsimile of this photograph will be found in the *Liverpool Journal Research* for March 1, 1889, p. 143. It will not be considered surprising that with such a dietary the poor creature died suddenly, though not without strong suspicion of foul play.

Rev. S. FLETCHER-WILLIAMS read a paper on "English : Literary and Vernacular."*

ELEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 18th, 1889.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, EX-PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. ISAAC ROBERTS, F.G.S., F.R.A.S., read a paper on "Glimpses of the Unseen Universe by the aid of Photography," illustrated with Lantern Transparencies from the original negatives.†

TWELFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 1st, 1889.

This meeting took the form of a Joint Meeting of this Society and the Liverpool Polytechnic Society.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Professor HELE SHAW read a paper on "The Development of the Heat Engine."

THIRTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 15th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Miss E. E. Field, and Messrs. A. G. White and Wm. B. Rippon, were duly elected Ordinary Members.

* See page 211.

† See page 298.

Mr. JOSIAH MARPLES called attention to a Japanese Newspaper, and communicated some notes upon Japanese Education.

Rev. H. H. HIGGINS read a paper on "The Faith of an Evolutionist." *

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 29th 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. MORRIS P. JONES was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

Rev. H. H. HIGGINS was unanimously elected President for the next two Sessions.

Mr. T. J. MOORE read the following Notes:—

OVIS POLII.

Marco Polo in his celebrated *Book of Travels through Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, was the first to make known the existence of large races of Wild Sheep in the elevated plains of Pamir, eastward of Bokhara, 16,000 feet above the sea level.

These are now known to consist of several closely allied species, the first of which was named in 1840 by Blyth, in honour of the celebrated traveller, from the only skull and horns then known in Europe.

In very recent years other species have been named and described by explorers, but all are surpassed in size by the *Ovis Polii*.

At an early meeting of this session of the Society, I had the pleasure of exhibiting some examples of the Tur or Wild Sheep of the Caucasus, specially procured for the Museum by Mr. St. George Littledale, our most energetic benefactor.

* See page 121.

In the *Field* of September 8, 1888, appeared the following brief note from a correspondent signing himself simply under the letter A. :—

OVIS POLI SHOOTING IN THE PAMIR.—I have received a letter from Mr. St. George Littledale, dated Lake Kara Kol, the Pamir, Aug. 2nd, who, with his wife, has succeeded in penetrating to those districts, and shooting several fine specimens of the *Ovis Poli* at an elevation of some 13,000 feet. The only Museum known to have a complete specimen is that at St. Petersburg.—A.

In December a fine skull of an adult male was purchased for the Museum from Messrs. Rowland Ward & Co., London, measuring $41\frac{1}{2}$ inches from tip to tip of horns.

On the 12th March last I received the following brief letter from Mr. St. George Littledale, dated Wick Hill House, Bracknell (Berkshire) :—

DEAR MR. MOORE,

I hope in the course of a day or two to send you a skin and skull of the *Ovis Polii*, which I got last autumn on the Pamir.

We are off again in a couple of weeks to Chinese Mongolia in quest of the true *Ovis Ammon*, not the Ladak sheep of that name.

Yours sincerely,

ST. G. LITTEDALE.

In a few days the promised specimens were safely received, and are now exhibited before going into the hands of the taxidermist.

I wrote at once to Mr. Littledale asking for any notes he could find time to favour me with for this evening's meeting, but none having come to hand the specimens must speak for themselves.

Suffice it to say remains of *Ovis Polii* have been almost unknown in European or other museums; that the time, energy, and expense involved in their capture daunt the most enthusiastic sportsmen, and although Mr. Littledale is a

man of deeds rather than of words, the Society would, I think, honour itself by honouring him with the title of Corresponding Member.

SKULLS OF OVIS POLII.

	Mr. Littledale's.		Purchased.
Tip to tip... ..	48½	...	41½
Greatest curve, right horn ...	54½	..	56
„ left horn ...	55½	...	58½
Circumference at base, right horn.	15½	..	15½
„ „ left horn...	15½	...	15½

At the suggestion of Mr. Moore Sir J. A. Picton proposed, and the Rev. H. H. Higgins seconded, that Mr. and Mrs. St. George Littledale should be proposed as Corresponding Members at the earliest meeting allowed by the bye-laws in the next session, and that to Mrs. St. George Littledale be accorded the honour of being recommended as the first Lady Corresponding Member of the Society.

LIVING LEPIDOSTEI IN THE MUSEUM AQUARIUM.

The Museum Aquarium was enriched last Friday by the receipt of two living specimens of *Lepidostus* or Bony Gas Pike, sent in the care of Mr. Bartholomew, chief steward of the *Britannic*, by Mr. Eugene Blackford, U.S. Fish Commissioner, New York, in exchange for live soles.

The fish are young, measuring about 14 inches in length, and are highly valued as being the first of their kind brought to the museum, and probably to Europe, if not forestalled by specimens from the same source shipped by the German Lloyd's steamer for the Brighton Aquarium.

The *Lepidostei* are armour-plated fishes, found only in the river system of North America, numbering some half dozen species, and represent the ganoid fishes of the early

geological formations. They feed on other fish, and their general resemblance to a pike has given to them the vernacular names of Gas Pike and Bony Pike.

SEAL AND PENGUIN.

We are indebted to our Associate Member Capt. Griffith Jones, barque "Hermine," for the skins of the Penguin and the Seal, here exhibited stuffed, as well as some interesting fish, and for other specimens collected by him on a voyage to British Columbia, which I hope to note in a future communication.

The Seal is from Esquimalt Harbour, where it was the pet of the visitors to that beautiful bay. It often came up close to the boat, and was seen to eat fish thrown to it by the people, but at last it met its death at the hands of a cruel sportsman.

The Penguin is from the Iglesia Piedra or Church Rock, near the village of Cobquieura, Chili, Capt. Griffith Jones states that as he entered one of the wonderful and interesting caverns in the above rock in the dim light, "I saw an object walking upright and coming straight up to me. I made out it was a penguin, and when it came close to me it stopped and looked up into my eyes as if it wanted to ask *my* business there. It did not try to escape my grasp. I put it into my bosom and took it on board. It lived for eight days and seemed to be perfectly destitute of fear."

Being adapted in the highest degree to a life in the water, the penguins represent among birds the seals among the mammals, and curious indeed are the many features in which the two groups show parallel developments, both in structure and habits, and particularly striking is the analogy with the eared seals, which chiefly inhabit the southern hemisphere, to which the penguins are entirely limited.

Like the fur seal and its allies, the penguins pass the

far greater part of their lives on the ocean, heedless of storms and waves; down into the far deep they go in pursuit of their food, and down they go into the quiet regions never stirred up by any hurricane, if the surface is getting *too* turbulent, though it must be hard weather indeed when a penguin goes in search of shelter, for he enjoys the wildest surf and loves the roaring gale.

The swimming is quite peculiar, and differs widely from the same movement as performed by all other swimming and diving birds, for the paddle-shaped wings are brought into motion alternately, thus acting like a screw, but while in other birds the legs also come into play at least as accessory propulsive organs when the bird is diving, these organs in the penguins only act as a rudder, except when swimming on the surface of the water.

The general outline of seals and penguins is much alike, especially in the length and thickness of the neck; the form of the extremities and their mode of progression have a general resemblance; both have thick layers of subcutaneous fat, and the feathers of the penguins are as short and close fitting as is the fur of the seals.—*Stejneger*.

Rev. H. H. HIGGINS exhibited a Case of Shells, presented to the Museum by Mrs. Parkinson; and a Polynesian Breastplate.

Mr. ENTWISTLE, Assistant Curator, Mayer Museum, read the following description of some articles of interest exhibited in the room.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS FROM PATAGONIA.

There are now on exhibition in the Museum, William Brown-street, a miscellaneous selection of Ethnographical objects from Patagonia, collected and exhibited by Mr. Asahel P. Bell, C.E., Liverpool, an engineer who is engaged in constructing the Central Railway of Chubut, Eastern

Patagonia. The Collection has been formed by him during the past few years, and consists of the following specimens : Saddle-cloths, fillets, waist-bands, garters, and a Broncho, all woven in wool, with beautiful coloured designs and patterns ; an almost complete horse equipment—Saddle, bridle, stirrup, whip, lasso, and bolas ; also stone pestles and arrow-heads from ancient Indian burial-places. In addition to the above, there is a fine group of silver personal ornaments, made by the present Indians from Spanish dollars. This group contains—Cloak-pins, girdle-bands, collars, necklaces, breast-ornaments, ear-rings, finger-rings, bombillo, and silver-mounted maté teapot.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SCULPTURES.

On March 15th, 1889, there were unshipped at the Huskisson Dock, Liverpool, a number of ancient Egyptian sculptures, of large size, discovered by M. Naville (explorer to the Egypt Exploration Fund), at Tell Basta, in 1887–8. The temple of Bubastis, at Tell Basta, Lower Egypt, was visited by Herodotus. He describes it as the most beautiful temple in Egypt. This temple was supposed to have been utterly destroyed. Marriette Bey and others did not believe that any portion existed. In 1887, M. Naville sunk large trenches, and discovered some massive blocks of red granite. The following season he returned, and laid bare the whole of the temple, the length of which measured 1,000 feet.

The Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund have generously given to our Museum a large block of red granite, sculptured on the one side with a colossal portrait head of Rameses II (XIX Egyptian dynasty, about B.C. 1324–1219), and on the other side with part of a processional subject representing priests carrying a sacred bark, or *bari*, containing the shrine of a deity. The portrait sculpture of Rameses II belonged originally to that part of the Temple of

Bast which was restored by that king. When the building was re-edified, from four to five hundred years later by the Bubastite Kings (XXII dynasty, B.C. 993-847), Osorkon II caused this sculpture, with many others, to be cut into building blocks in order to erect a new hall, the faces of the sculptures being built into the walls, and the backs re-sculptured. This new hall, constructed entirely of red granite, was covered with an immense series of bas-relief processions of priests and deities, and represented a religious festival instituted by Osorkon II in honour of the God Amen.

Mr. McLINTOCK read a paper on "The New English Dictionary and some of its Predecessors." *

Mr. R. J. LLOYD, M.A., read a paper on "First Steps in Dictionary Making, illustrated mainly by the word "High" and its compounds." †

* See page 151.

† See page 167.

PAPERS READ.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE—THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.

By JAMES BIRCHALL,

PRESIDENT.

IN the former Address which I had the honour of delivering from this chair, some features in the development of our institutions and political ideas were presented to show that a knowledge of history, more particularly that of the Middle Ages, is essential to an intelligent comprehension of contemporary politics. My address, this evening, has the same end in view; but, instead of furnishing another series of illustrations, I shall confine myself to one question only—a question which has within recent years assumed a large figure in public discussion, and before long will press for an answer. Church and State—what should be their respective positions and mutual relations? No problem within the range of history and politics is easier to state, or more difficult to solve, and as a student of history which presents men, societies and systems as they are and not as they should be, I shall not attempt the task.

When Church and State were first allied as independent organisations, the evils and dangers inherent in the union were not perceived by its promoters. The world was without any experience of such a scheme, and no one entertained the remotest idea of the antagonism that would inevitably follow the alliance of two powers claiming control within the same limits, one of which, from its very nature, was bound to assert supreme dominion over the other.

Sceptre and crozier clashing, and the mitre
Grappling the crown.

Subsequent history has familiarised the idea to modern thought, and it is to some of the more remarkable phases of the conflict which resulted during the Middle Ages that I invite your attention in this Address. The subject is vast, and its largeness has grown upon me since I began the study of it. What was originally contemplated for one paper must, therefore, for justice' sake, extend itself to others. At present, our attention shall be confined to the relations which existed between the Church and the Empire in medieval Europe, and, with your permission, and that of time and health, the growth of national churches in France and England, and the conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in both countries shall be brought before the Society's consideration in due course.*

Among the nations of Oriental antiquity, religious systems were purely local. Their deities were gods of the hills and gods of the valleys, of the land and of the sea—and, even among the highest and most cultured people, the supreme object of their adoration was, in popular conception, a national deity only, whose favour or displeasure brought success or misfortune—whose revelations were received as commands for the direction of all public undertakings. Religious feelings were keen among these nations, and fidelity to their deity was a form of patriotism. Under the Hebrews, for example, devotion to Jehovah was the measure

* The text of this Essay has been so closely interwoven with the materials of an extensive and elaborate series of notes from the authorities consulted, that it would be tedious to cite the references on every occasion. It will be sufficient, therefore, to state that Gibbon's *History* and Milman's *Latin Christianity* have been used for the main course of the story, and that glosses and interpretations have been drawn from Dr. Stubbs' *Lectures* and his *Constitutional History*, from Freeman's *Lectures and Essays*, Lilly's *Chapters in European History*, Guizot's *Lectures on Civilisation*, Kitchin's *History of France*, Lecky's *Morals and Rationalism*, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, and, more than all, from Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*. To these, and other sources of information, I desire to express my obligations.

of their national prosperity. All the traditions of their religion were identified with splendid national triumphs—all the vicissitudes of their national career fixed in their minds the perfect oneness of their Church and State. Their human king ruled solely by the favour and gift of their Divine King, and, on solemn festivals, he performed the duties of both the priestly and the kingly office. It was this ancient system of theocracy which suggested to the early advocates of toleration the doctrine that it is the duty of every nation, in its national capacity, to adopt some one form of religious belief, and to act upon its precepts with the consistency expected from an individual. This theory, still accepted in many countries, has been most successfully assailed in England and France, where the intellectual and political tendencies of the age have had the greatest influence. In England, the disestablishment movement is in progress—in France, there has been no recognition of a State religion since 1830.

Passing from the Oriental systems to the simple organisations of Greece and early Rome, we find the same worship of local deities—religion is a mere function of the State, and civic patriotism is blended with religious feeling, as with the Jew. But there was this difference. While the patriotism of the Jew was wholly concerned for the national worship, as the great end of all effort and self-sacrifice—the highest object of devotion to the Greek and the Roman was the welfare of the State; religion was left to the care of the civil magistrate, as pertaining to his office and duty.

When the Roman republic fell beneath the Cæsars, and all power and political action were centred in the Emperor, the like responsibility devolved upon him, and religious worship also fell under his control. He was Pontifex Maximus—the supreme head of all cults, and the final

arbiter of the moral law. Jove might reign in heaven, but Cæsar was the deity on earth below.

The conversion of the Emperor to Christianity was not considered to affect these high claims to moral and ecclesiastical rule. Neither Constantine nor any of his immediate successors abdicated the office which gave them the supreme direction of religious worship, and, although Gratian refused to wear the pontifical robe of the head of the priestly college, he retained the title to signify that his attachment to the Christian faith had not divested him of any imperial prerogative, and that he was as capable of giving laws to the Church as the pagan emperors had been to direct the sacrifices of the Olympian Jove.

But the Church was an institution vastly different to the heathen cults and philosophies which she had overthrown. She attributed her doctrines and principles directly to divine revelation. She claimed to be a kingdom whose fealty in all spiritual concerns was entirely due to another king than Cæsar. She had her own peculiar and special jurisprudence by which she ruled, condemned or absolved her subjects in complete independence of the secular authority. The services of her altars were entrusted to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, who, unlike the priests and flamens of the heathen cults, formed a distinct caste apart from the laity; and she accounted the meanest of her deacons as more honourable in spiritual rank than the Emperor himself.

On the other hand the existence of such a perfectly constituted society, governed by its own hierarchy, and having its own peculiar rules and traditions, was inimical to the theory of the Empire, that no organisation, distinct from itself, could exist within its limits. It was this hostility between the two, more than any conflict as to faith or doctrine, which had brought upon the Christians their bitterest

persecutions. Spiritual and temporal interests had never before divided mankind into adverse camps, and the genius of Christianity was adverse to their union. It was doubtless felt that the alliance of the Church with the Empire would contribute to its secularisation, alienate it from its primitive simplicity, and prevent it from ever rising to such a grand ideal as was set forth, for example, in Augustine's "*City of God*."

But the Church had already gone far from original righteousness. Pagan sentiments, traditions and practices, had been Christianised in order to win over the ignorant, and the philosophical interpretations of Neo-Platonism had been accepted to gain the intellectual. She was consequently torn asunder by fierce doctrinal controversies which her ecclesiastical discipline had not the power to suppress. Her political establishment removed the difficulty. The zealots of orthodoxy adjudged all means lawful for the suppression of heresy, and even the prerogatives of the pagan office of Pontifex Maximus were not contemned, if by them the true faith could be maintained. The determination of doctrine was thus forced upon the civil ruler. Heretical strife could only be appeased by general councils. The Emperor alone could summon these, and he alone could enforce their decisions by pains and penalties of his own. The Church thus fell into the irreconcilable contradiction of inflicting temporal punishments for spiritual offences, through the secular authority, and Roman citizens again beheld the spectacle of their chief magistrate exercising a dominant influence in religious affairs. Both Theodosius and Gratian in their edicts defined doctrines or ratified their definition, and declared and condemned heretics. Justinian went beyond all his predecessors. He ruled the Church like a Caliph, and his code regulated every detail of ecclesiastical life, worship, and discipline.

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This absolute supremacy of the sovereign law passed into the barbarian codes, modified, however, by the limitations of the royal power, and by the superstitious reverence in which the clergy were held by the newly converted tribes. Where the monarchy was strong, the temporal authority was scarcely less full and complete than it was under the Christian Emperors. Charles the Great, for example, in his imperial edicts, was at once the legislator of both Church and State. Another modification arose from the higher moral tone, the freer spirit, and the greater sense of justice, which made the Teutonic races so superior to the effete and corrupted Romans. In the Gothic kingdom of Italy, the earliest and not the least noble of the monarchies parcelled out of the Roman dominion, we find a marked contrast between the despotic and intolerant government of the Emperors, and the serene impartiality of the rule of Theodoric. Although he and his people had accepted the Arian form of Christianity he attempted nothing against the Catholic faith. The clergy of both Churches were treated with equal consideration, and the Pope with grave respect. They were employed indiscriminately in the business of the State, yet Theodoric maintained firmly and calmly his supremacy over all of them ; summoning them before his courts for all ordinary offences, and leaving them to their own tribunals for ecclesiastical misconduct. The overthrow of this kingdom, which thus set the earliest example of Christian toleration, was one of the greatest evils which happened to Italy, and from it may be traced all the misfortunes which fell upon that unhappy country throughout the whole course of its subsequent history.

The subjection of the Church, under the Roman Empire, was further seen in the disposal of ecclesiastical appointments. The right of election to bishoprics was originally vested in the clergy and laity of each episcopal city. According to the civil law, the Emperor was the perpetual and

indefeasible representative of the people. For this reason he began very early to claim the right as exclusively his own, exercising it in the first instance, when a vacancy occurred in the patriarchal sees. This interference was not recognized by the Church as legal. But ecclesiastical dignitaries were also civil magistrates, commissioned by the imperial government to discharge many important duties of a distinctly secular character. A bishop's office, especially in the large and opulent cities, was consequently sought rather for its worldly advantages than for any concern for spiritual interests, and secret corruption, as well as open violence, too often influenced the elections. It was therefore only reasonable that the supreme civil authority should have control over these appointments, and not only regulate the elections, but subdivide or re-arrange dioceses, and remove or translate bishops, as the combined interests of the Church and the Empire required. Such imperial encroachments upon the original liberties of the Church were, under the circumstances, practical safeguards against worse evils. The spiritual authority by its doctrinal contentions had lost public confidence—thoughtful men among the laity observed that it had no fixed rule of faith and practice, and the enlargement of a jurisdiction, whose action was certain and whose decisions were enforced, was received with general assent.

In the meantime, an ecclesiastical sovereignty was quietly and steadily growing up, destined to cope with all these assumptions, and eventually deprive the civil ruler of his domain in the moral and spiritual affairs of the world. We are not now concerned, except indirectly, with the growth of the Papacy. Let it suffice, then, to say that the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was the natural result of the conversion of the Emperor, and the acknowledgment of Christianity as the established religion of the State. It

was inevitable that the head of the emperor's religion, in his own imperial city, should become at once a great accredited functionary, and rise superior to his fellow-dignitaries in influence and authority. When schisms and religious factions had assumed the grave importance of State affairs, and could only be pacified by an appeal to the emperor, it followed that such an appeal would be referred to the metropolitan bishop for counsel and consideration, before action was taken; that the prelate of Rome should be regarded as the protector of the orthodox faith, and ultimately recognised as the spiritual head of all the churches. The removal of the seat of government from the Tiber to the Bosphorus confirmed this position. The Bishop of Rome then became the greatest personage in the city; and in the prostration of imperial rule after Alaric's invasion, it was manifest that he was the only durable authority left, superior to the senate. In this capacity, he acted as the unrecognised delegate of the Emperor, hardly inferior in rank to the exarch at Ravenna, though much more influential; and he maintained the bond between Rome and Constantinople until the iconoclastic controversy finally severed the Eastern and Western Churches.

While this quarrel was pending, the fierce Lombards, who had long coveted possession of the imperial city, made great advances towards their object. The peril was imminent, and demanded prompt measures; and the Pope, throwing aside all further concern for the Byzantine princes, who had given him no help against the invaders, summoned the Franks to his aid. The alliance then formed gave the Pope a province, and established him as a territorial sovereign. But it presently confronted him with a new Emperor, who maintained his temporal authority over the Church with a firmness not less than that of Theodosius or Justinian.

The coronation of Charles the Great, as emperor, has

given rise to many theories in explanation of what was undoubtedly a usurpation of the rights of the Byzantine monarchs. The circumstances of the time, however, are its justification. Imperial rule was already extinct in Northern Italy, and nominal only in other parts of the peninsula. None of the popes, for fifty years, had sought the confirmation of his election at Constantinople, and Christendom had no temporal head; for the Empress Irene had recently deposed and blinded her son, Constantine VI, and the throne was degraded. The senate and people of Rome had a more valid right to impose a master on the seat of empire than the heretical factions in Constantinople, and, as Charles already possessed the imperial power in reality, it was only fitting that he should be clothed with the outward dignity.

Four hundred years later, when the Popedom and the Empire were in mortal strife, three theories were propounded by the hostile parties. The Emperors regarded the crown as a conquest inherited from their great predecessor; Roman patriots upheld the ancient rights of the senate and people; and the Popes asserted that it was entirely in their gift as the vicegerents of God. None of these theories represented the matter fairly, and it would be more accurate to regard the coronation as the revival of the one sole and undivided empire before its separation into East and West, and the restoration of Rome as the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of the world. It was the source whence the doctrine was derived which lay at the foundation of the political system of mediæval Christendom; namely, that there was a temporal supremacy corresponding to the spiritual supremacy, and that, by this temporal supremacy, the Emperor was entitled to the allegiance of all other secular rulers, just as the Roman Pontiff claimed the allegiance of all ecclesiastical powers. The Church and the Empire were, by this view, two aspects of the one universal Christian

society: the divine and the human, the spiritual and the temporal. It was a perfect and self-consistent scheme of the union of Church and State, but its practical success depended upon a clear definition of the boundary between the spiritual and temporal sovereignties, and a perfect willingness on the part of both to rule the world as equals, while independent and supreme within their respective jurisdictions. This perfect harmony between the two powers implied, however, an amount of subordination scarcely compatible with freedom. Sacerdotalism, when represented by such minds as Hildebrand, Alexander, and Innocent, will exalt its own dignity, and demand the submission of the civil government.

Crowns must bow when mitres sit so high.

So, also, will Imperialism assert itself over all orders and conditions of men, when wielded by a Charles the Great, a Henry III, or Frederick II. There are only two alternatives—either the total separation of Church and State, which means the perfect equality and toleration of all forms of Christian faith and worship, each independent and self-supporting: or the union, in one and the same hand, of the direct control of all causes, spiritual and temporal. It is the conflict between the Popedom and the Empire for this direct control, that we have to consider in this discourse.

The latter alternative was the policy adopted by Charles the Great. Throughout his reign, he was an ecclesiastical, no less than a civil, ruler. He summoned and presided in all councils, and issued all canons and statutes in his own name. His imperial commissioners inspected and reported upon the conduct of bishops and abbots, as of nobles and knights—upon churches and monasteries, as upon castles and towns—defining the duties, settling the tenures, and determining the revenues. In the great council held at Frankfort, six

years before his imperial coronation, the clergy appeared for the first time as feudatories around the throne of their liege lord, with only a remote acknowledgement of their spiritual lord at Rome. As Emperor, it was his legitimate function to undertake the protection and control of the Church and the Holy See ; and, in a Capitulary enacted at Aachen, two years after his coronation, he enjoined all persons within his dominions, as well ecclesiastical as civil, to swear allegiance to him in this character of the sole absolute head of the Christian State.

The great emperor, however, had set up a theocracy which he alone could maintain. His son and successor, Lewis the Pious, lacked the strength to grasp the sceptre which had passed into his hands ; and he was equally unable to restrain either the turbulent feudal aristocracy, or the aggressive hierarchy. The latter had been advancing for some time far beyond the ancient boundaries of their order, and imperceptibly trespassing upon temporal ground. Even Charles himself unconsciously aided this movement. The Church was one of the means by which he consolidated his kingdom. While his lay subjects lived under their respective national laws, and were, in a legal sense, disunited, the Churchmen were an organised body, bound together by one code applicable throughout all the imperial dominions. Ranking with the aristocracy, they still retained that sympathy for the old inhabitants, which the Latin clergy had always shown for the vanquished race. This double relation, combined with their intellectual skill and higher intelligence, qualified them, in the Emperor's estimation, as the most suitable instruments for his reforms, and the best counterpoise to the reckless violence of the lay chieftains. He accordingly attached them to himself, by the grant of many privileges and immunities, and permitted and encouraged the growth of their power. They, in turn, looked up to him

as their friend and patron, from whose generous hand fell high places, rich abbeys, and powerful bishoprics. But when the strong hand of their master was withdrawn, all this wealth and influence, which had been given them for the public weal, was turned to their own aggrandisement. The old Latin hierarchy, grown effete and dissolute, had now died away. A sterner race had stepped into their benefices—Teutons—men of royal or noble birth, remarkable for ability, devotion, and asceticism, and bent upon the augmentation of their power, their wealth, and their immunities. These fierce ecclesiastics laughed at control. They aspired to be co-legislators in the diets, and sole legislators in the synods. They openly declared it to be their purpose to constitute themselves a separate caste, independent of the State, and superior to the Crown. Even kings, they asserted, were not exempt from that general obedience enjoined by the Apostle. In the Diet of Aachen, held in the third year of the reign of Lewis the Pious, they succeeded in wrenching from the civil power a great part of its control over spiritual preferments. Bishops were again to be elected by the clergy and commonalty, and abbots by the brotherhood of monks, without any intervention of the crown; and the whole property of the Church was declared to be under their indefeasible, irresponsible administration. This extraordinary growth of the higher sacerdotal orders, who

Climb'd the throne, and almost clutch'd the crown,

spread in all the feudal kingdoms, and the foundation was then laid of those princely national churches in France and Germany, which, while acknowledging subordination to the see of Rome, soon began to assert their local independence, to pay little heed to its authority, and in their synods not unfrequently to ignore its pretensions.

By the end of the ninth century the great Frankish dominion was broken up into separate kingdoms, and the Popedom, as well as the Empire, was thrown into confusion. The crown of the West became a prize for contending princes of different dynasties and countries, now of Italy, now of Germany, now of Gaul. Authority everywhere was transitional, uncertain, and fluctuating, and none of the sovereigns who obtained the imperial office was qualified to enforce its claims, or impart to it any settled character.

The supreme spiritual dignity of Christendom lay at the disposal of the factious rabble of its capital; the most revolting scenes disgraced the elections; the pontiffs were of infamous reputation; and it was only reverence for the chair of St. Peter that preserved to the Popedom any semblance of authority. Western Christendom was at length roused into indignation and alarm, and Otto the Great, King of Germany, who had extended and consolidated his dominions, and was at the time the greatest sovereign in Europe, descended into Italy with an overpowering force, restored order, and was crowned King of Italy and Emperor.

This assumption of the imperial crown by the German king was the true beginning of the Holy Roman Empire of Medieval Europe; and from this time, all the ideas, traditions, and beliefs which men attached to that remarkable institution, assumed a clear and definite form. Henceforth the Empire was always associated with the German kingdom, and the connexion brought many grave consequences to both. This is not the place to follow out these consequences in detail, but it may be noted in passing that the union was the primary cause of all the divisions which, for centuries, prevented the amalgamation of the German people into one nationality.

Under Otto, Germany was to a large extent moved by a single will; his father, Henry the Fowler, had laid deep the

foundations of royal power, and he had erected thereon a monarchy which was strong and well organised, in comparison with contemporary France under Hugh Capet, or the England of Ethelred II. The imperial dignity, with all its solemn associations and its claims to absolute and universal obedience, seemed to strengthen this power, and to give the German king a higher claim to rule than what could be derived from feudal rights and customs. And at first its operation was in this direction ; for the sovereigns naturally put forward their higher titles, and, growing adverse to the feudal polity, attempted to reduce local independence and assimilate the various races throughout their vast territories. It was Otto who welded the aggregation of German tribes into one political body ; they began to call themselves by the common name of "Deutsch ;" and they now showed the first indications of a consciousness of national life which never died out. But, nevertheless, the imperial crown was a fatal gift, which dazzled the vanity of the kings, and enticed them away from their duties at home. They were absent from their native land for years together, engaged in struggles beyond the Alps, when their energies should have been concentrated on the interests of their kingdom ; and, more than all, they were drawn into a conflict with the Popedom which undermined, and ultimately overthrew their authority. The great vassals took advantage of all these things to usurp rights which the sovereign was unable to recover, and at length compelled to confirm. Thus grew up those numerous independent principalities in Germany, which disintegrated the monarchy and almost annihilated every hope of national unity. Another evil also resulted. Otto's coronation gave a more favourable opening to the now strongly developed claims of the spiritual power than had been offered since the foundation of the Teutonic empire. Like the great Charles, he was summoned to Rome by the

Pope, and swore to protect the Holy See and the liberties of the church. In pursuance of this oath, he considered it to be his duty and interest to imitate the policy of Charles by elevating the importance of the prelates, and endowing them with large estates, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and other sovereign rights to counterbalance the power of the great feudal princes. So long as the church and the empire were at peace, and the Popedom dependent, as it was under Otto and his successors for the next hundred years, the evils of this policy were not felt; the hierarchy upheld the imperial authority, and their influence was unquestionably, on the whole, more beneficial than that of the rough, secular nobility. But when the Empire and the Popedom were placed in conflict, they obeyed the authority which had the most sacred claims on their loyalty, and wrought the ruin of the power that had raised them, more than any one of its open foes.

The reign of Otto was all too brief for the permanent establishment of order south of the Alps. On his death, Italy relapsed into anarchy, and the Popedom into its violence and impurity, relieved only by the momentary brilliance of Otto III, and his learned and virtuous tutor, Gerbert, whom he raised to the chair.

Under these illustrious rulers, Church and State were, for a brief space, in perfect accord. It was a solemn and momentous period. The thousandth year of our Lord had arrived, and a deep and settled apprehension filled the minds of pious men that the second advent of Christ was at hand. The secular and ecclesiastical potentates, in Italy and Rome, were not disturbed by any such misgivings; but the young and visionary mind of Otto was fired with the design of opening out the new millenium with the foundation of a new empire, which should comprehend all Christian kingdoms as its provinces. Rome, again, should be the centre of the

world ; and, from the Eternal City, the two supreme powers, working harmoniously together, each in his separate sphere, should promulgate laws for the regeneration of mankind. The imperial dreamer was blind to the actual condition of the world before him : Germany rude, Italy restless, and Rome corrupt and faithless ; and, when an untimely fate put an end to his schemes, Italy and the Popedom once more fell back into their former wickedness and disorder.

For the next fifty years, the pontifical office became the sport of the turbulent patricians and fierce populace of Rome ; and again a deliverer came from Germany. The new vindicator of justice and order was the second Franconian Emperor, Henry III, under whom the Empire reached the meridian of its power. He had many of the best qualities of a sovereign ; was of an upright and resolute temper ; and being animated with deep religious feelings regarded the moral condition of the Church with serious concern. A disgraceful contest, in which three rival popes fought at the head of armed forces for the spiritual throne, had shocked even the reckless apathy of Italy, and Henry was solicited to interfere. He at once crossed the Alps, and summarily deposed them all. He then raised to the vacant chair the German Bishop of Bamberg, as Clement II, who crowned him emperor ; and, authorised by a council which granted to him and his successors the right of nominating future popes, he appointed three other German bishops in succession. All these pontiffs had been educated in the great abbey of Cluny, and were devout men and energetic administrators ; they restored, in great measure, the dignity and reputation of their office, and with them began a new era for the Church and the Popedom. But the earnestness with which Henry thus fulfilled what was regarded as the noblest duty of his imperial office, by reforming the Popedom and making the Church worthy of its mission, created grave

dangers for the State. The German nobles, no less than the Italians, were alarmed at his encroachments; the long degradation of the Holy See had only suspended, not extinguished, the policy marked out by former able pontiffs; and, it was quite improbable that, when a pope of proud and independent spirit, like Hildebrand, occupied the chair of St. Peter, he would be content to occupy a subordinate position. Henry did not live to see the reaction which his despotic, although severely just, rule produced. He passed away while still in the vigour of life, and the troubles, which might have been dangerous to himself, were destined to be fatal to his successor (Henry IV).

It is one of the marvels of medieval history that the Popedom survived the disgrace brought upon it by the odious and unchristian vices of its pontiffs. But in the opinion of that day, Christian faith was something quite apart from Christian morality. Religion had been narrowed to a mere assent to dogmatic truths, and an obedience to ceremonial observances. The vilest of sins was heresy. The incongruity, therefore, of a spiritual succession being maintained by irreligious men, and the sublime prerogatives of vicegerent of God, claimed by a pontiff who lived a profane life, did not present itself to that generation. Many pious souls, no doubt, were shocked and greatly offended by the spectacle, but these held the suppression of doubt and the support of the unity of the Church, under a divinely appointed head, to be the paramount duty of every Christian, and they waited patiently for the day of deliverance. A superstitious awe of the Holy See filled the minds of men of all ranks. Belief in its spiritual sovereignty had been the faith of Teutonic Christendom from the first conversion of the German tribes by St. Boniface; and, although Italians were too familiar with Vatican morality and the conduct of the Roman Curia to share in this veneration, they

were prompted, by national pride, to uphold the spiritual supremacy as a compensation for the loss of that imperial prestige which Rome had so long enjoyed. These influences, together with the innate vitality of the spiritual power, undoubtedly carried the Popedom through the long and dangerous ordeal from which it had happily escaped, and directed by a stern, unfaltering, and lofty spirit, it was now to enter upon that momentous struggle for supreme dominion, which was not to cease until the secular authority in the person of the Emperor was overthrown.

The Church had now been more or less subject to the Empire for over seven hundred years. Throughout a great part of this period she had been engaged in a desultory and intermittent strife with the temporal power, often asserting her independence, sometimes her supremacy; yet, always advancing to the realisation of those schemes which her pontiffs had planned for her ultimate ascendancy.

The first disputes turned on the respective jurisdictions of Pope and Emperor, and the limits of their mutual prerogatives. These jurisdictions and prerogatives were so conflicting in their nature—so indefinite—and involved in such endless perplexity, that it was plainly impossible to avoid a collision. Each was sovereign and subject at the same time. The Pope owed the Emperor temporal allegiance—the Emperor, as a son of the Church, was bound to render his spiritual father filial duty and submission. Each again claimed the right of confirming the election of his brother potentate, and also of pronouncing his deposition, with the sanction of a council. Without such confirmation, neither was considered to have a full legal title; and, in times of hostility, the Emperor did not scruple to set up an antipope, nor the Pope a rival emperor. When the Empire was strong, and the Popedom feeble, these adverse claims were held in restraint, but, no sooner were

the conditions reversed than their irreconcilable character at once became manifest. The right of the Emperor derived from Constantine and his successors was undeniable—it had received the sanction of papal decrees, and even Hildebrand did not ignore it. But it was jeopardised by the institution of the College of Cardinals, and the transference to this body of the sole rights of pontifical election, with such feeble reservation of the imperial prerogative that no pope, after the time of Hildebrand, thought of awaiting the assent of the Emperor before he was installed in the chair.

Papal elections thus being emancipated from popular and imperial control, Hildebrand, immediately after his enthronement in the spiritual sovereignty as Gregory VII, proceeded to put into operation the policy which had long been meditated, namely—the subjection of the Empire, and the erection of a vast spiritual autocracy like that prefigured by Augustine in the "*City of God*," wherein a new Rome should rise and rule the world by religion, and the Pope should be the only Cæsar, and the only arbiter among nations. The success of this scheme depended, in the first instance, upon the accomplishment of three sweeping reforms—the enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy, the extinction of simony, and the prohibition of lay investiture. By the first of these, Hildebrand contemplated the erection of the clergy into an absolutely separate caste, every member of which, sacrificing family and country for the sake of his order, would acknowledge no allegiance except that which was due to the Church. By the second, he attacked many grave dangers to which the Church was then exposed.

Everything in the feudal age had an hereditary tendency. Benefices, rank, occupations, descended from father to son, and a similar custom was gradually creeping into the Church, in consequence of the large number of married clergy who had, in too many instances, purchased the

preferments they transferred to their children. The higher dignities of the Church, which were professedly open to all men, irrespective of birth, were in danger of falling into the exclusive possession of certain distinguished families—nepotism threatened to become universal. The influential position of the clergy, their inordinate wealth, and their numerous privileges and immunities, had tempted men from all quarters, and with every kind of worldly motive, to enter holy orders. Spiritual dignities were degraded into mere offices of profit and reward. An impoverished sovereign sold them for the sake of revenue; an ambitious one conferred them upon his creatures as the recompense of servility. Even in Rome, everything had its price, and the papacy itself was notoriously bought and sold on several occasions. The Church was thus being rapidly secularised. Clerical duties threatened to sink into mere routine, and clerical morals to be no better than those of the laity. The spiritual character of the clergy was obscured by their employment as councillors of state, ministers of kings, governors of provinces. Bishops and abbots were practically laymen, invested in mitres and cowls; and it was said that prelates were better acquainted with the laws and usages of war than secular princes.

In the opinion of Hildebrand, the root of all these evils was Lay Investiture. If this source of abuse were removed, the property of the clergy, relieved from the bonds of feudalism, would become equally inviolable with their persons, and the entire spirituality, from the Pope down to the lowest ecclesiastical functionary, would be altogether independent of the civil authority.

Lay Investiture was too frequently used as a cloak for simony. At every act of promotion, grant, or enfranchisement, it was the feudal practice to make an offering to the sovereign or liege lord, and to give largesses to the people.

These donations, at first honorary and voluntary, were, in course of time, exacted as a customary tribute. In this way, the distribution of church patronage, by secular princes, afforded special facilities for the growth of the abuse, and it was here wherein the mischief lay, and not in the sovereign's right of control over fiefs. If the Church had been satisfied with the tithes and voluntary offerings of her congregations, the clergy would have been clear of the scandals which so flagrantly injured their sacred character. But, so long as they persisted in holding vast estates, they were bound by the laws which regulated those estates; and, so far, they were justly subject to the authority of the State. The Church, in short, had surrendered a part of her independence, in return for ample endowments, and the power they conferred. The claim of the feudal superior to demand homage from a bishop, when invested with the temporalities of his see was, consequently, only fair and reasonable. The expressions used in the ceremony were, of course, limited to his duty as a citizen, and could in no sense be extended to his priestly functions. But, unfortunately, the ring and crozier, the spiritual symbols of his office, were delivered to him in the ceremony, just as arms were handed to a military tenant; and, as the latter custom signified that the weapons were to be employed in the service of the lord, a similar construction might be placed upon the other. Obviously, this mode of granting investiture to a spiritual person tended to present the temporal lord as the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the sovereign as the virtual head of the Church in his own realm; and the only trace of a prelate's subordination to the spiritual head of the Church lay in the pallium conferred by the Roman pontiff. The advocates of the temporal power disavowed this view. They maintained that the sole intention of the ceremony was to make a bishop the tenant of his episcopal fiefs; and,

thereby guarantee to him, in return for homage, the protection of the civil power in the performance of his sacred functions. Thus interpreted, Lay Investiture was no more than the outward mark of allegiance, and the acknowledgment of the secular supremacy over the estate and its feudal obligations.

When we consider how easy of adjustment were the points at issue in the quarrel which presently followed, and how readily justice might have been satisfied, it is lamentable to think that the greater part of Western Christendom should have been convulsed by a long and bloody war, before a settlement could be effected. But the ostensible point in dispute was not the real object of the conflict. Gregory was resolved upon achieving, first, the total independence, and next, the complete ascendancy, of the Church over the Empire; and the battle was to be fought until one or the other power was absolutely subdued.

The time was opportune for the Church. Gregory, mature in age, was one of those rare men who, full of the courage of their convictions, are prepared to risk all consequences in the prosecution of their designs. The Emperor, young in years, had passed through a troublous minority, without being trained to the duties of his station, or in any knowledge of men and affairs. He was not without great qualities and high abilities; but these were only developed by his subsequent adversities; and in the earlier part of his reign, the gross irregularities of his life, his injudicious rule, and despotic treatment of the princes, gave such general offence that his subjects would have rejoiced at his deposition. The Empire was thus at the lowest state of weakness—the Popedom almost at the fulness of its strength—when Gregory threw down the gauntlet at the temporal power.

The first blow came in the form of a decree which

prohibited every married priest, and those who had obtained preferment by simony, to exercise the sacred ministry, and interdicted the laity from hearing their Mass. Clerical marriage was not held in general approval, while no one justified simony; the Emperor, accordingly, was not unwilling to enforce the mandate. But, in less than a year, the decree was followed up by the more famous fulmination against Investiture by laymen, which struck at the chief feudal tie that bound the vassals to the crown, and aimed a deadly blow at all secular authority. War was then inevitable.

At first, Henry was not in a position to resent the aggression. Hitherto he had treated the Pope with the greatest respect; and it was believed at the Vatican that his supposed feebleness of character, his general unpopularity, and a formidable revolt of the Saxons, against which he was doubtfully contending, would induce his submission to the decree. These anticipations were not realised. Henry quelled the revolt; the married clergy of Germany and Italy, a powerful body, expressed their determination to resist; and an outbreak in Rome, which endangered the Pontiff's life, shewed that Gregory was not quite secure himself, even in his own city. So the decree was ignored, and investitures were granted just as of old, without any concern for papal sanction or opinion. Gregory then despatched a conciliatory letter of remonstrance; but while his words were smooth and peaceful, he had war in his heart, and the letter was immediately succeeded by a peremptory summons to Henry to appear in Rome on a day named, to answer for all his offences before the papal tribunal. Confident in his strength, after his recent victory over the Saxons, Henry treated this summons with the contempt he had shewn for the decree; but instead of answering it at Rome, at the head of his legions, as some of his predecessors would have done,

he foolishly called a synod of German bishops at Worms, and pronounced Gregory's deposition. The answer was a "bull," excommunicating the German king, dethroning him, and releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance. From that moment, the whole of Germany, and a great part of Italy, were divided into two hostile parties, which, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines, in later times, kept the two kingdoms in a perpetual ferment for the next two hundred years. Henry's enemies openly accepted the papal sentence, and prepared for the election of a new sovereign; while his friends, awed by the superstitious dread of Rome, either wavered in their loyalty, or gradually left him to fight the battle alone. In this desperate strait, he felt that reconciliation with his formidable adversary could alone save his throne, and crossing the Alps in the depth of winter, accompanied only by a single knight, and the heroic wife who had clung to him in every trial, undeterred by his cruel indifference, he made that memorable and ignoble submission to the Pope, in the castle of Canossa, which is one of the most astounding events in the history of Europe. The humiliation of the temporal power was then complete, but the triumph of the Church was too sudden and premature. Gregory marred his cause with over-violence, and a strong feeling of indignation and disgust excited Germans and Italians alike. Henry soon found himself surrounded by those who had forsaken him; the German cities, led by Spire, Worms, and Liege, came to his aid; the rival king whom Gregory had set up was defeated and slain, and the war being carried into Italy, the Pope was driven from Rome, into exile among the friendly Normans of Apulia, where he died, an antipope meanwhile crowning Henry emperor.

The spirit which Gregory had communicated to the Popedom was not destined to expire with him; his policy

was continued by successors not less resolute, but more subtle and relentless, and these stirred up dissensions among the nobles, and revolts in the emperor's own household. His son, Conrad, was set up against him in Italy, and his favourite son, Henry, in Germany; and the latter at length dethroned his father, and succeeded to the crown. Paschal II, who had instigated and encouraged these unnatural revolts, thought to profit by the change. But he was bitterly mistaken; and the new sovereign, instead of surrendering the obnoxious prerogative, declared his resolution to maintain every right which had been exercised by his predecessors. When he passed into Italy, to be crowned at Rome, Paschal declined to perform the ceremony until he yielded, whereupon Henry seized both Pope and cardinals, and extorted their consent to a treaty which, in return for his surrender of investiture, withdrew from the church all the territorial possessions and royalties which had been granted to her in Germany and Italy since the days of Charles the Great.

This outrageous proceeding excited the indignation of the ecclesiastical world. To the prelates of Lombardy and Germany the treaty meant exclusion from the ranks of the great aristocracy, and from all their positions of influence and command in the diet, the court, and the camp. Confined to their cathedrals and dioceses, the clergy henceforth would be their only vassals; their sacred character their sole title to honour; their only revenues the tithes and voluntary oblations of the faithful. And while they incurred all this loss of outward show and temporal influence, the two principals in the treaty sustained no diminution of their privileges and prerogatives. The Pope still remained a temporal prince, with all the powers of a sovereign—the Emperor, enriched with the lands of the church, was freed from the salutary check of the great ecclesiastical feudatories. Such

an unjust agreement as this bore its own condemnation, and Paschal, once set free, retracted his consent. Hostilities then broke out afresh, and were protracted for ten years, when all parties became weary of a strife which it was felt ought to be settled by mutual concessions. The outcome of this feeling was the Concordat of Worms, concluded in 1122. By this compromise the Emperor limited investiture to the touch of the sceptre, and granted to the clergy free election of bishops, on condition that the proceedings took place in his presence, or that of his commissioners. The strife between the Church and the Empire thus closed had continued for nearly fifty years. Germany had been wasted by civil war, and Italy ravaged by repeated invasions. One Emperor had been reduced to the lowest degradation, and more than one Pope exposed to personal insult. The end of all this was apparently a drawn battle—but the advantage was really on the side of the Holy See. It had secured its independence of the empire, and its general authority was immeasurably higher than when the quarrel began. The question of supremacy yet remained to be fought out—the Emperor still received his crown from the sacred Pontiff, but in what capacity had never been clearly defined. The contest for this now demands our attention.

By the constitution of Charles the Great, the Transalpine hierarchy owned no superior above the Emperor. Papal schisms, conflicts with Italian foes, and the incessant tumults of the Roman citizens, kept the Popedom in subjection to the temporal power. As long as the empire preserved its unity, this ascendancy continued. But when the sons of Lewis the Pious waged those endless wars which produced repeated partitions of the imperial dominion, there existed no government strong enough to maintain the law; and the Church felt that its vast wealth and estates were a source of danger in such a lawless time.

The erection of an authority which could enforce general respect and overawe the turbulent was an absolute necessity. It was probably this conviction that suggested the *False Decretals*—the object of Pope Nicholas I, who now published them, being to strengthen the ecclesiastical power, and show by the testimony of ancient documents and venerable tradition, that Rome had been the immemorial court of appeal, and her bishops the sole legislative and administrative authority in the Church. From this time the nature, extent, and attributes of the papal sovereignty were more clearly set forth, and that centralising process began by which the Roman Pontiff grew into the supreme head of Christendom. Hadrian II, the successor of Nicholas, hastened to bring the principles of this new code into practical application. On the death of Lothair, he claimed the right of bestowing the crown on the Emperor Lewis. It was an imprudent attempt. The haughty feudal hierarchy of the Franks was not disposed to accept such a bold extension of papal prerogative. In the miserable civil wars just referred to, they had themselves awarded empire, and deposed kings. They resented Italian intrusion as an impertinence, flatly telling Hadrian that he could not be at once “universal pope and universal king.” Hadrian’s successor, however, John VIII, persisted in the claim; and, at the coronation of Charles the Bald, he used language which represented the Empire as a grant from the Holy See: it was not an hereditary dignity, but a gift from heaven, conveyed at the will of the Pope, as the Vicegerent of God. The title of Charles being questionable, he was willing enough to receive coronation on any terms, but subsequent popes never dared to address to his Saxon and Franconian successors language which he was too feeble to resent, and the pretension was held in reserve for the first convenient opportunity. This occurred under the English

Pope Hadrian IV, when the redoubtable Barbarossa wielded the imperial sceptre with a more resolute force than had been experienced since the rule of Charles the Great.

This illustrious hero of German legend and romance entertained the same views of the Empire as Hildebrand did of the Popedom—his power was derived from God alone, and no Christian potentate, not excepting the Pope himself, was either his equal or superior. Hadrian's conceptions of his own dignity were quite as lofty, and his spirit and courage equal to their enforcement. It was he who sanctioned the English invasion of Ireland, on the novel and extraordinary plea that all islands were the exclusive property of St. Peter, disposable at the will of his successor. Two such potentates as these were thus bound to come into collision on the question of their respective prerogatives, even if there had been no other grounds of dispute between them.

The latter were mostly connected with the sovereignty of Italy, where imperial authority had always stood lower than in Germany, and rested entirely on force. From the time of Otto the Great, the rich and populous cities of Lombardy had been gradually acquiring a kind of semi-independence, not disputing the King's sovereignty, but paying little regard to his officials, and managing their affairs by their own elected magistrates. The large majority of their clergy were married, and, consequently, opposed to Hildebrand's reforms, for which reason, they assisted the Emperor in the contest about Investitures; but rather as allies than subjects, for they soon after went over to his enemies, induced by papal envoys to resist any further interference with their affairs from beyond the Alps. The Popes were already aiming at the liberation of Italy from all rulers except themselves. They were the suzerains of the Normans in the South, and the patrons of the municipalities in the North; and, in order to carry out still further the scheme of temporal

dominion, Hadrian now demanded from the Emperor, the restitution of the Tuscan territories, which the Countess Matilda, the firm friend and ally of Hildebrand, had bequeathed to the Popedom. He was also bent upon obtaining the sole and uncontrolled government of the city of Rome, where he had just restored the authority of the pontiffs, after a long and dangerous rebellion.

Twenty years, or more, before Hadrian's accession, the spirit of freedom had been roused among the citizens by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of the celebrated Abelard, who excited all Lombardy by the eloquent and vigorous discourses he delivered in his native city, denouncing the ambition of the priesthood, their wealth, and their temporal power. All the clergy, he said, from the Pope down to the lowest priest, should return to their primitive and apostolic poverty, sustained only by the tithes and first-fruits of the people. Their lands and royalties should at once be secularised and revert to the civil power, which should be supreme over all, clergy and laity alike: but, that sovereign power should reside with a popular assembly, and not with an Emperor. These revolutionary doctrines greatly alarmed the bishop and nobles, and the wealthier clergy, and Arnold was condemned and banished. In a few years he again appeared in Rome, where the citizens had thrown off the temporal authority of the Pope, and set up a commonwealth with patrician, consuls, and senate. This republic had passed through a fitful career of ten years, at the accession of Hadrian, and it was then demanded that he should confirm the free constitution so established. His refusal brought on a tumult, in which a cardinal was slain. The city was then laid under an interdict, and Arnold was again driven into exile; but, he subsequently fell into the hands of the Emperor, was given up to the vengeance of the Pope, and burnt alive.

Such was the condition of Rome and Northern Italy when Barbarossa crossed the Alps, filled with the lofty ideas of that absolute sovereignty which the civil lawyers had taught him, and inflexibly determined to enforce his imperial rights to the utmost extent of his power.

The Lombard municipalities were not prepared to resist such a formidable and imposing force as now swarmed over their plains, and the Emperor, after receiving the iron crown at Pavia, advanced southwards with slight interruption. Hadrian had observed all his movements with jealous apprehension, but resolved withal to maintain his rights and dignity. When he came out from Rome to meet the Emperor, the latter showed no disposition to render the homage which Lothair had made, by holding the stirrup as the Pope alighted from his palfrey, and a dispute arose which ended in imperial submission, but only for the moment.

The coronation over, and his imperial authority in the peninsula thus solemnly acknowledged, Barbarossa retired beyond the Alps, and Hadrian, relieved from his presence, resumed his communications with the cities and the Normans of Sicily, which had for their object Italian independence of German rule.

An open rupture presently broke out at the Diet of Besançon, in 1157, where the Emperor held his court with unusual splendour, in order to add greater pomp to the assertion of his sovereignty over the kingdom of Burgundy. This display of the magnificence of empire was destined to be rudely marred. The papal legates who attended the diet, presented letters in which Hadrian expostulated with Barbarossa on some slight grievance, and urged him to show himself more worthy of the kindness of his mother, the Church, which had given him the imperial crown, and would confer on him "greater benefits" if possible. This ambigu-

ous phrase "*majora beneficia*" was taken in its feudal sense by the fierce magnates present, and they supposed it to mean that the Pope regarded the empire as a fief or benefice held from himself. Such of the nobles as had been at Rome, remembered the arrogant lines which had been inscribed beneath the picture of the Emperor Lothair at the feet of the Pope, doing homage as a vassal.* This inscription, and the general insolence which pervaded Hadrian's letters, confirmed their interpretation of the obnoxious words. Indignant murmurs broke from the assembly; and their wrath was exasperated by one of the legates rashly exclaiming: "From whom then, if not from our lord the Pope, does your king hold the empire?" On which, Otho of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine, was with difficulty prevented from cleaving the skull of the audacious priest. The authority of the Emperor appeased the tumult; but he issued a spirited appeal to the nation, and revenged the insult by absolutely prohibiting all German ecclesiastics to visit Rome on any business whatever. The loss of revenue to the Holy See caused by this measure, together with the remonstrances of the German bishops, who were now princes more than churchmen, obliged Hadrian to explain away the offensive expression, and remove the picture.

The quarrel was renewed soon after by other causes, and came to centre round the Pope's demand for the sole government of Rome, independent of imperial control. Barbarossa's emphatic refusal elicited a threat of excommunication and another expostulation, in which he was reminded of a time when the Germans had not as yet the empire—that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Teutons—that the king of the Teutons was no more than a king until the Pope consecrated him Emperor, and that what the Pope

* *Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores
Post homo fit Papæ sumit quo dante coronam.*

thus gave he could take away. This language was not calculated to soften a temper like that of Barbarossa, and in his rejoinder he scornfully referred to the humble relation which the Roman bishop held to Constantine, and declared that all the Popes possessed had come from the gracious liberality of his predecessors. An open declaration of war would have followed upon this, if Hadrian had lived ; and he had already prepared for hostilities by a secret treaty with Milan and her allied municipalities, which bound themselves to make no peace with the Emperor without the consent of the Roman pontiffs.

The inevitable war burst out immediately after his death. The election of his successor was conducted amidst unseemly violence and levity—the Imperialists declared Victor IV duly elected—the Churchmen, Alexander III (the legate who risked his life by his dauntless language at Besançon), and a conflict began, momentous for the empire, which lasted for twenty years. This conflict, although apparently between rival Popes, was in reality a final effort on the part of the secular monarch to recover his command of the priesthood—like the contemporary, but more limited conflict, between Henry Plantagenet and Thomas à Becket. If Alexander had not been supported by the Lombard league, all his genius and resolution could not have saved him from the Emperor ; as it was, he was compelled to take refuge in France for three years. But the German hosts, in front of Rome, were suddenly swept off the earth by a pestilence. Barbarossa subsequently suffered a signal defeat at Legnano from the forces of the Lombard Republics, and the grand project, to which the mightiest prince of his time had devoted all the energies of his life, was utterly annihilated. Pope and Emperor then accepted the mediation of Venice—and the temporal lord of the world bent himself in homage to its spiritual lord, under the portico of St. Mark.

In that temple porch
(The brass is gone, the porphyry remains)
Did Barbarossa fling his mantle;
And, kneeling, on his neck receive the foot
Of the proud Pontiff—thus at last consoled
For flight, disguise, and many an anguish shake
On his stone pillow.

But, although so signally humiliated, the resources of Barbarossa were not exhausted; nor was his indomitable spirit quelled. His submission was only a form. He relaxed none of his authority over the affairs of the Church; the Tuscan territories were still unrestored, and he now prepared for future contingencies by the marriage of his son with the heiress of Sicily, and so annexing that kingdom to the Empire. This transaction, regarded by him as a master-stroke of policy, proved fatal to the Empire. The Popes were already the feudal lords of this Norman kingdom, and in the wars which Frederick II afterwards waged against the Popedom, the Emperor's position, as King of Sicily, placed him in the light of a vassal resisting his lawful suzerain. This deprived him of moral support in an age wherein princes were eager to show that law and right justified their quarrels; while his material forces were distracted by contentions at many distant points.

The struggle between this greatest of the Hohenstaufen princes and the Popedom was the last mortal conflict between the two powers. It arose out of no specific point in dispute; the contest was solely and avowedly for the supremacy. Frederick's views were as imperious and autocratic as those of the haughtiest churchman. The Empire and the Church were equally sacred in his estimation; the ban of the one ought to be held in equal awe with the excommunication of the other; disloyalty to the Emperor was as heinous a sin as infidelity to the Church;

rebellion and usurped independence, like that of the Lombard republics, were political heresy, not less punishable than the spiritual offence. The character of Frederick was such as appeared able to maintain these views, and to achieve and perpetuate the vast design he had formed of a universal monarchy, hereditary in his house. Himself a poet, philosopher, and linguist, he was the generous patron of arts and letters, and men called him the "Wonder of the world." His ideas of government went far beyond those of his own day with regard to equal justice, the toleration of adverse creeds, and the promotion of commerce and peace. But he was an anachronism, and, with all his high abilities and noble qualities, he accomplished little of lasting importance. While his resources were wasted in a long conflict with the Lombard cities, and in defence of his kingdom of Sicily, his long absences from Germany gave the princes abundant opportunity for seizing one royal right after another; and, in the end, he was compelled to confirm them in the sovereignties they had usurped, reserving to himself no more than a nominal superiority. Imperial jurisdiction then became limited to the Emperor's own hereditary territories and the cities dependent on the crown; Denmark, Poland, and Hungary fell away from their allegiance; Burgundy was absorbed by France; Italy and Sicily no more acknowledged a German master. The Empire never recovered itself after this, and, so far from being able to look down on the Papedom, it was too feeble to maintain itself even on an equal footing.

No emperor, since the time of Henry III, had now exercised the right, then undisputed, of naming or confirming the election of the successor of St. Peter. On the contrary, the pontiffs had excommunicated and deposed emperor after emperor, and, although the sentence of deposition did not result in any practical effect, the preten-

sion was maintained, and by none more than Innocent III, under whom the Popedom reached the culmination of its power. In the ten years' civil war between rival emperors, that preceded the accession of Frederick II, this able pontiff assumed the further right of revising the imperial elections, and rejecting any prince elected whom he judged to be unsound—impatient, that is, of priestly control. Both competitors for the throne had sought his intervention; and, in an oration to their ambassadors, before a full consistory of Cardinals, he took occasion to proclaim the absolute supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, reviewing the whole of the Old Testament in support of his assertions, and concluding with a repetition of the papal version of the "Translation of the Empire" which had so sharply irritated Barbarossa.

The ascendancy of the Church over the Empire was now unquestioned, and Albert of Austria completely humbled himself before Boniface VIII, swore fealty to him, and acknowledged that all his authority was derived from the Holy See.

A patriotic feeling was at length stirred within the sluggish bosoms of the Germans, by the exactions and shameless subservience to France of the papal court at Avignon. Lewis IV., of Bavaria, having acted as king of the Romans, without papal sanction, was called upon to surrender his dignity, and present himself at Avignon to receive sentence. His bold refusal to obey the summons, or to acknowledge that his rank and power were derived from any one save the electors, brought upon his head the usual bull of excommunication and sentence of deposition. But papal thunders had now lost their terrors in Germany, and, indeed, throughout Christendom. The days were gone when "the Gregories could tread the kings, their children, under heel." The religious orders, which had been the

main pillars of the Popedom under Innocent III, began to shew signs of insubordination, and the Fratricelli, or Spiritual Franciscans, who now seceded from the general body, under sterner vows of poverty and self-denial, proclaimed that their object in this secession was, to protest against the luxury and appalling degeneracy of the papal court at Avignon. These zealous reformers possessed a strong hold on the popular mind, and throughout Germany were the staunchest allies of the Emperor. While they were inflaming the populace with denunciations of papal ambition, arrogance and wealth, men of learning created no little sensation in the universities, by the fearlessness and acuteness with which they brought the dialectics and the new philosophical tenets of the schools to bear on the whole question of pontifical authority. Dante, the poet, in his *De Monarchia*, had then but recently shown that the Roman monarchy was held directly from God and not from any pope assuming to be his vicar. In his conception, a universal monarchy was necessary for the peace and welfare of the world. This monarchy was not a sacerdotal empire—that had ignominiously failed—but a dominion in which liberty was combined with justice; wherein the sovereign was not a despotic, but a constitutional, ruler, administering the Roman law, and leaving all the nations and the free Italian cities in full possession of their rights, and their old municipal institutions. Yet, while an emperor was needed to preserve universal peace, and be supreme in all that pertained to the secular world; so, also, was it necessary that mankind should be directed by a supreme Pontiff in all things that concerned their spiritual interests. Each supremacy should be co-ordinate, and rigidly confined to its own sphere. But since earthly things are subordinate to heavenly, so should Cæsar show reverence to the Head of the Church; not as a subject, but with the filial duty which a son owes to his father.

The controversy was now taken up by Marsilio of Padua, who discussed, in his great work, *The Defender of Peace*, the origin, principles, and limits of government, and of sacerdotal authority; and mercilessly exposed the hollowness of every papal pretension. More than all, William of Ockham, the famous English Schoolman, and one of the Emperor's counsellors, shook the hierarchy by the audacity with which he asserted the supreme rights of the temporal sovereign, and the boldness with which he refused to acknowledge in the Pope any authority whatever in secular affairs.

Every class of society in Germany was thus being roused into opposition; the princes, all the higher clergy, and the wealthier monks were in sympathy with the barefooted Franciscans; the cities, now filled with an industrious and intelligent democracy, were all with the Emperor; and the Pope, it was said, had but two adherents left among the whole of the German episcopacy. Resistance to Italian priestcraft became, in short, the test of Teutonic patriotism; and this new feeling showed itself unmistakably in the famous meeting of the electoral princes of the Empire, held at Rense, near Coblenz, in the summer of 1388. These magnates then solemnly declared that the Imperial dignity was derived from God alone; that it was by their choice the sovereign obtained his title of King and Emperor, and that he did not need the approbation, confirmation, or authority of the Apostolic See. In the same summer, the Diet, at Frankfort, confirmed this declaration, and passed it as a fundamental law of the Empire; and they further declared, that it was lawful for the Emperor to assume his full titles before he received his imperial crown from the Pope. Similar sentiments dictated the reforms of Constance in 1415; and the Empire might have risen again to something of its ancient dignity, if it had been ruled by princes equal to the occasion, and able to profit by the altered tone of public

opinion. But Lewis of Bavaria, in whose behalf these spirited protests of his States had been made, was constantly vacillating between the most haughty defiance of the Pope, and the meanest submission; and the Hapsburg sovereign, Frederick III, guided by his secretary, the famous Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II, not only supported the Pope in opposing the reforms of the Council of Basle, but concluded with him the Concordat of Vienna, which restored to the Apostolic See all the rights that council had taken from it, and again gave it authority over the Empire.

At length came the Reformation, and an end of all the relations which had created so much strife and bitterness for well-nigh five hundred years. By the great medieval theory, the limits of Church and State were exactly co-extensive. Within these limits there could be only one Church and one Christian state, and every man, as a member of the one, was by consequence a citizen of the other. As the temporal head of this Christian state, the Emperor was invested with a religious character, and at his coronation he went through a form of religious consecration. Besides the sword, globe, and sceptre, the symbols of temporal power, he received a ring as the symbol of faith; he was ordained a subdeacon, assisted in the celebration of mass, and partook of the communion in both kinds like the priesthood. Furthermore, he was bound by oath to cherish and defend the Holy Roman Church; and the title which constituted his highest claim to the reverence of the faithful was that of "Defender and Advocate of the Christian Church." But when one half of his subjects withdrew from the Roman communion, and consequently from allegiance to him as its Protector, and yet acknowledged their obedience to be due to him as the supreme civil magistrate, the Emperor was placed in a curiously contradictory position. Rebels against him as Christians, they were loyal subjects as citizens; and only

those whose Church he was sworn to defend rendered him double obedience. It was, therefore, impossible for the Emperor to assume a perfectly impartial position towards his subjects. His imperial oath imposed upon him the duty of associating himself with the Catholics; and from being the head of the whole state, he became the chief of a party within it. Nor was this all. For seven hundred years, the Emperor had been recognised as the head of Christendom. The acknowledgment of his suzerainty, it is true, was more sentimental than real; still it existed, and had considerable political influence, notwithstanding that Europe had been broken up into hostile nationalities, which endangered the cherished scheme of a united Christian state. But the bonds which had held these politically disconnected states in one great spiritual communion were now rent asunder; the supreme imperial authority was rejected, equally with that of the pontifical, by the Protestants of every Christian kingdom; and the position of the Emperor again, in this wider sphere, was inconsistent with the actual condition of affairs. The effects of the formidable religious revolt of the sixteenth century thus very seriously affected the empire, both at home in Germany, and in its shadowy dominion throughout Europe. Instead of one Christian state, with one Church, there were now several Christian states, and two, if not three, Churches. This remarkable revolution was fully recognised in the famous treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the long Reformation struggle in Germany. The State then ceased to interfere with the religious convictions of its subjects. The Emperor could no more bind himself by oath to defend the Catholic Church; and although only the three creeds—Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism—were formally recognised, toleration in the largest sense was virtually conceded, and the principle established, once for all, that the temporal power had no legitimate

authority within the domain of conscience. From this time, the Empire ceased to exist, except in name, even in Germany. All the principles, by virtue of which it had lived through so many ages, were entirely gone. The new constitution recognised as citizens those who were the bitterest enemies of the Holy Roman Church, yet who, by the original doctrine being out of spiritual communion, should have been placed under the ban of the Empire, and declared excommunicate. The sovereignty of Rome was thus abolished—it was divorced from the empire, and the medieval theory of Church and State at last exploded.

Meanwhile the Popedom itself had fallen from its high estate. The growing spirit of nationality had undermined its authority, as it had that of the Empire. Strong monarchies and national churches had grown up, in the most important countries outside the territorial limits of the Empire; and they were not disposed to yield submission to any alien authority. While Hildebrand lorded it over the Empire, he was constrained to be courteous and conciliatory to England. Even the sainted Louis IX of France, a loyal son of the Church, not only discountenanced the unholy strife between the two supreme chiefs of Christendom, but positively refused to make war against the Empire, and denied the Pope's claim to the deposition of kings. Supported by his barons, he also issued the Pragmatic Sanction of 1268, which virtually secured the liberties of the Gallican Church against the encroachments of Rome. A strenuous effort was made by Boniface VIII to restore the waning authority of his chair. But the duties of his office now required the cool and penetrating wisdom of the statesman, and sagacity to perceive the tendencies of the age. The Popedom was not now held in that awe which enabled an Urban II to rouse all Christendom to a Crusade. A succession of weak pontiffs, the interested squabbles of the cardinals, long

vacancies in the pontifical chair, and other circumstances, had considerably lowered the Apostolic See in men's estimation ; while the never ending strife with the Empire, and the perpetual discord it entailed in every city in Italy by the bitter feuds between Guelfs and Ghibellines, had greatly weakened the Popedom even as a political force.

Looking back across six hundred years, with the light reflected by their history, it is easy for us to read the signs of the times, which this able pontiff, of indomitable will and imperious nature, was incompetent to decipher. Had he possessed this insight, and the power to read men as well, the humiliation and defeat awaiting him at the close of his contest with a politician so keen and unscrupulous as Philip the Fair of France, might have been avoided.

The consideration of this important struggle will form a part of my paper on the Church of France, and all that I need observe at present is that when Boniface, in his famous Jubilee celebration (1300), loftily declared himself to be Caesar and Emperor—Church and State in one—and followed this up, in the equally famous decretal, "*Unam Sanctam*," in which he affirmed that the spiritual power ought to judge the temporal, and that God alone can judge the spiritual, this haughty pontiff was unwittingly presenting to the world another proof of the truth of the ancient proverb that "pride goeth before a fall." Not only did his own pontificate end unhappily, but, with his fall and death, the medieval Popedom, founded by Leo the Great nine hundred years before, came to an end. The Power which had so marvellously grown and developed throughout these long ages, until it became the centre of all spiritual law, the tribunal to which all Christendom could appeal, before which the highest and the mightiest were summoned to answer for their misdeeds, now lent itself a willing slave to the political ambition of the French monarchs. In the

short course of another century, it degenerated into a mere Italian principality, and from this position it has never since risen as a temporal sovereignty.

We have now passed under review the chief questions which affected the relations between the Church and the Empire for more than one thousand years. We have seen the Church dependent upon the State when the emperors were the real rulers in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs; and again, when, after a long and implacable strife, the spiritual authority rose to the ascendant, and the Roman pontiffs

Like gods, not men,
Moved this world at their pleasure.

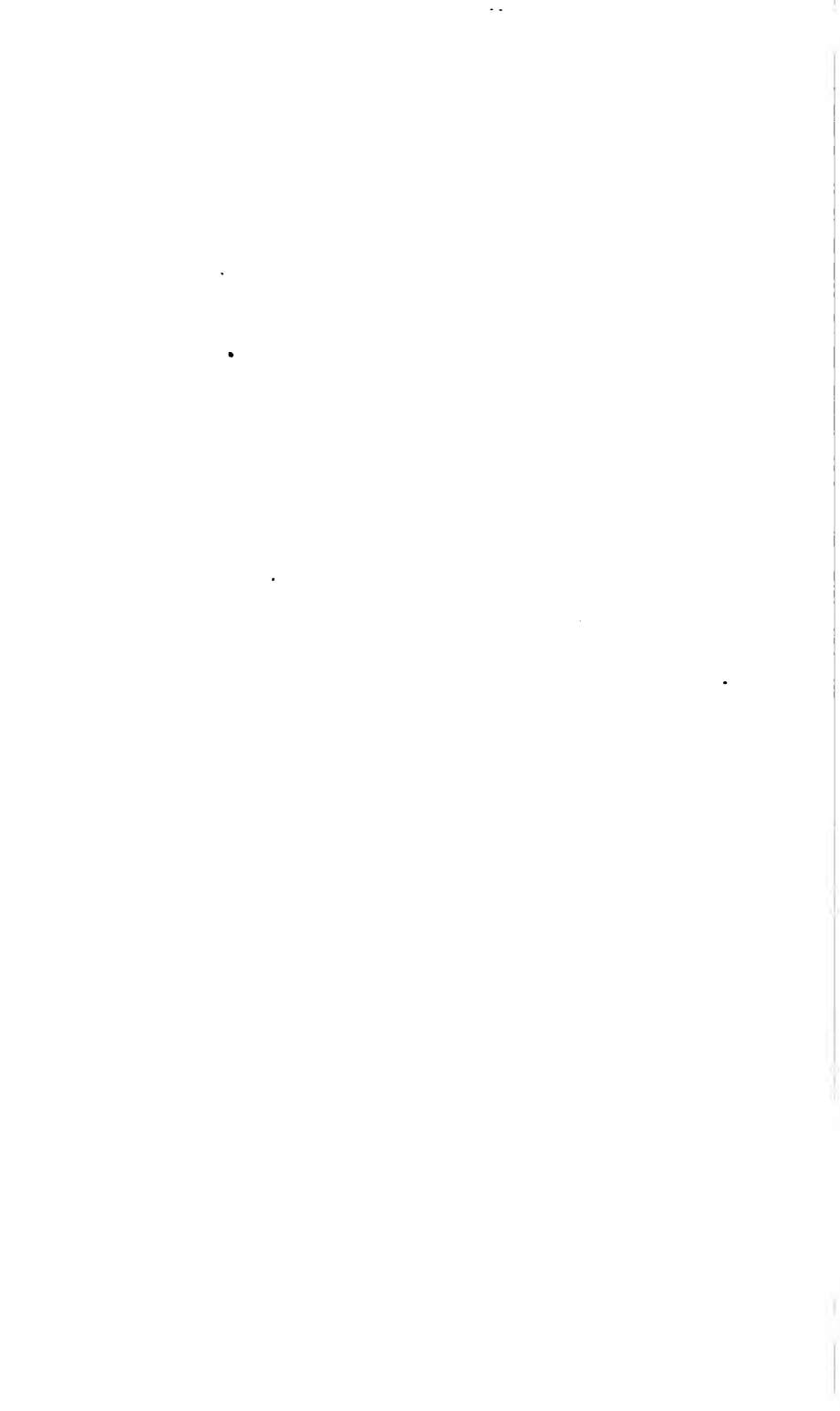
While in both these positions each institution rendered a service to humanity, and the Church, in an especial manner, defended right, and justice, and mental freedom against brute force, neither position was free from danger. In the Eastern Empire, the ecclesiastical organisation was always overshadowed by the State; the priesthood sank into a condition of contented subservience, and their Church into absolute submission. The Russian national Church has inherited this position. It has no independent authority even in matters of simple administration; a lay official, appointed by the Tzar, directs all its affairs, and inertness, apathy, and intellectual lethargy are the characteristic traits of the clergy.* Such might have been the fate of the Western Church if Hildebrand and his successors had not withstood the Empire, and enabled the central authority at Rome to support the national churches in their contentions with armed and lawless power. But the deliverance which the sovereign pontiffs thus achieved was counterbalanced by the use which they made of their triumph. Champions of

* See Wallace's *Russia* II, c. xxvii

civilisation, freedom, and progress, while they resisted feudal tyranny, they became aggressors themselves when fixed in irresponsible power,

Subduing, chaining down
The free, immortal spirit.

And since the ideal they set up was so sublime, and so immeasurably superior to the reality which their conduct presented, the evil they wrought was so much the greater. Claiming to know what was best for men, and professing to rule them by appeals to the highest principles of human nature, the pontiffs descended to the crafts and devices they condemned in the temporal rulers, and so convinced the world that the loftiness of their dignity, and the sanctity of their office, were no guarantees against passion and corruption. Of all tyrannies, a sacerdotal tyranny is the worst, since it holds itself accountable to no earthly tribunal, and regards with disdain the censure of public opinion. Temporal potentates, whatever the nature of their government, are more or less amenable to their subjects, and are kept in check by laws and customs, or the force of national sentiment. If history has taught us that they cannot be trusted to interfere with the domain of thought and conscience, how much stronger should be the conviction that an irresponsible power, insisting upon the claims of tradition and authority, as of divine origin, against those of reason, should not be invested with a like control. The dominion of thought, morality and religion, is safest when left to the guardianship of liberty, and to the influence of a healthy public opinion, fostered and enlightened by a pure literature and an unfettered press, the forces which have achieved so much in the spiritual and political emancipation of mankind.



THE COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF FOUR AUTOPOLAR 10-EDRA.

BY THOS. P. KIRKMAN, A.M., F.R.S.

1. I am about to discuss thoroughly the genesis and construction of four autopolar 10-acral 10-edra, or more briefly 10-10, namely, three 3-ple Monaxine heteroids, figs. 86, 87, 88, and one Contrajanal anaxine, fig. 82, in Vol. xxxiii of the *Proceedings* of this Literary and Philosophical Society, page 152. This, as almost nothing of my method *ab initio* in the actual solution of the problem of the Polyedra has seen the light, (not even of the 7-edra has the demonstration yet been either given or asked for), will serve at least to shew how the answer to this defiant puzzle begins to evolve itself. I shall refer by (1), (2), (3), etc., to the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., in the plates annexed, in which are seen the above four autopolars A, B, C, D.

An A-gonal face A of the $(A + S)$ -acral $(F + 1)$ -edra is written A, SF , S being the number of summits not in A, and F that of the faces besides A.

It is often convenient, as we shall soon see, to write the same face thus, $A_{s-1, F-A}$; so that A_{∞} is the base of the $(A + 1)$ -acral pyramid. The common edge of two faces A and B is written $AB_s(F-1)$, where s is the number of summits of the solid besides those of A and B, and $F-1$ that of the other faces of the solid.

2. *The autopolar A.* In A, the zoneless polar triace (Δx_3) 1 crowns a 3-ple zoneless reticulation. Its three edges 12, 15, 18, are supposed above the paper, the other

nine summits being in or below it. The reticulation has a marginal triangle, and two diagonals 30 and 39, all thrice read. The contour of the polar summit 1 is 908765432, and it is registered in the tables of symmetric summits thus :—

$$3^{879}_{go,ed} = '1_{\circ} \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Here the index 3 marks 3-ple zoneless repetition about the *gonoedral* axis (go,ed), which is terminated by a solid angle 1, and a triangle 036; 7 being the number of faces not about the pole 1, and 9 that of the summits beside 1. The blacker figures denote faces. The upper left affix 6 affirms six diagonals of the summit; the zeros say, no delete and no effaceable of it. We could crown the same reticulation with two different 3-ple hexaces in 10-13, or with a 3-ple 9-ace in 10-16. The marginal triangle of a reticulation must be crowned, or there would be a linear section, Q. E. A. We never crown save with an edge an asymmetric reticulation—that is, we never construct an asymmetric summit. They are all known in number and in character by their reciprocal asymmetric faces. The symmetric summits in Q-P are obtained by coronation, and from them we know their reciprocal symmetric faces in P-Q.

3. The edges of the autopolar A are in number 18, all asymmetric, and all thrice read. We proceed to construct them all, viz., 12, 03, 98, 23, 29, 09.

Observation. A delete is always the undrawn diagonal of a face. The dotted lines in our figures are all deletes of the thicker constructed edges, and are to be read as undrawn. Each when drawn is an effaceable of that thicker edge, and adds a face under it.

Definition. The name *delete* (or *effaceable*) of a summit p , or of an edge e whose mid point is p , is given to a line undrawn (or drawn) qr , through two summits q and r , in a triangular section pqr of a polyedron, when and only when

qr , if drawn, is in a face which has no third summit of the contour of p or of the edge e .

Any diagonal of any face on the $P-Q$ can be drawn, and will be supposed drawn as one of a group in constructing tables of $P-(Q+1)$; but if there is no triangular section of the solid along that diagonal, it is, while undrawn, no delete of any summit p or edge e ; nor will it when drawn be an effaceable of any p or e . It will be an effaceable of the solid; and I have elsewhere explained the analytic and constructive importance of the *leading effaceable* of a solid. *Vide* our vol. xxxii, p. 217. This, however, does not here concern us.

4. *The edge 12 of A.* This (1) asymmetric edge 55 joins two summits supposed above the paper, and thus crowns the reticulation below the thicker edge 12. Of this edge, 08 is an effaceable, and 58 is a delete. The contour of the crowning edge 12 is 15432908; and 08, as well as 58, if drawn, is in a face that has no third summit of the contour in (1). But 08 is no effaceable of the summit 1 in A, for it is in no face that has no third summit of the contour of the triace 1; and 58 is no delete of that pole 1, for 158 is no triangular section of the solid A.

This 1 in A, having neither delete nor effaceable, is called a *propyramidal* summit in 10-10, and the figure crowned by the triace is a *propyramidal reticulation*. We shall presently see why.

We reduce (1) to (2) by deletion of the effaceable 08, making 12 an edge in 10-9. This (2) is reduced to (3) by exchanging the pentagonal contour 54308, under which are two summits 6 and 7, for another under which is only 6; i.e., exchanging 5_{11} in 7-7 for 5_{∞} in 6-6. The 5_{11} has under it one face and one summit more than 5_{∞} has; and 5_{∞} is the base of a pyramid whose vertex 6 in (3) hangs downwards. For this reason 12 in (3) is called a *pyramidal edge* 12. This (3) shews now an edge 12 in 9-8; and it is next reduced,

by convanescence of the edges 54, 48, 08, to (4). The 5-gonal base of the pyramid in (3) has vanished into the diagonal 58 of the edge 12 in (4), which is now an *epizonal* edge, i.e., cut by a zonal trace, and is registered:—

$$34_{\infty} = \frac{1}{2}1_{\infty} \text{ in } 5-5; \text{ a propyramidal edge.}$$

The diagonal of a face can be drawn in it. The diagonal of an edge (or summit) is always there under it. Across every edge e , or summit p , there is a triangular section of the solid, along every diagonal, delete or effaceable of e or p . Hence e or p , across which is no such section, has no diagonal, nor deletes, nor effaceable.

5. The converse of this reduction of (1) to (4) is the construction of (1) upon (4). We imagine the diagonal 58 of 12 in the propyramidal (4) to expand into the 5-gonal base of a pyramid whose vertex hangs downwards in (3), and whose edges 58 and 30 appear in (3) as deletes of the edge 12, or, as we phrase it, the diagonal 58 of the *propyramidal* epizonal 12 in (4), has been *charged* with a pyramidal base 5_{∞} , so that the propyramidal 12 in (4) has become the *pyramidal* 12 in (3). This pyramidal edge is registered (*as* = asymmetric),

$$55_{\infty} = \frac{1}{2}1_{\infty} + \dots \text{ in } 9-8.$$

Instead of two diagonals in (4) this pyramidal edge 12 has one diagonal and two deletes. The suffixes 2 on the left and 0 on the right shew two deletes and no effaceable of 12 in (3). The affix 5 above on the right side shews the charge 5_{∞} . We could have imposed this charge 5_{∞} in (4) so as to make an edge 37, or 46, or 64, which differ from 55 in the upper edges contributed by the charge to the contour of the edge 12.

In the figure (4) 58 and 59 are for our purpose the same diagonal. It matter not which we charge; the results are counted the same, being one the other's image.

Instead now of the pyramidal 5_{∞} in 6-6, let us conceive substituted, in the same position in the contour of (3), the

face 5_{11} in 7-7. This is done in (2) which is a *metapyramidal* edge in 10-9. How many faces 5 are there in 7-7? Our tables of 7-7 give, (*Proceedings* Royal Society, January, 1868):—

$$5^{m*}26=1, \text{ and } 5_{11}26=1, \text{ in } 7-7.$$

Here *mo* stands for *monogonal*: the zonal trace passes through *one angle* only of the 5-gon, as perforce it must in every odd monozone face. The first being a monozone face is its own reflected image: the second is not. We can impose the former so as to place any of its five summits at the asymmetric summit 5 in (8), and to make (2); we can so handle both the latter and its reflected image seen in a mirror. Hence we register

$$55_{11}=5+10=\frac{1}{2}15_0^{5_{11}}+ \dots \text{ in } 10-9.$$

One of these 15 is our edge 12 in (2). They are 15 *cleared metapyramidal* edges 12 in 10-9, *cleared* of effaceables, as shown by the right suffix, and having each two deletes, and one diagonal. The upper right affix shows the metapyramidal charge. The preceding 55_{11} was a *cleared pyramidal* in 9-8.

When we have entered under 55_{11} in 10-10 all propyramidals, and all cleared pyramidals and metapyramidals, we look back at all the *cleared* edges 55 in preceding tables, in 10-A, and fill up our entry 55_{11} in 10-10 by the easiest of our tasks, *replacement of effaceables*, each adding a face, so as to make 10-edra. The right suffix will count these replacements.

We see in 10-9 fifteen 55_{11} , each having two deletes, just registered, in which, being asymmetric, the deletes must be different, so that *replacement* of each gives a different *uncleared* edge 55_{11} in 10-10. Hence we have the entry:—

$$55_{11}=\frac{1}{2}90_1^{5_{11}}+ \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edge 12 in (1) is among the 80, and is the only one

of them found on an autopolar 10-10. Other uncleared terms will be added in the + ..., got from 55^a, and 55^{mo} in 10-9 that have two deletes.

Yet our task is not quite finished when we have entered all cleared and uncleared edges in 10-10. We require yet the edges across which is no triangular section of the solid. Such is the following:—

6. *Edge 08 on A.* This is an asymmetric diagonal drawn in a 4-gon 0936 of a solid in 10-9, (5). Our tables contain—

$$4^a = H; 4_{\text{m}} = G, \text{ in } 10-9.$$

The former are monozone faces whose undrawn zonal trace is not diagonal, but *agonal*, through no angle. Each monozone gives one 33_m by a drawn diagonal: each 4_m gives two. We enter:—

$$33_{\text{m}} = {}^0(H + 2 G)_0, \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edge 08 is one of these.

7. *Edge 98 on A.* This is seen in (6). It is a metapyramidal 33_m, reducing first to the pyramidal 33_m in 5-5 (7), and next to the propyramidal in 4-4 (8). We get (7) by charging not the diagonal, but the marginal triangle, of (8) with 3_m making 33_m in 5-5 with one delete. For this 3_m we substitute 3_m to get (6) in 10-10. We register (7) thus:—

$$33_{\text{m}} = {}^11_0, \text{ in } 5-5,$$

where *so* means that the edge is in the zonal trace, not cut by it.

Our tables give us 3_m thus:—

$$3^{\text{mo}} = 62, 3_{\text{m}} = 1844; \text{ in } 9-9.$$

The 62 monozones have each one zonal summit to replace at 8 in (7) that of 3_m, and have each one zoneless angle for the same position. We enter the metapyramidals:—

$$33_{\text{m}} = {}^162_0^{\text{so}}; 33_{\text{m}} = 62 + 8 \cdot 1844 = 4094^{\text{so}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

If (7) had been asymmetric instead of zoned, the entry would have been

$$33_{\text{m}} = 8 \cdot 62 + 6 \cdot 1844 = ? 8250_{\text{m}}^{\text{B}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

One of the 4094 is our edge 93.

8. *Edge 23 on A.* This (9) is got from the pyramidal 35, (10) which is built on (8), got by exchanging in (10) 5_{m} for 5_{m} . This 5_{m} stands in our tables thus:—

$$5^{\text{m}} = 22, 5_{\text{m}} = 215 + \dots \text{ in } 9-9.$$

We have the pyramidal (10) thus registered:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = ? 1^{\text{t}} + \dots \text{ in } 7-7.$$

Next, as this is asymmetric, we enter the metapyramidals thus:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = 5 \cdot 22 + 10 \cdot 215 = ? 2260_{\text{m}}^{\text{B}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edge 23 (9) is among these 2260.

9. *Edge 29 on A.* This uncleared metapyramidal (11), after deletion of 30, as in art. 4, reduces to (12) in 7-6, and the nto (8). For 4_{m} in (12) we put 4_{m} , giving a group of 35_{m} in 10-9. The pyramidal (12) is:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = ? 1^{\text{t}}, \text{ in } 7-8.$$

We find 4_{m} thus in our tables:—

$$4^{\text{a}} = 1, 4^{\text{a}} = 7, 4^{\text{a}} = 5, 4_{\text{m}} = 70, \text{ in } 8-8.$$

In the first, the index 2 shows a zoneless 4-gonal pole of 2-ple repetition: this face has two different angles, either of which can become the angle 3 of (12); and, as (12) is an epizonal edge 29, we cannot use both the 4^{a} and its reflected image: hence, by putting 4^{a} in the place of 4_{m} in (12) we get two different 35_{m} in 10-9, and only two.

In 4^{a} there is a zonal trace cutting opposite edges; in 4^{a} is a diagonal trace, through two different angles. Hence two zoneless angles of 4^{a} , and one zoneless and two zoned angles of 4^{a} , can occupy 3 in (12); and every angle of 4_{m} can occupy it. Hence, instead of our pyramidal 35, (12), we get the metapyramidals:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = ? 10^{\text{a}}; 35_{\text{m}} = (2 + 5 + 14 + 4 \cdot 70) = ? 301_{\text{m}}^{\text{a}} \text{ in } 10-9.$$

In the 10 epizonals the deletes are alike, and replacement of either makes them all 35_{m} in 10-10. The deletes are not alike in any one of the 801 asymmetricals; so that we obtain by a replacement, which adds a face, the uncleared metapyramidal:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = 10 + 2 \cdot 801 = {}^1 612_1 {}^4_{\text{m}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edge 29 (11) on A is one of the 612: they have all one delete and one effaceable.

10. *Edge 09 on A.* This cleared metapyramidal 35_{m} (18) reduces to (4), whose marginal triangle is charged (14) by 4_{m} . This (14) is registered:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = {}^1 1_1^4 \text{ in } 7-7.$$

Exchanging 4_{m} for 4_{m} in this asymmetric pyramidal, on which the 70 4_{m} in art. 9 can be laid each in eight ways, and the other 18 4-gons each in four ways, we get the metapyramidal:—

$$35_{\text{m}} = {}^1 612_0 {}^4_{\text{m}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10,$$

which have each one diagonal, no effaceable, and one delete; of these our edge (13) 09 is one. We have discussed all the edges of A.

11. *The autopolar B.* This B is made by crowning with a triace a 3-zoned 6,87 (15) in 9-8, so as to destroy the zones and preserve the 3-ple repetition. The polar summit of B is registered:—

$$3^{879}_{\text{zoned}} = {}^0 1_0 \text{ in } 10-10.$$

The same face 6,87 can be crowned by many zoned summits.

We have to examine the six edges of B, 12, 23, 34, 45, 56, 41.

Edges 12 and 23 of B. These (16) (17) are asymmetric diagonals drawn in 5-gons in 10-9. These faces are:—

$$5^{\text{mo}} = J, 5_{\text{m}} = K, \text{ in } 10-9.$$

In each of the J can be drawn two, in each of the K can be drawn five, such diagonals. This gives :—

$$34_{\infty} = {}^{\circ}(2J + 5K)_{\infty} \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Among these are our two edges 12 and 23 of B.

12. *Edge 34 of B.* This uncleared metapyramidal edge, 44_{∞} , (18) reduces after deletion of its effaceable 15 to (8), which by the marginal charge 5_{∞} becomes (19), the pyramidal 44_{∞} in 7-7; and this by 5_{∞} for 5_{∞} is made 44 in 10-9. In our tables we find 5_{∞} thus :—

$$5^{\infty} = 10; 5_{\infty} = 67, \text{ in } 9-8.$$

Each 5^{∞} has one zoned and two zoneless summits, which can take the place of the zoned 3 in (19), and each 5_{∞} has five zoneless summits.

Hence we enter :—

$$44^{\infty} = {}^{\circ}10_0 5_{\infty}, 44_{\infty} = 2 \cdot 10 + 5 \cdot 67 = {}^{\circ}355_0 5_{\infty} + \dots \text{ in } 10-9.$$

A replacement gives us :—

$$44_{\infty} = {}^{\circ}10_0 5_{\infty}; 44_{\infty} = {}^{\circ}355_0 5_{\infty} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our asymmetric 34 on B (18) is among the 355.

13. *Edges 45 and 41 on B.* These (20,22) reduce to (8), which marginally charged with 4_{∞} becomes (21), the pyramidal :—

$$34_{\infty} = {}^{\circ}1_0 4_{\infty} \text{ in } 6-6.$$

This will be made a metapyramidal 34_{∞} by 4_{∞} for 4_{∞} , and this 4_{∞} is registered :—

$$4^{\infty} = 2; 4^{\circ} = 6; 4^{\infty} = 21; 4^{\infty} = 21; 4^{\infty} = 717, \text{ in } 9-9.$$

Here 4ad (for 4ag, di) shews four zones, having two agonal and two diagonal traces in the zoned polar 4 , which has only one summit to place at 5 in (21). Each 4° has two, and its reflected image has two, to place there; each 4^{∞} and each 4^{∞} has four, and each 4_{∞} , with its reflected image, has eight summits, to occupy the 5. We enter :—

$$34_{\infty} = 2 + 4 (6 + 21 + 21) + 8 \cdot 717 = {}^{\circ}5930_0 4_{\infty} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edges 45 and 41 in B (20, 22) are among these 5930.

14. *Edge 56 in B.* This cleared edge 44_{∞} . (23),

reduces to (8), which charged with 5_{oo} is $44_{..}$ in 7-7 (19) pyramidal, and this by $5_{..}$ for 5_{oo} becomes the group in which is our edge 56. We find $5_{..}$ thus registered:—

$$5^{mo} = 22; 5_{..} = 215, \text{ in } 9-9;$$

whence we enter the metapyramidal:—

$$44_{..} = ?22^{5_{..}}; 44_{..} = 2 \cdot 22 + 5 \cdot 215 = ?1119^{5_{..}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10,$$

Our edge 56 is one of the 1119: thus we have studied B.

15. *The autopolar C.* This is made by crowning with a hexace a 3-zoned propyramidal reticulation, so as to destroy the zones and to keep the 3-ple repetition. The polar summit of C is thus registered:—

$$6^*49_{\text{p.o.d}} = ?1_0 \text{ in } 10-10.$$

We have to examine its six edges 45, 42, 43, 23, 13, 12.

Edge 45 on C. This (24) reduces to the cleared (25), and then to the second of the propyramidal, (26, 27), which are registered thus:—

$$45_{..} = ?1_0; \text{ and } 45_{..} = ?1_0; \text{ in } 7-7.$$

Either of these charged with $3_{oo}3_{oo}$ on margin and diagonal becomes one of the cleared nine:—

$$46_{..} = 3 \cdot 3 = ?9^{3_{oo}} + \dots \text{ in } 10-9;$$

one charge being shewn by m to be marginal. For we can charge any one of three triangles (26, 27), and next any one of three diagonals. We see in this, when entering replacements, that we have the choice of any one of three deletes to replace by an effaceable, and we enter:—

$$46_{..} = ?27^{3_{oo}} \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

One of these 27 is our edge 45 on C, (24).

16. *Edge 42 on C.* This (28) reduces to (8), which by a marginal 6_{oo} becomes (29), the pyramidal

$$36_{..} = ?1_0^6 \text{ in } 8-8.$$

This by $6_{..}$ for 6_{oo} becomes metapyramidal in 10-10.

We find $6_{..}$ thus registered:—

$$6^* = 2; 6^{**} = 6; 6^{**} = 6; 6_{..} = 80, \text{ in } 9-9.$$

To occupy 2 in the zoneless (29), 6^* and its image have

each three summits; 6^{ac} and 6^{ad} each have six; and 6_{aa} and its image each have six. Hence we register:—

$$36_{aa} = 2 \cdot 2 \cdot 8 + 6 \cdot (6 + 6 + 60) = {}^0444_6{}^6_{aa} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our edge 42 (28) is one of these 444.

17. *Edge 48 on C.* This uncleared edge (80) reduces to (8), which by 3_{aa} , becomes (81), the pyramidal

$$34_{ap} = {}^11_1^1 \dots \text{ in } 6-5.$$

We make this 10-9 by 3_{aa} , which we find:—

$$3^{ac} = 17; 3_{aa} = 187, \text{ in } 8-8.$$

from which, as (81) is zoned, we enter:—

$$34_{ap} = 17; 34_{aa} = 17 + 8 \cdot 187 = {}^2428^8_{aa} + \dots \text{ in } 10-9,$$

whence (art. 9), by a replacement,

$$34_{aa} = 17 + 2 \cdot 428 = {}^2873_1{}^8_{aa} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10,$$

among which 873 is our edge 48, (80).

18. *Edges 28, 18, 12 on C.* The first (82) is one of the 4094 of art. 7.

The next, 18, (84) reduces to (4), which, marginally charged with 3_{aa} , becomes (88)

$$34_{aa} = {}^11_1^1, \text{ in } 6-6.$$

By 3_{aa} for 3_{aa} , this is made an edge of 10-10, and by the preceding art. 17, we register (84):—

$$34_{aa} = 8 \cdot 17 + 6 \cdot 187 = {}^1873_6{}^8_{aa}, \text{ in } 10-10.$$

The edge 12 is a diagonal drawn (85) in a 5-gon of 10-9, and is one of the 34_{aa} in art 11.

We have thoroughly discussed the solids A, B, and C.

19. *The autopolar contrajanal anaxine D.* All contrajanal anaxine solids, autopolar or not, have neither zonal trace, nor axis of repetition; and every feature, face, summit, or edge, is diametrically opposite to a like feature, whose configuration is the reflected image of the former.

Thus in D, in 10-10, the edge 04 supposed above the paper, is opposite to the edge 98 below it; so that if you walk from the pentace 0 to the tesseract 4, you have a 5-gon. on the right; but if you conceive yourself walking on the

opposite surface of the solid from the pentace 9 to the tessarace 8, you have a 5-gon on the left. To see this, hold the paper up to the light, and read through it from 9 to 8. The edges 04 and 98 are a *contrajanal anaxine pair*, or, briefly, a *janal anaxine pair*, and either is a *janal anaxine edge*. Such edges form *janal anaxine summits* and *faces*. Every single edge of the P-Q is infallibly registered by our methods, either alone, if there is but one such, or in a group, well defined and conceived, and soon vast in number, of edges mastered by one glance and one entry. But in these entries of the edges there is nothing to determine whether one or more of the group is or is not an edge upon a *contrajanal anaxine solid*. It becomes necessary to construct all *janal anaxine pairs*, symmetric or not, one edge above, the other below, the paper, both at one glance.

The edges of D are nine, 04, 06, 07, 08, 01, 12, 23, 34, 45. We shall construct each as a single edge, and construct also the nine *contrajanal pairs*.

20. *Edge 04 of D.* The single asymmetric edge 04 (D), having neither delete nor effaceable, is a diagonal $45_{..}$ drawn in a 7-gon in 10-9. Our tables of 10-9 give

$$7^{\circ} = A, 7_{..} = B, \text{ in } 10-9.$$

Each 7° has one epizonal and three asymmetric edges, and each $7_{..}$ has seven asymmetric.

We register the diagonals 45 , each parallel to a different edge of the heptagon, thus:—

$$45^{\circ} = {}^{\circ}A_0; 45_{..} = {}^{\circ}(3A + 7B +)_0, \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

One of the latter is the edge 04.

To see the *janal pair* 04, 98, consider (36) from which the pair is removed, and in which the identical wedge-edges 61, 52 are indicated undrawn in the plane of the paper, though not found on D. The summits 7, 8, 9, of the inner contour, are below the paper. It is evident that these 61, 52, are the same edge, $34_{..}$, of the pyramid 5-5, (4). If we turn 52

through two right angles, so that 2 and 5 change places, we bring 9 into the upper contour, and get (37), in which the edge 61 stands opposite to its mirrored image. That is, (36), before the edges 61 and 52 are erased, is an edge 34_u, standing opposite to its mirrored image, after the image has been turned through two right angles, by changing the places of 5 and 2.

The lines 65 and 12, afterwards drawn, may be of any length, or null, as in (38). By crowning the upper contour of (36) with 04 (or 08), and the lower with its diametrically opposite 98 (or 97), we construct the janal anaxine pair 04, 98, (39); which is entered in our janal tables:—

$$45_{jan} = {}^0L^{3403} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Where 0 and 3 are the numbers of summits and faces not about the edge 34, but below it. The edge 34_u is 34·0·3, (art. 1).

We know by *ja.an.* (=janal anaxine) that we have recorded a contrajanal pair of asymmetric edges, (39).

If we so janally crowned (38), we should get a pair

$$34_{jan} = {}^0L^{3403} \text{ in } 8-10,$$

which is a janal anaxine pair not found on a contrajanal anaxine, but upon a symmetrical janal solid, a 2-ple monozone monaxine, in 8-10.

We know the symmetrical janal solids by their symmetrical faces, summits, and edges; and we know by their signatures, how many janal anaxine pairs are found on them all. Subtracting these from our total of janal anaxine pairs, we have remaining the number of such pairs upon the contrajanal anaxine solids, and hence the number of these solids.

The figures (36) and (38) are *contrajanal subnuclei*, made with an epizonal edge 34_u. The reader will convince himself without difficulty of the truth of the following theorem.

Theorem. If any non-polar edge e , zonal, epizonal, or asymmetric of any polyhedron be made to stand, as before a mirror at right angles to the paper, opposite to its image e' , and if e' be then turned through two right angles, so that the ends of e' shall change places, there will be after connexion, as in (37), of the ends of e and e' , equal and similar contours, above and below the paper: in (86), 065482 and 921876. If in these contours of the subnucleus be drawn any diagonals a b and a' b' , so that a and a' , and also b and b' , are diametrically opposites, a b and a' b' , if non-polar and zoneless, will be a contrajanal anaxine pair.

Thus, every entire group of edges, AA or AB , of one symmetry, or all asymmetric, all summed in one complete entry, will come to be handled at once in a group of subnuclei, for the drawing and registering in groups of janal anaxine edges in higher P-Q. Every edge that we construct, whatever be its signatures being a single edge, will be so used with its inverted image.

For another example of the above theorem, let e be 35_{aa} in 10-10. Of these, we have found 2260 in art. 8, 612 in art. 9, and other 612 in art. 10; so that,

$$35_{aa} = 2260 + 1224 + \dots = M \text{ in } 10-10,$$

where M will be a much greater number than 3484.

With each of these M edges we can form a subnucleus like (38) or (36); and, as the edge 34_{aa} in 5-5 gave us $34_{jan.}$ and $45_{jan.}$ in 8-10 and 10-10, even so, we can enter at once from 35_{aa} in 10-10, getting both 35 and 53,

$$35_{jan.} = {}^0_2 M_0^{35'4'3},$$

$$44_{jan.} = {}^0_0 M_0^{35'4'3}, \text{ both in } 18-20;$$

$$\text{and } 46_{jan.} = {}^0_2 M_0^{35'4'3},$$

$$55_{jan.} = {}^0_0 M_0^{35'4'3}, \text{ both in } 20-20.$$

These can be all made propyramidal $ja.an.$ edges having diagonals and marginal triangles which can be charged. *Vide* art. 27, 28.

21. *Edges 07 and 06 on D.* The former (41) is one of the 4094 in art. 7.

The latter (40) is one of the 5980 of art. 18. We see the *janal pair* 07, 98, each 33_{m} , in (48). The pair being removed, the broken lines 678 and 284 become 68 and 24. Here 8921 are below the paper.

The *janal pair* 06, 92, each 34_{m} , are seen in (42); and on their removal 765 and 128 become 75 and 18.

The *nucleus* remaining in both cases is the zoned triaxine (44) in 8-8, in which 8921 are below.

Some solids of janal symmetry have, and some have not, contrajanal anaxine pairs of edges. Every face of the former solids gives a *nucleus*, on which contrajanal reticulations can be constructed, to be crowned with janal anaxine pairs.

Every objanal monozone face, and every janal anaxine face, is a face of a nucleus, in which and its opposite if it is >3 , janal anaxine or objanal monozone pairs can be drawn. The monozone 4-gon of this zoned triaxine (44), on which the four 4-gons are all alike, is

$$4_{\text{obj}}^{44}47 = 1, \dots \text{ in } 8-8,$$

where obj. = objanal, the character of every monozone feature in a $2m$ -ly repeating zone. The three zones of every zoned triaxine are all repeating, because the plane of each zone is perpendicular to a two-zoned janal axis, which must be of double repetition. This 4^{44} is entered correctly with the zonal signature ($Z = \dots 4, 0^4$) in page 356 *Proceedings* of the Royal Society, January, 1868. It ought to have been a second time registered there, as above, as an objanal monozone 4^{44} . And the last 3^{mo} in that page, 356, should have been registered a second time as objanal monozone. The reason of this is, that not all monozones, but only the objanal ones, are nuclei for contrajanal constructions.

In (48) one pair of opposite edges of the nucleus (44) were charged with plane triangles whose bases became

deletes of the crowning edges through 0 and 9. In (43) another pair of opposites were so treated.

These pairs 07, 98 and 06, 92 are thus entered :

$$33_{jan} = {}^0_1 1_0^{447}, \dots \text{ in } 10-10$$

$$34_{jan} = {}^0_1 1_0^{447} \quad ,,$$

where 447 is the solid nucleus.

22. *Edge 08 on D.* This as a single edge is the diagonal of a 4-gon in 10-9, as in art. 6. *The pair 08, 94, each 33_{jan}, are seen in (45).* Their removal must lay bare two like 4-gons, in a 10-8, which are the same janal anaxine 4-gon. This appears in our table as the only one,

$$4_{jan} 67 = 1, \dots \text{ in } 10-8;$$

whence, as its diagonals are different,

$$33_{jan} = {}^0_2 0_0, \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

The 4_{jan} has in its solid a like face opposite, in which the same diagonals can be drawn. One of the above pairs of 33_{jan} completes our autopolar D; the other pair completes a monozone in 10-10, which is not an autopolar, but has janal anaxine edges. If there had been in 10-8 A janal anaxine 4-gons instead of one, our entry would have been ${}^0_2 A_0$ instead of ${}^0_2 0_0$.

23. *Edge 10 on D.* This single edge 35_{jan} is one of the 2260 of art. 8.

We see *the janal pair 10, 95 in (46).* Removing the pair, 654 becomes 64, and 812 becomes 82, making of (46) the subnucleus (38), art. 20. The opposite edges 64 and 81 in (38) being charged with triangles, their bases become deletes of the crowning edges 35_{jan} in (46); and we enter:—

$$35_{jan} = {}^0_1 1_0^{3408} + \dots \text{ in } 10-10;$$

the affix 34·0·8 denoting the subnucleus.

24. *Edge 12 on D.* This single edge 45_{jan} (47) reduces finally by deletion of the effaceables 08 and 49 to (4), which

charged on a diagonal with 4_{∞} becomes the pyramidal (50), which is :—

$$45_{\infty} = \frac{1}{2}1_0^4 \dots \text{in } 8-7.$$

This by 4_n for 4_{∞} is made a metapyramidal 45_n in 10-8. We find 4_n in our tables thus—

$$4^{22} = 2; 4^{41} = 2; 4_n = 9; \dots \text{in } 7-8,$$

whence

$$45_n = 4(2 + 2) + 8 \cdot 9 = \frac{1}{2}88_1^4 \text{ in } 10-8.$$

By two replacements we get :—

$$45_n = \frac{1}{2}88_1^4 \text{ in } 10-10.$$

Our single edge 12 in D, having the effaceables 80 and 49, is one of these.

We see in (47) a janal anaxine pair 12, 65 in 10-8, in which putting 9' and 8' for 0 and 4; 89' and 98' are deletes both of 12 and of 65. The summits 898'9' are in the paper, 123 are above it, and 657 are below it. A section through 898'9' removes the upper half of the solid: this is (48), in which 12 is above the paper. The lower half is what the image of (48) in the mirror 898'9' becomes, when it has been rotated through two right angles, so that the edges 89 and 9' 8' of that image have changed places. In (48) let 89 and 8'9' vanish, and let 89' and 98' unite into a diagonal 89. The figure is now (4), having 8 for 5 at the vertex, and 93 for base, instead of 89.

This gives the construction of (47). We place (4) so figured upon a mirror, touching it only along that diagonal 89 of the edge 12; we hold it by 12 so, while our fairy friend Alice on the other side revolves the image through two right angles, so that 8 and 9 change places. This image and (4) make no polyedron, because there is a linear section along 89; but if we give this edge a breadth, however small, making it a 4-gon whose sides in the contour are 89 above and 9'8' below, its other sides being deletes in the paper, we

have the solid (47). The cleared janal anaxine pair 12, 65, of (47) is entered thus:—

$$45_{jan} = {}^2_1 1^0 \dots \text{in } 10-8,$$

a pair not on a contrajanal anaxine solid, but on the 2-ple monaxine monozone (49) identical with (47).

Two replacements of an opposite pair which destroy the zone in (49), give us:—

$$45_{jan} = {}^3_1 1^0 \dots \text{in } 10-10,$$

our pair 12, 65 in D, putting 9' for 0, and 8' for 4 in D.

In (4) 58 is a zonal edge of the 4-zoned pyramid 5-5; but if we make it the quadrilateral 55'88' by introducing the edges 55' and 88' into the contour, all symmetry disappears. The above treatment of the diagonal 58 in (4) is different from the operation in art. 20, which has to be performed on 58 as 33.1.3.

We have to treat every diagonal and every delete of every cleared single edge AB propyramidal pyramidal or metapyramidal, exactly as we have in (47) treated the diagonal 58 of the edge 12 in (4). We never construct contrajanal anaxine summits.

25. The above is the first application of a principle that founds the former of the two theorems following.

Theorem. If the entry:—

$$AB_{..} = {}^2_a C_0 + {}^2_b D_0 + \dots \text{in } P-Q,$$

shows the entire number of cleared edges $AB_{..}$ which have all $a > 0$ different diagonals, namely C which have d deletes, D which have e deletes, &c., no matter what be the right upper affix, we can register:—

$$(A+1)(B+1)_{jan} = a \{ {}^2_{11} {}^2_1 C_0 + {}^2_{12} {}^2_1 D_0 + \dots \} \text{in } 2P-2(Q-1).$$

This is the contrajanal process of *doubled diagonal*.

In the $AB_{..}$ of this theorem, whether B be equal or

unequal to A , the a diagonals are all different, as are the a deletes of the following.

Theorem. If the entry:—

$$AB_{a,c} = {}^aC_0 + {}^cD_0 + \dots \text{ in } P-Q,$$

shews the number of cleared edges AB in $P-Q$ which have all a different > 0 deletes, namely, C having d diagonals, D having e diagonals, &c., no matter whether they be pyramidal or metapyramidal edges, we can register at once:—

$$A+1)(B+1)_{j,a,c} = a\{{}^{2d}C_0 + {}^{2e}D_0 + \dots\} \text{ in } 2P-2Q.$$

This is the contrajanal process of *doubled delete*.

The edge in (4) is $34_{c,p} = {}^3_1 1^0_0$, whose two diagonals are not different. It is not required here to modify the above theorems for the cases of symmetric edges AA or AB . The student will do that.

All janal anaxine pairs are constructed, at first cleared, either on a subnucleus, or on a nucleus, or by the process of doubled diagonal or delete, except those pairs which are diagonals drawn in opposite faces of a solid that has janal-anaxine faces, so as to be opposite diagonals. And we readily obtain every entry that we require to make, from simple inspection of our previous tables. Everything that comparison of the figured solids could give us is read with greater order and accuracy, in comparing previous entries by the rules of our method.

We shall often inspect these entries of cleared edges, obtained by the above two theorems, when registering janal-anaxine edges in still higher tables; never for imposition or change of charges, but only for *contrajanal replacements*, which must be made by n janal-anaxine pairs of effaceables, adding $2n$ faces. The last entry above in $2P-2Q$ shews edges having all a pairs of deletes, and our entry for $2n$ replacements from a glance at it will be of the uncleared edges:—

$$(A + 1)(B + 1)_{j,a,n} = \frac{a! \Pi a}{\Pi n \Pi (a-n)} \left\{ {}^a_{a-n} C_{2n} + {}^a_{a-n} D_{2n} + \dots \right\} \\ \text{in } 2P-2 (Q + n).$$

Here, and in the two theorems above given, there is no further use of a right upper affix. We never look a second time at uncleared edges in any of our devices of construction. If we are making pyramidal, we build only on pro-pyramidal; and if metapyramidal, then only on clear pyramidal, disregarding all entries that have in any right upper affix a single charge A_{ab} where a and b are not both zeros.

For examples of the above two theorems I take two diagonals 32 and 12, and two deletes 71 and 81, all of (25). In (59), which is (60), we see the janal pair, 45 above and 45 below the paper, in which the doubled 32 23 only are in the paper, connected by darker deletes. Every summit above the plane 3232 carries the same number with its contrajanal opposite, below that plane. In (61), which is (62), the same use is made of the doubled 12. In both (59) and (61) the single $64_{..}$ of (25) in 10-9 has become $75_{j,a,n}$ in 20-16. These as single edges $75_{..}$ are metapyramidal in a group ${}_A {}^3_m {}^{34}_{75}$, in 20-16.

In (63) and (65) which are (64) and (66) the edge $64_{..}$ of (25) in 10-9 has become $75_{j,a,n}$ in 20-18. As single edges $75_{..}$, they are part of a group ${}_B {}^3_m {}^{34}_{75}$, in 20-18. One is made by a doubly charged margin, and the other by a doubly charged diagonal; *vide* art. 29; and all the four single edges $75_{..}$ reduce to (27). ${}_B$ carrying $3_{oo} 3_{oo} 4_{75}$ will be only one term of the large number of these cleared $75_{..}$ in 20-18. The others will be like terms carrying $3_{ab} 3_{cd} 4_{ef}$, $3_{ab} 4_{ef} 3_{cd}$ and $4_{ef} 3_{ab} 3_{cd}$, where every solution of $a + b + c = 7$ and $b + d + f = 6$, will be employed. But inspection of preceding tables easily gives the sum of these $75_{..}$ having two diagonals and four deletes, or of the ${}_A$, having five deletes.

These 60, 62, 64, 66 are contrajanal anaxine solids. A like use of every different diagonal or delete under our cleared edges will be accounted for and summed up in our entries in higher tables of janal anaxine edges.

26. *Edge 28 on D.* The single uncleared 28, (58), is a 35_{obj} of the 612 of art. 9.

The *janal anaxine pair* 28, 76, are seen in (58), which reduces to the subnucleus (51). This, charged with triangles on the pair 19, 05, and on the pair 49, 08, becomes the cleared (52), which is registered:—

$$35_{\text{obj}} = ;1_0^{202}, \dots \text{ in } 10-8.$$

Here obj. stands for objanal, which designates the symmetry of the zoned features of an evenly repeating zone to which an axis of 2-ple repetition is perpendicular. Such an axis passes through the centres of the 2-ple polar edges 18 and 45 in (49), a 2-ple monaxine monozone having a repeating zone.

The four deletes in (52) are alike, and it matters not by which pair of opposites we spoil symmetry. We enter (58):—

$$35_{\text{jan}} = ;1_1^{202}, \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

27. *Edge 84 on D.* This single cleared 35_{jan} (54) is one of the 612 of art. 10.

The *janal anaxine pair* 84, 87 is seen in (55), which reduces to the subnucleus (51), made with the edge $33_{\text{jan}} \cdot 0 \cdot 2$ in 4-4. The edges 19 and 50 in (51) have been in (55) charged with (4) uncrowned, the charge losing a marginal triangle. It is best thus to conceive the imposition of a propyramidal uncrowned reticulation upon a solid edge like 19 in (55) and (51).

We register this contrajanal propyramidal pair (55) thus:—

$$35_{\text{jan}} = ;1_0^{202} \text{ in } 10-10.$$

All cleared janal anaxine edges made on nuclei or on subnuclei are propyramidals so long as their deletes are all

edges of the nucleus or subnucleus. If they have pairs of diagonals, as the 35_{jan} just found has one pair, they may become pyramidals by charges on either diagonals or marginal triangles; and may afterwards become metapyramidals, exactly as simple edges do, provided that the imposed charges preserve the contrajanal configuration. Those charges will be written in the right upper affix after the nucleus or subnucleus.

28. *The edge 45 of D.* This single edge (56) is one of the 5980 of art. 13.

The *contrajanal pair* 45, 81 are seen in (57) which reduces to the subnucleus (58), made with the zonal edge $33_{zo} \cdot 1 \cdot 8$, (4), in 5-5: this (58), charged on opposite pairs 60, 92, or 69, 20 by (8) uncrowned as just explained of (4), and janally crowned, gives us one of

$$34_{jan} = {}^{20}_{20} 28^{28} 12, \dots \text{ in } 10-10.$$

One makes D(57); the other completes a contrajanal anaxine solid not autopolar, which has pentaces but no pentagon. We have now completed our study of the four autopolars A, B, C, D.

29. We have no examples in the four solids discussed of multiple charges or the same margin or diagonal. But we frequently in analysis find imposed, or have in construction to impose, an agglutination of pyramidal bases A_{oo} B_{oo} C_{oo} ...whose vertices hang downwards, instead of a single one. If the charge is A_{oo} B_{oo} , they cohere by a common deleted edge; if A_{oo} B_{oo} C_{oo} , by two deleted edges.

The charge A_{oo} B_{oo} on a diagonal registers three deletes; A_{oo} B_{oo} C_{oo} registers four; one delete fewer if the charge is marginal. We have to impose them so as to augment either the lower contour only, in the position A_{oo} B_{oo} C_{oo} or B_{oo} C_{oo} A_{oo} , &c., making six positions if, A B and C are different pyramidal bases; or the upper contour only, or both, in every way possible. No figures are required. It is

all a simple problem of permutations. The cleared pyramidal edge so made becomes cleared metapyramidal, if for one or more bases A_{∞} or B_{∞} we substitute, exactly in the same posture, A_{∞} or B_{∞} .

30. What precedes supplies much of what the unprinted sections of my Memoir in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. clii, were about, as may be read at the end of my second section, to lay before the reader, and will enable the student to conceive how the *most* of the *data* required by the general theory are obtained, namely, the number and description of the *edges* of the sought P-Q to be extracted from the lower tables. Much greater is the difficulty in registering the *symmetric summits* of P-Q, as obtained by coronations and replacements; by reason of the variety of symmetries which arise in crowning with various symmetric summits the same symmetric reticulation; which arise also in turning a cleared symmetric pyramidal summit p into the possible number of symmetric metapyramidal summits p , whether janal, contrajanal, or neither, by substitutions as above handled for pyramidal bases whose charging edges are the deletes of p ; and which arise with nearly the same complexity in replacements symmetrical about p .

In my work presented to the Royal Society, and in the brief abstract of it in their *Proceedings*, May 30, 1861, I put *perfect* reticulations, summits and edges, *i.e.*, those which have no *deletes*, in the place occupied in the preceding pages by *cleared* summits, &c., *i.e.*, those which have no *effaceables*. It comes to the same thing, whether we make *replacements* under the *cleared* or *effacements* under the *perfect*. But it is better to work from inspection of tables below those of the sought P-Q, as we have been here working.

No cleared pyramidal edge e has under it a base A_{∞} which has more than two edges among the deletes of e . But

a cleared symmetric pyramidal summit p of the $Q-P$ may easily have under it bases $A_n, A_m \dots$ each of which has more than two edges among the deletes of p ; so that p cannot be imagined to become a propyramidal by the vanishing of its charges into diagonals of p , as in art. 4.

In studying this symmetric p , we have to uncrown, i.e., to remove the p -ace; and the symmetrical pyramidal reticulation R so laid bare has to be constructed and registered with proper signatures, by inspection of which we can crown R by symmetrical summits in every possible way. The tabulation of these pyramidal R is one of the difficulties of the theory of the $Q-P$. These are all met and disposed of in my unprinted sections.

Of course this is useless theory for useless high values of P and Q . Any earnest student who is ambitious to construct merely all polyedra, say of from 80 to 40 edges, can easily draw the very few symmetrical reticulations R that are needed. By their coronation in every way of symmetry he will get all the symmetric summits of the $Q-P$, propyramidal, cleared pyramidal and metapyramidal, and those made by replacements, all the simple, janal, and contrajanal p -aces required, whose reciprocals are the symmetric p -gons of the $P-Q$.

With these faces and all the edges of the $P-Q$ he has everything necessary, and he can both describe and construct, without omission or repetition, every solid from what is now before him.

The number of propyramidal edges AB which have d diagonals is a given function of AB and d , whether symmetric or asymmetric. After registering these in $P-Q$, the cleared pyramidal are got from the propyramidal of preceding tables, and the cleared metapyramidal from preceding pyramidal. Next in $P-Q$ come the diagonals of the faces in $P-(Q-1)$; and, finally, the results of i replacements in the

cleared entries in $P-(Q-i)$, for all values of i . The rest is easy, as shewn fully in the complete 9-9 in our vol. xxxii.

Very few reticulations R are wanted, besides those crowned in preceding tables. Thus the symmetric solids A and C in 10-10 can easily be made pyramidal under the same symmetrical summits. The three diagonals 93, 46, 70, or the three 03, 36, 60 in A , can be imagined to expand into the bases $F_{00}F_{00}F_{00}$, in various postures, preserving the 3-ple repetition. If F_{00} is 4_{00} , the cleared polar triace of A would be registered $8^11318_{\text{red}} = .^36_{\text{red}}$, in 19-16; and by 4_{mn} for 4_{00} these become a group of 3-ple metapyramidal poles, over $3m$ more summits and $3n$ more faces, all easily enumerated at once, from a glance at the $(5+m)-(5+n)$. Every face 4_{mn} would be imposed in a given number of postures.

The reader will understand that I have been analysing the solids A, B, C, D , not in order to show how they more than others were obtained, either as 10-edra or as autopolars, but because their edges, being few, supply useful examples for a detailed exposition of my methods.

I am convinced that the student who may be attracted by the problem, has it now in his power to give an account of all the $P-Q$ that will ever be asked for.

81. In my tables of 10-8, *Proceedings* of the Royal Society, January, 1868, page 368, is the entry:—

$$55^{\text{red}}26 = 2; Z = 4, 2, 0, 0^s; Z^1 = 2, 2, 0, 0.$$

One question is, how many monozone 5-gons in 10-8 have an edge epizonal in $Z = 4, 2, 0, 0^s$?

The two polar edges just written must be one of them epizonal in this Z : the other must be epizonal in Z^1 . The two 5-gons about each polar 55 are identical.

We read among the epizonal edges, on the same page, (53), $46 = 1$, in $Z = 4, 2, 0, 0^s$. This makes, with the one polar 55 above named, two 5-gons, whose zone is this Z .

On page 367, we see entered, $5^m 57 = 2$, $Z = 4, 2, 0^3$, which is impossible; for no 5-gon can be in a zone which has no epizonal. There is an error here, of which the correction is $5_m 57 = 2$, $Z = 4, 2, 0, 0^3$.

Another question is, how many monozone 5-gons in 10-8 have the zone $Z^1 = 2, 2, 0, 0$?

One has for its epizonal edge the other polar 55 above named.

Amongst the epizonals we read,

$$57_p = 2, \text{ and } 55_p = 1, \text{ in } Z^1 = 2200,$$

which, as the two 5-gons on 55_p are different (otherwise it would be a polar edge 55) gives us four more 5-gons having this zone 2, 2, 0, 0. There should, therefore, be found on page 367:—

$$5^m 57 = 5, \quad Z = 2, 2, 0, 0.$$

But there is no such entry; this then is a second omission requiring correction on page 367. These 5-gons are given one by one zoned polar 55; two by one epizonal 55; and two by two epizonals 57, all epizonals in 2, 2, 0, 0.

32. In my Memoir, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. clii, part i, page 163, where the question in art. xlvii is—How many monozone A-gons in the P-edra Q-acra have the zone Z?—I have omitted in the sixth line to include in the value of $h_{A(m)}$ the polar edges AA epizonal in Z, which are registered under the number a' , in art. xxxv. Of these a' , a'' will be epizonal in Z, and $a' - a''$ epizonal in Z_1 . There is required in the value of $h_{A(m)}$ this number a'' from xxxv, and the section xlvii is fully corrected by writing its sixth line thus:

$$a'' + 2h_{A_1} + h_{A_2} + h_{A_3} + \dots = h_{A(n)},$$

where a'' is the entire number of A-gons epizonal in Z on polar edges AA. The omission of a'' was an oversight, such as would be the neglect of the above zoned polar edge 55.

Another little oversight requires correction in the same Memoir, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, page 144, art.

xviii, line 6. After the $2m$ -zoned monarchaxine has janalanaxine pairs, add and so has the zoned triaxine. The latter is what the former becomes when $m = 1$.

88. I trust that the mathematician who does me the honour to study the preceding pages will not complain that they are intolerably obscure and difficult, considering that this Thibet of Geometry has for centuries been found so difficult of approach.

Between thirty and forty years ago, I set myself a task of greed and cruelty, to be followed soon after by a task of packing; the first, single-handed to sack thoroughly the rich, wide, and unexplored province of the Polyedra; the second, to get my plunder of this complete theory safely into the *Philosophical Transactions*.

The Memoir on the theory of the Polyedra which I had the honour to present in 1861 to the Royal Society, and of which an Abstract appeared in their *Proceedings*, May 30, 1861, was theory without applications, and condensed as far as scientific rigour permitted. A huge mass of applications in full detail was then already prepared for presentation. If, in order to introduce to the reader's near acquaintance four little 10-edra, I have had to write all these pages, and to draw seventy figures, what chance had I, an obscure country clergyman, of getting the whole of my complicated work into the crowded pages of the *Philosophical Transactions*, as "Reading made easy," like this analysis?

The distinguished mathematicians to whom the Council of the Royal Society referred my Memoir recommended that my First Section only should be printed. This contains the necessary general theorems about Polyedral Symmetry, and the empty skeleton tables, which have, as the work goes on, to be filled up; but it contains not a line of my methods, either for finding the entries required, or for using them when completed. The referees informed me that they had

not read six of my pages : they were unreadable. I had in vain offered to attend and to assist in any way in the reading, and to listen to their advice.

Why had I sent all that to London ? It ought to have gone, I was told, to Paris, to the grand competition that was approaching there on this subject, of which full three years' notice had been given to all the world—and given in vain, although Imperial Science had only asked, and straightway asked again for one year more in vain, for some slice, "*quelque point important*," of this theory.

It was no slice that I had the honour to present to the Royal Society, but the whole animal, trussed and cooked to the best of my rustic ability. Was it my fault that the creature had gristles and bones ?

The Council, however, whose previous favours to me I here most gratefully acknowledge, kindly granted my earnest request that my first two sections might be printed. They were printed, and I was content. I had gained what I was most anxious to secure. The mistake was now impossible of assigning to the wrong owner any of my devices and leading theorems. I care not how soon or how long the Theory of the Polyedra is equally useless and forgotten. About this I shall never, either here or in any other planet, be heard singing the consoling ditty, "*Sic vos non vobis*."

Very fortunate was I to succeed in placing on record in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1868, a considerable amount of numerical results ; for I myself afterwards heard in the high places of Science no little displeasure expressed at their appearance there. I heard one speaker of renown say that if he could have prevented it, those tables of results would not have been admitted into the *Proceedings*. The only reason that I heard assigned, and I did hear that, was that they have too much the air of a memoir. A memoir

they are not : for of all those hundreds of propositions of geometrical truths unknown before, not one is proved there. The needed complete demonstrations, even of the 7-edra so far as I am aware, have yet to see the light. And now they cannot appear until they are enough wanted to set at work some young son of Science to prove or disprove my enumerations. He will do this with ease at the proper time, from what he will find before him in London and Liverpool of two practicable methods ; or he may invent a better. It is very likely that in doing this, he will be glad to have the help of this fragment.

This, and immensely more that was prepared in similar detail, might easily have been presented long ago. But I have never been asked for even thus much, and I have not been in haste to throw away money in printing. It is now too late. I have felt that the Royal Society have been wise in waiting for an easier and more elegant solution of this entire problem by some more skilful hand ; and I, too, have been wise enough about the whole matter, to wait in my corner along with them in perfect "peace" for more than twice "ten years."

Nobody is in a hurry for another century or two. In no tongue have I ever seen or received an intimation that any geometer has read three pages of what I have written on this subject, except one from the late Professor De Morgan. In his letter, which is now before me, written in 1862, without a word of complaint that my pages are unreadable, he informs me with thanks that he has read the printed papers which I had sent to him, and sees that my excessively complicated task has been conquered.

The two theories of Groups and of Polyedra were made famous for ever, early in 1858, by the Imperial Institute of France, when they hung out *Urbi et Orbi* two dazzling medals, as prizes for competitions on these subjects in 1860

and 1861. For more than two years the twin stars shone brilliantly together :

Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,

were of old the glory both of Paris and of Troy.

It came to pass in 1860 (vide *Comptes Rendus*, Mars, 1861) that one star was suddenly extinguished ; the other being, like

" The last rose of summer, left blooming alone,
Its lovely companion faded and gone."

Again, for above two years, the brave survivor tried hard to make a decent bloom of it ; but at last, feebly and more feebly, it glittered itself out. (*Vide C. R.*, 1862-63.)

Touching groups I may be permitted to remark that in the *Proceedings* of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. iii, pp. 133 and 161, 1864, and vol. iv, p. 172, 1865, there is a copious abstract of a more complete treatise than the one in the better known *Memoirs* of that society, vol. i, ser. 3, 1862. In that abstract are given the titles of the 135 non-equivalent transitive groups that can be made with fewer than eleven elements. Here are the titles of two, made with eight elements :—

$$8 \cdot 4 = 1 + 12_{44} + 18_{222} + 6_{221111} ; Q = 105 :$$

$$8 \cdot 4 = 1 + 12_{44} + 18_{222} + 6_{221111} ; Q = 630.$$

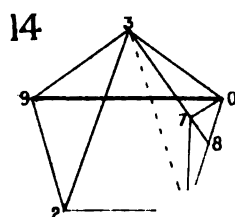
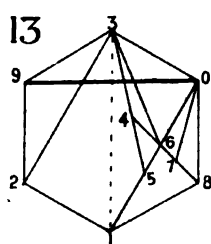
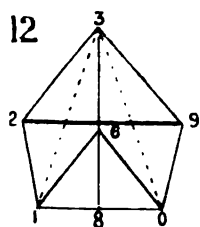
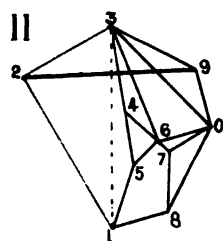
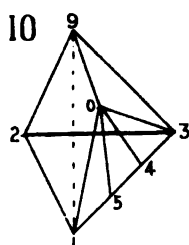
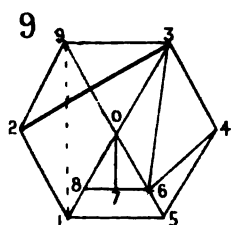
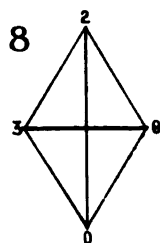
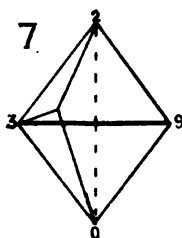
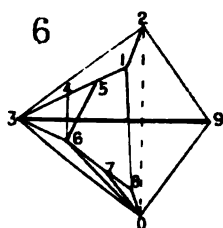
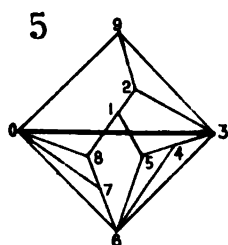
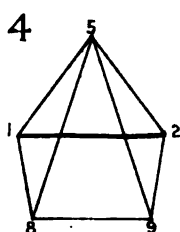
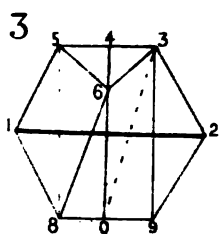
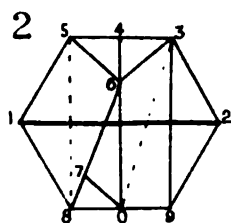
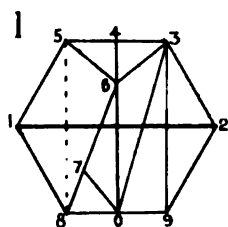
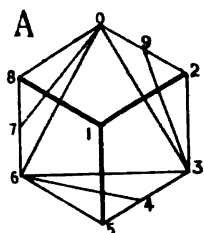
Both have 12 substitutions having each two circles of four elements ; and both have 19 square roots of unity, viz., 6 with four undisturbed elements, and 13 with none. The groups differ in the numbers Q of their distinct equivalents, each beginning with unity. Both groups are written out at page 80 of vol. xxxviii of the *Mathematical Reprint* of the *Educational Times*, Hodgson and Son, London, 1883.

To me it appears that the leading questions in the theory of groups are two : 1, How many really different transitive

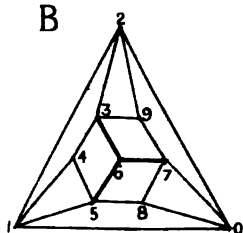
groups can be made with n elements?—and 2, How are these to be written down with their analysis, and with their proved number Q of equivalents? Answers to these questions as to the above two groups are given at the page 80 above quoted, as they are found in the treatise about all the 135 groups enumerated and described. That treatise has somehow disappeared from the archives of the Society; but the abstract in their *Proceedings* places on record enough for my purpose.

Is not that a complete theory of groups which fully answers these two questions up to $n=10$, and which shews tactically how they may be answered for higher values of n ?

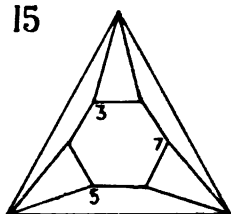
PLATE I



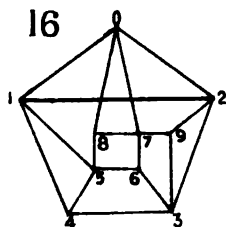
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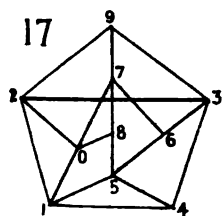
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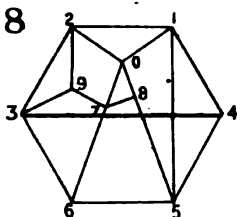
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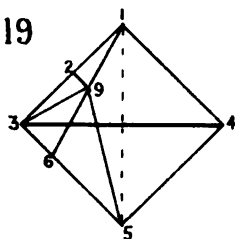
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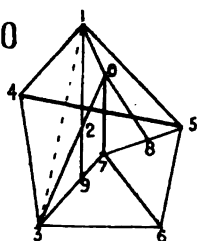
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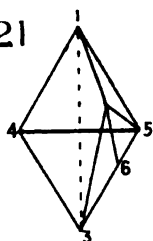
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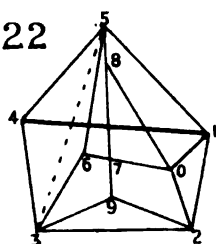
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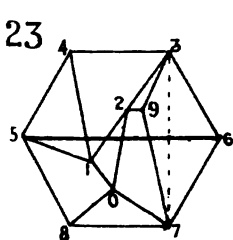
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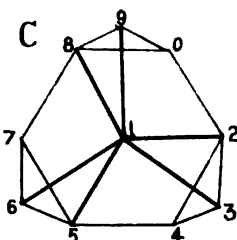
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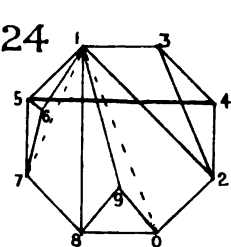
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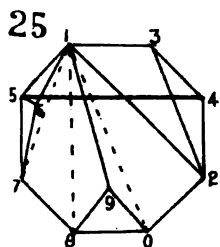
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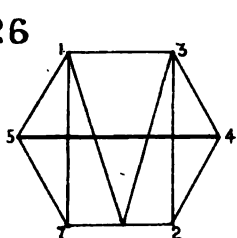
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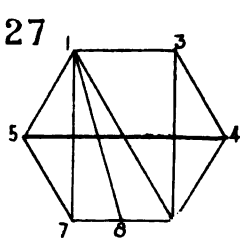
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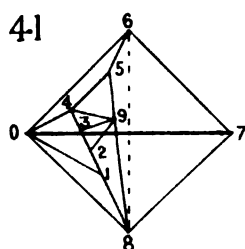
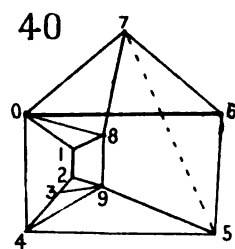
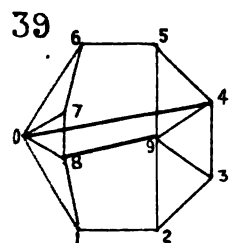
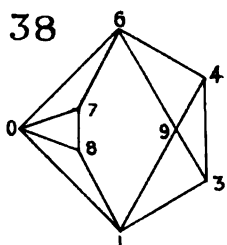
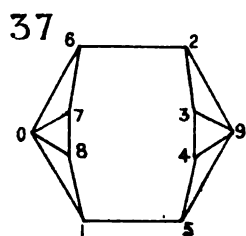
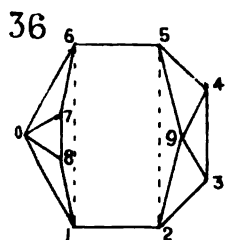
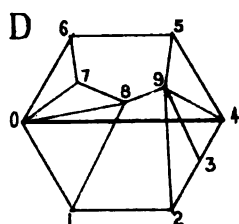
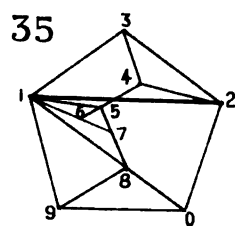
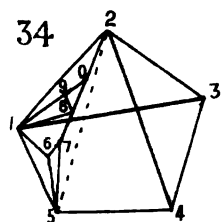
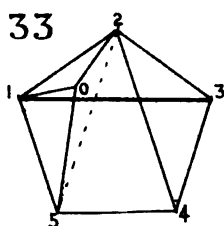
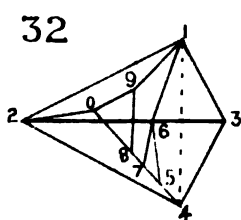
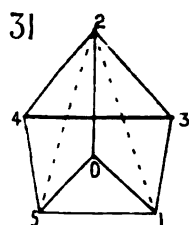
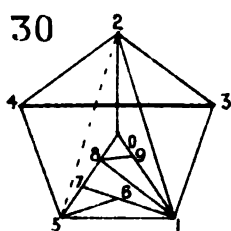
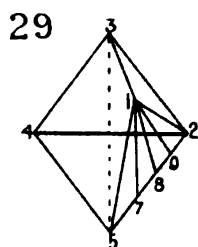
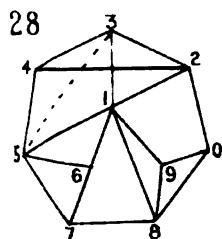


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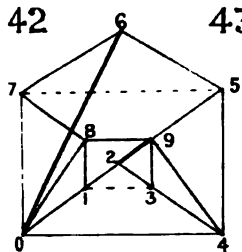


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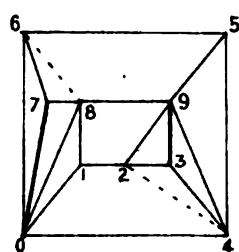




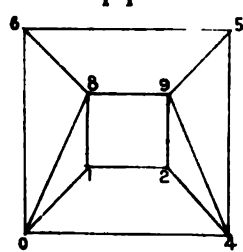
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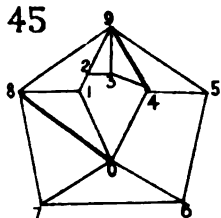
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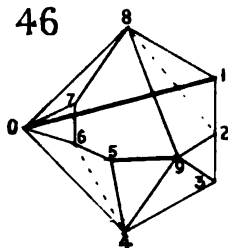
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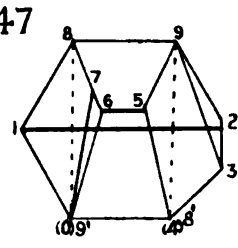
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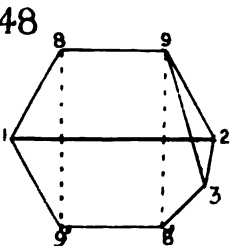
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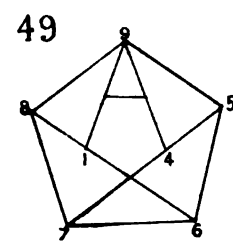
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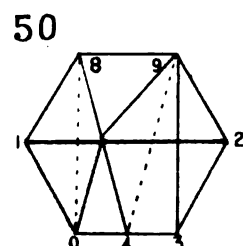
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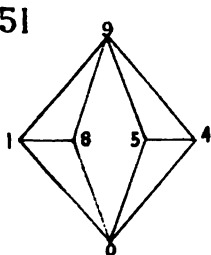
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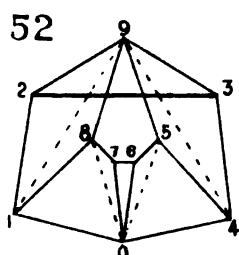
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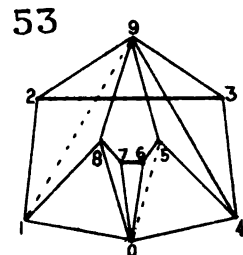
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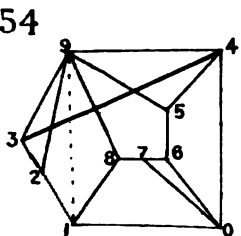
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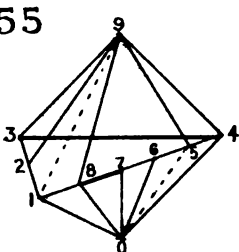
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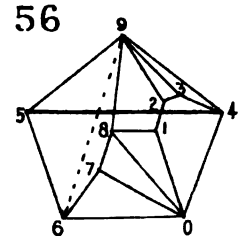
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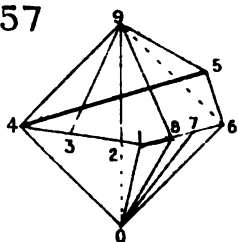
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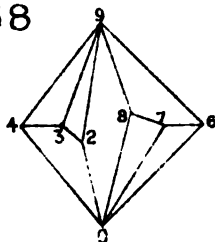
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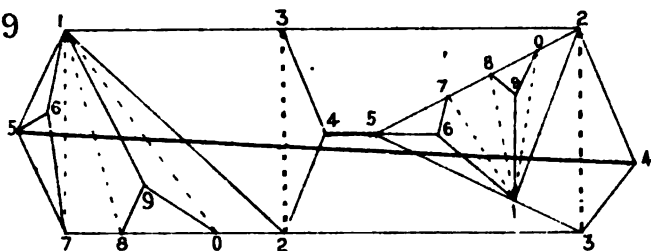
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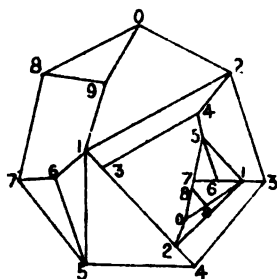
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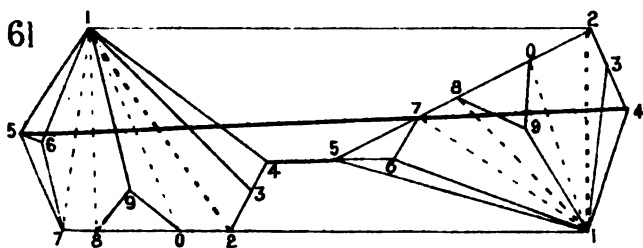
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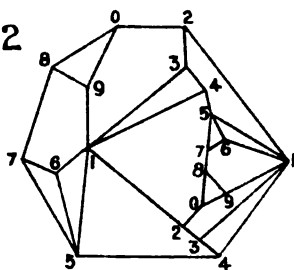
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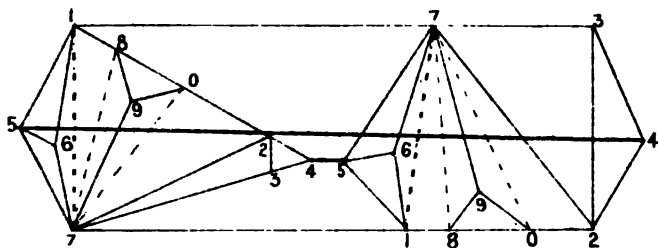
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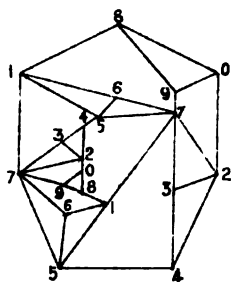
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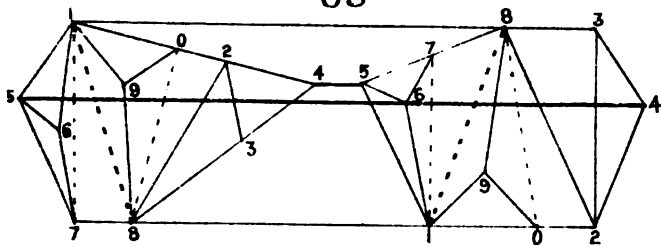
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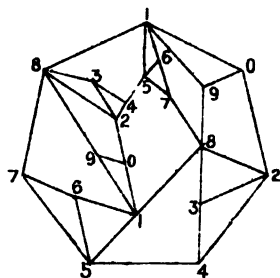
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66



COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

By FREDERICK W. EDWARDS, M.S.A.

THE papers on practical education which I have formerly presented to the Society have dealt with three sections of this important subject. In the first, an endeavour was made to give a comprehensive idea of the general course of technical instruction adopted on the Continent. In the second, the same subject was considered with respect to our own country; and in the third, the scheme of Industrial Education advocated and practised both at home and abroad was generally set forth. I now propose to conclude the series with a review of the present state of Commercial Education in England and on the Continent. This will be mainly based, so far as the Continent is concerned, upon the long and valuable report drawn up by the Commercial Section of the International Congress on Technical Education, held at Bordeaux, in 1887; and, also, upon several recent continental works, descriptive of the various commercial schools in the chief countries of Europe.

THE COMMERCIAL SECTION OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT BORDEAUX.

The Bordeaux Report urgently enforces the necessity of a special commercial education, as distinct from an industrial one, for those students who are intended for a mercantile career. It also points out, in the clearest language, the immense change, virtually amounting to a revolution, which has affected the conditions of commerce. In former times,

and those not very far back, a few privileged peoples and localities possessed a practical monopoly in trade and manufacture. Then, the buyer came to the seller; certain goods, certain needs, could only be supplied at certain districts, or markets; and commercial intercourse went on in a definite and limited groove. Now, almost every western country is busy, providing not only for the needs of its people, but actively competing with its neighbours in every country where there offers any opening for the disposal of its wares. The producer, the seller, no longer waits for the buyer—his agents traverse the world, and he, whose commodities were formerly distributed without any special effort on his part, now finds himself in a crowd of others like himself, all engaged in the one common struggle for the possession of a market and the security of a customer. Cheapness of production without deterioration in quality, economy of transit and other like aids to success, were very soon recognised as essentials of the first consideration. But it was not until the competition grew keener, that commercial men, and such statesmen as had the sagacity to perceive the necessity of fostering international enterprise, felt that something more was required beyond these elementary essentials, to enable any business community to hold an advantageous position in the peaceful conflict of trade. Improved machinery, better educated artisans, and cheapness of locomotion and transit, were all very well, but the question was, how best to train your men engaged in the actual traffic itself, so as to fit them to trade in any part of the world, and put them on the right path for the discovery and creation of new and hitherto unsuspected fields. It was such considerations as these which induced the members of the Commercial Section at Bordeaux to congratulate the Minister of Public Instruction in France upon his introduction of a scheme of secondary education, which included a special course of study

in modern languages. They also recognised the need of adapting the school course to those destined for a commercial career, by passing resolutions to the following effect:—

I.—That the diploma of this New Secondary Education be assimilated, in the most general manner, to that of Commercial Education.

II.—That its curriculum be detached from that of Classical Education in a more distinct manner than at present exists, and that the instruction be provided in separate establishments.

The Public Schools and University Colleges of Great Britain are now happily following the same course, and instituting a "Modern Side," apart from the old classical department, in their organisation, so that the study of living languages and the claims of commercial life may be fully provided for. But unless a national system of secondary education, as in France, is adopted, it is difficult to perceive how the provisions so far made will meet all the necessities of the case. The methods and programmes of commercial instruction abroad will be described later on, when it will be seen that although there is considerable variation, there is but one definite aim, and no difference of opinion as to the subjects required to be taught. The Commercial Section passed no formal resolution on this point; but it was decided, with respect to the schools of the First Degree, to recommend the *École Commerciale* of Paris as a model for this class, and the hope was expressed that many more schools of like character would be founded. Concerning the superior schools, it was agreed—That the Minister of Commerce should give his official sanction to the diplomas of Commercial Schools by the appointment of suitable delegates to superintend their examinations. Several other resolutions were passed, touching the French military service, the exemption of commercial students therefrom, and their enjoyment of certain privileges.

The subject of evening Technical Commercial Schools was also taken up, but not pursued in any definite manner, as will be seen from the following conclusion:—That the founders of some of the numerous Evening Commercial Classes held in France and abroad, be requested at the next Congress, to give in detail particulars of their constitution and progress. An interesting discussion was originated on the subject of Free Scholarships. It should be remembered that the Chambers of Commerce in France direct, as a rule, the Superior Commercial Schools. Having in most instances funds at control, these corporate bodies offer yearly diplomas to the most efficient pupils, carrying with them sums varying from £80 to £100. The conditions attached are that the holder, after selecting some foreign country, must proceed thereto, and remain for a period of not less than twelve months. On his return, he is called upon to present a report on the climate, natural advantages, products, imports, exports, and other general information of the district in which he has resided. Having had the good fortune to meet and converse at length with some of these *diplomés*, it was a great pleasure to hear of the countries they had visited, to learn what interesting reports they had written, and what a large amount of experience and knowledge they had gained by means of foreign travel and study. One of them, in particular, had lately returned to his native city, and was carrying on a successful business with England, where he had sojourned for about two years. These Free Scholarships are a source of great power and advantage to Continental nations, and are looked upon as the most effective means of extending their business relations. The Commercial Section, therefore, considered it advisable to extend the limit of age from twenty-five to thirty years in those taking up their scholarships and proceeding abroad. The opinion was further

expressed that the number of travelling Scholarships should be increased, and that the two hundred Annual Scholarships of 2,000 francs each, proposed to be founded by the French Chamber of Deputies, was not sufficient for the encouragement of French interests abroad. It was resolved to ask that the amount be increased, and that the Government be requested to assist in the support of a greater number of Chambers of Commerce. The value of Free Travelling Scholarships cannot be too highly estimated, and the liberty may be taken of urging upon the numerous wealthy and large-hearted merchants of England, and such public bodies as Chambers of Commerce, interested in the matter, the provision of an adequate number of such Scholarships for that portion of the rising generation who intend to follow a purely commercial career. The remaining resolution adopted in the Report now under consideration that demands attention, refers to the Commercial Education of women. The Commercial School for women, at Lyons, and the Commercial Division of the Municipal School, in the Rue Bossnette, at Paris, having produced excellent results, it was decided to call public attention to these institutions, and encourage their growth elsewhere.

Turning now from these eminently practical suggestions of the commercial section to the various reports and papers contributed to the Congress, the one best deserving our attention is that by M. Salicis, whose position as Inspector-General of Public Instruction in France gives great weight to his opinions. He showed, with much pains and elaboration, the necessity of establishing, and the practicability of maintaining, an intimate connexion between the various departments of Technical, Industrial, and Commercial Education. He also clearly demonstrated in detail how this continuity might be accomplished in a national system of education. M. Salicis lays down that economic organisation

and teaching are primary factors and indispensable elements to success. Passing lightly over the fatal year of 1870, since which the public spirit of France has resolutely bent itself towards the diffusion of this economic education, he refers with just pride to the numerous establishments which under divers names have been called into life by the state, the departments, the municipalities, the chambers of commerce, the syndicates, the associations, and independent educators. He pleads for cohesion and for common agreement in the carrying out of their programmes. At present he warns them that they are imitating modern military tactics and fighting in open order. He acknowledges that the ordinary school life of a French youth is judiciously arranged ; that up to the age of seventeen years he receives a sufficient amount of grammatical, classical, philosophical and scientific instruction. But when he turns his attention to the superior schools—to schools of special application—he finds a want of unanimity in both the course and the aim of the instruction given. There is much solid wisdom in the counsel of M. Salicis when he urges commercial students not to be satisfied even with the advantages of a Parisian education, or with a visit to such places as London, Antwerp, Hamburg, Vienna, or Frankfort. They should go further afield, and study the affairs of the United States, South America, and even India, China, and the East. Comparing commercial traffic with the physical frame of man, he shows us how the merchant is like unto the brain which thinks, judges, decides, and contains and distributes nervous life. The mechanic or engineer is the spine from whence branch the motor nerves. The artizan is the muscle, acting under the double impulse of brain and spine. He argues that methods of instruction should be analogous to these physical functions, and that they should form a series of efforts in perfect accord with one another. M. Salicis sketches an ideal institution in which

the three industrial classes, the merchant, engineer, and artizan could be trained for a life of industry and commerce in separate departments. The lowest class consists of families unable to make any sacrifice for their children, or to keep them long at school before passing into some remunerative employment. The next, though more fortunate in this respect, lack the capital requisite for the creation or acquisition of industrial undertakings. The third are supposed to be sufficiently blessed with time, knowledge, and money to enable their children to take the fullest advantage of their educational opportunities.

M. Salicis then proceeds to picture a college adapted to all three, consisting of three sections with courses extending respectively over three, five, and six years. The primary section would naturally be one of apprenticeship, with a three years' course, enabling workmen to leave it at the age of sixteen or seventeen years, and including an extra class for superior artizans up to eighteen years.

The second to be devoted to mechanical and constructive engineering, with a five years' course, divided into a two years' apprenticeship, and three years for technical instruction. Students in this division to graduate at eighteen or twenty years of age, and be perfected by a system of overseership and, if possible, a year or so of foreign travel.

In the third section the study of industry in its highest developments would form a six years' course; comprised of one year's apprenticeship, two years' technical teaching, and three years' industrial training. The students of this latter school would leave at twenty or twenty-two years of age, and either travel abroad for two years, or sojourn during the same time in large manufacturing establishments. M. Salicis then proceeds to show how the unity of instruction which he advocates is to be gained, and how it must be based on the three orders of natural law—physical, chemical,

and dynamical—and, in conclusion, demands a rational as well as a methodical spirit in education, and contends that only by this will honest work, coupled with the development of good taste—so necessary for France—be acquired. He perceives plainly that the best education for the majority of citizens is that which either leads up to the handling of tools—to the workshop—or the transformation of matter in some shape or form. He finds that, if work or labour is to be efficient and profitable it can only be made so by the combination of intelligence with the hand and the eye. He admits that the love of work is not innate in man—that it comes by constraint, and that habit is only gained by degrees, and by prolonged instruction. For this reason he would subject every child as early as possible to the discipline of work as his best preparation for whatever fate may await him in life. Animated by these sentiments, France has created special normal schools for labour, and M. Salicis predicts the truth when he asserts that only by educated and organised labour can France remain the mistress of her markets, without resorting to those meaner devices of filching her competitors' trademarks, or counterfeiting their goods.

Much miscellaneous information was contributed by several delegates as to the enormous progress of general education abroad. Although Germany has promoted an efficient system of secondary and advanced Technical Education, it seems indisputable that in France Elementary Technical Education is more widely and evenly spread than in any other European country. Commercial Education has also received more systematic encouragement there than elsewhere. Remembering how completely paralysed the best energies of the French nation were after their disasters in the Franco-German war—that many successive ministries have fallen during the last ten years, the steady and uninter-

rupted growth of national education is simply astonishing. One interesting feature of the French system which should not be left unnoticed is the continuity with which instruction is carried forward in consecutive stages. The public schools of France are not only very complete and many-sided, but it is no exaggeration to affirm that a thorough training is provided for the entire population in almost every profession, trade, and industry, at an exceedingly low and often nominal cost. A tabulated list of her numerous institutions would be a formidable compilation, especially when we consider that in Paris alone 200,000 children are receiving an excellent industrial training, and are freely supplied with books and stationery, and, where needful, with food and clothing by this municipality. Referring now to Germany for a moment, it is significant of her enterprise that the latest idea of the Germans for facilitating business intercourse with Eastern nations, is the establishment at Berlin of a school for instruction in living Oriental languages. By offering a training in Arabic, Hindustanee, Persian, Chinese, and Japanese, they aim at qualifying young men for the careers of merchants, travellers, consuls, dragomen and scientists. German education, whether professional, commercial, diplomatic or scientific has long been adapted to facilitate direct commercial intercourse with merchants in other countries. Having now given a fair epitome of the report of the Commercial Section of the Bordeaux Congress, the general ideas and views presented will prepare us for the consideration, which we will now take up, of the Commercial Schools of the Continent.

FOREIGN COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS.

These schools are rapidly springing up in every large town or city in France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Roumania, Russia, and Sweden.

These countries now thoroughly recognise the fact that the prosperity of their industries is not merely dependent on their ability to produce the highest quality at the lowest cost, but that it is also due to the facility with which they can buy material, and sell the manufactured article on the most favourable terms. They are now fully alive to that other fact, that modern science has considerably diminished the cost of production ; while they are also conscious that the spread of education is sharpening competition, and that success in this competition will only fall to those who are the best educated for the conflict. Professor Huxley recently pointed out the difference between warfare and industry. "Industry," he said, "did not break heads, and it did not shed blood, but it starved the man who failed in the war of competition, and the nation which succeeded in the war of competition beat the other by starvation."

The severe conditions under which nations are now compelled to carry on industrial competition are, indeed, very similar to those of a warfare in which no quarter is given, and the nation which neglects to discipline its citizens for this incessant commercial warfare will eventually be compelled to submit to disasters as destructive as those of a signal defeat in arms. In general terms, Lord Salisbury has shown us from whence must come relief. "The first necessity of mankind," he said, at the Mansion House, "was to live, and their first duty was to work ; the first duty of education was to enable them to live and to fit them for work." When we examine the constitution of the principal commercial schools of the Continent, we shall find that much has been done in obedience to this first duty of education, by fitting immense numbers of the population to work efficiently in every department of trade and commerce. Our Continental neighbours were the first to discern the general principle that however imperative production may be, the

trade of the world has become so international and cosmopolitan that production must be closely allied to, and rapidly followed by, suitable distribution. It was their sense of this that compelled them to provide the remedy, and it is the same sense which has created the growing demand in this country for a better system of commercial education. It may be stated at the outset, that suitable distribution, as regards England, is for the present hampered by three cardinal defects—want of knowledge and adaptability, lack of enterprise in finding new markets, and indifference or inability to make the commodities that such markets require. It will be more convenient by and by to show how far this is the actual state of the case; but is it not obvious that such national defects can only be removed by a more practical system of school instruction? Such must have been the view of the Royal Commission on Trade Depression, from whose report we learn that “in the matter of education, we appear to be particularly deficient, as compared with some of our foreign competitors. This remark applies to not only what is usually called Technical Education, but to the ordinary Commercial Education which is required in mercantile houses, and especially the knowledge of foreign languages.”

CLASSIFICATION OF FOREIGN SCHOOLS.

Commercial Schools abroad may be generally divided as follows :—

A. Schools of the first degree, where pupils are admitted at about twelve years of age, and retained for a period of three or four years.

B. Superior Schools, taking students at the age of about sixteen, and keeping them for two or three years.

Both these institutions vary in detail, according to the respective countries in which they are situated. In some

instances, they are maintained by companies of merchants, or by Guilds, and other similar societies; in others, by Chambers of Commerce; but more frequently by the joint effort of state and municipality. In Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland, a large amount of State support has been provided; while, in France, they have been mainly founded by local authorities and Chambers of Commerce. Whatever be their pecuniary resources, they all have one common aim.

SCHOOLS OF THE FIRST DEGREE.

The Schools of the first degree offer instruction in necessary mercantile subjects with the elements of English, French, and German, to all youths who have received a good elementary education in the Communal, or Municipal Schools. They thus give a fair commercial training to the middle and lower classes, who are compelled to commence business life at the bottom of the ladder, and whose advancement depends entirely upon their ability and energy. These schools may be cited as another proof of the decay of the old apprenticeship system, and of the necessity that has arisen for a more specific instruction to fit the rising generation for its place in the world. The curriculum at Plauen, in Saxony, will show the kind of ordinary instruction given in a first degree school. Students cannot attend under the age of fourteen, and must have passed through all the elementary course. The training continues for three years, and includes:—German, French, English, history, geography, mercantile arithmetic, book-keeping, correspondence, counting-house work, mercantile science, and calligraphy. These schools are open two or three hours every day—either from 7 to 9 a.m., or 2 to 4 p.m. It will be noticed how that apprentices must combine a school and business career during this period of their lives. Although

the system has been generally adopted in Saxony, it appears that many Principals of firms object to this withdrawal of their employés for ten or twelve hours a week, and decline to take boys into their offices and works until they have passed at least the lower division. The Institut Commerciale, of Paris, is an excellent example of a Primary Commercial School, where practical studies only are undertaken. Founded by a company of merchants, its special object is to train those who intend to engage in any foreign trade. The pupils enter at thirteen or fourteen for a three years' course. In foreign languages, all grammatical technicalities are ignored, the teachers simply conversing with their students about articles and transactions of commerce. Trade operations are illustrated from the books of extinct firms, and the coins, weights, and measures of all nations are included in mathematics. Lectures are delivered by merchants and manufacturers in their own special subjects. Visits are paid weekly to warehouses and manufactories in and around Paris, and the students are afterwards required to furnish written descriptions thereon. The syllabus of foreign trade includes the acceptance, transmission, and execution of foreign orders; the handling and examination of goods, packing, carriage, insurance, current prices, samples, trade marks, protection of French interests, climatology, moral qualities necessary in representatives of French commerce, returns of imports, consular reports, customs, telegraphic codes, and methods of payment.

SUPERIOR SCHOOLS.

The aim of the superior schools is to give to youths who have received an ordinary middle class education, complete mercantile instruction in all subjects, including modern languages, that will fit them for the position of clerks, book-keepers, managers and heads of business concerns. These

schools have been very successful, particularly in Germany, principally because they provide the special form of education needed for those intending to follow trades and professions. Both in France and Germany opinion is much divided as to whether or not the superior schools should be entirely of a practical nature, and in effect, be converted into model business houses. At the *Ecole Supérieur de Commerce*, and the *Ecole des Hautes Etude Commerciale*, in Paris, the negative view is carried out, and a general theoretical training is supplied as a foundation, followed later on by instruction in actual business procedure. The *Ecole Supérieur de Commerce*, which is controlled by the Paris Chamber of Commerce, is one of the oldest French commercial schools in which an endeavour is made to combine theory and practice. Students entering must not be under fifteen years of age, the course lasting three years. The first year is preparatory. In the second, the instruction becomes specialised and more purely commercial. The pupils must perfect themselves in German and English, and commence either Spanish or Italian. In mathematics they are practised in rapid calculations, and must solve questions by reasoning rather than by artificial rules. Book-keeping is taught by practical application, and visits are paid every week to manufacturers in the neighbourhood, and the students are annually taken to the larger industrial towns of France and Belgium. Before the expiration of the three years adequate instruction is supplied in commercial geography, history, law, correspondence, statistics, arithmetic, algebra, applied physics and chemistry, taxation, finance, banking and counting-house work.

FOREIGN HIGHER COMMERCIAL COLLEGES.

There is yet a third class of institution, providing a course of study in purely technical mercantile subjects to

those having already received a full training in the Real schools or Gymnasien. Their existence has only been a short one—they are few in number, and have been founded principally in Germany. In all but the name they are University Colleges, giving the very highest instruction in the science of modern commerce. Their object is to train those who have had the advantages of a liberal education, to become not only proficient in business, but to qualify themselves for the positions of consuls and magistrates in commercial courts, and arbitration-assessors in trade disputes. The Paris Chamber of Commerce established in 1881 one of these high Commercial Schools. Among other special subjects lectures are given on commercial and maritime law, judicial procedure, and financial legislation. The Ecole des Hautes Etude Commerciale, at Paris, has had a prosperous career, a fact which English Chambers of Commerce might do well to carefully consider. The Handels Academy, of Vienna, is the most famous of the higher mercantile schools of Austria. Founded by a body of private merchants, it is nevertheless a public institution, under the control of the Austrian Minister of Education. The curriculum is divided into a one year's course for students who have finished their general education, and a three years' course for pupils who have passed the Real Gymnasien, or the four lower classes of a Gymnasien or Real School. Its particular object is to train, not merely clerks, managers, and other employes of commercial life, but to give suitable instruction for future principals and heads of business concerns, such as bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and even political economists. The theoretical course of book-keeping is elaborate and complete. In the first year general practical counting-house work is taught; in the second, book-keeping by several methods is gone through; while in the third, an imitation Bureau is established for exemplifying the book-keeping

systems of large banks, companies and commission houses. An exceptional feature is the training provided in the last year in trade usances and the calculation of produce, which includes the business methods of many different markets and exchanges, dealings in raw and manufactured material, together with import duties and tariff charges. From the foregoing it will be perceived how extensive and efficient are the mercantile schools of the Continent.

In addition, attention may be profitably directed to the Real Schools of Germany, as reorganised in 1859. These are now neither more nor less than great commercial academies. The course of study is nine years. No Greek is taught, and less Latin than at the Gymnasien, which prepares for the Universities, but much time is bestowed on German, French, English, mathematics, and science. In foreign languages there is no attempt at fluency in conversation, but instead the pupils are well grounded in the master-works of great national writers. To overcome linguistic difficulties, students are encouraged to pass some time in other countries, so as to gain conversational power and mastery over idiom by personal contact with the natives. It must be noted, however, that Germany is not by any means abandoning her hold upon classics, either in the Gymnasien or Real School, and that the authorities strictly enforce their study.

OTHER FOREIGN COMMERCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

There exist in Paris free commercial evening classes, which are maintained by different societies and institutions for the benefit of both men and women. Those between the ages of fourteen and twenty, whom necessity has compelled to enter a business career very early in life, may here in the evenings have all the advantages of an ordinary day commercial school, and thus bring themselves up to the level of those

whose circumstances have provided them with an efficient instruction in the ordinary course of things. The Ecoles des Commerce of France have long been conspicuous for the ample provision they make for the equipment of young men for commercial purposes. One of the best and most thoroughly organised is the Ecole Supérieur de Commerce, of Paris, founded in 1820, already noticed. Other countries, especially Germany, have since largely followed the example which France has set, in the institution of these superior commercial schools. Belgium offers suitable instruction at many Ecoles Moyennes. In addition to these, she can look with pride upon the celebrated Commercial Institute at Antwerp, in the establishment of which, thirty-six years since, commerce and science joined hands to endeavour to adjust the problem of mercantile education.

Those who have visited Belgium can bear witness to the superiority of, and special facilities offered by, their system of instruction. It may be asserted that as regards excellence of training combined with lowness of fees, no such institutions exist in England, and it would require almost a revolution in our present ideas ere we could utilise the advantages offered. It might be difficult to demonstrate clearly that the great commercial capacity of the Belgians is entirely due to the influence and practical nature of the instruction given in these schools; but just inference may be drawn from the fact that Antwerp is now competing most successfully with our British carrying trade, as well as rapidly lessening the greater tonnage in and out of the respective ports as compared with Liverpool. It may be of assistance to many parents to draw more particular attention to the Antwerp Commercial Institute, founded by royal decree, under the joint control of city and state. Being easily and cheaply accessible by water to foreign students, it is not surprising to find that they comprise one-third of its

total number. An entrance examination is imperative. Belgian boys attending ordinary commercial schools are gradually led up to it; but foreign youths generally require a preparatory course, and a special class is held for them during the four months preceding the October term of each year. The entrance examination comprises a composition in French, and a translation from French into German and English, physical geography, commercial arithmetic, book-keeping, rudiments of universal history, and natural philosophy. This test is usually too severe for foreigners, and is modified in their favour, especially in languages. The course is two years, and the fees are £9 for the first, and £11 for the second year. Should the student fail to secure a diploma at the end of this period, he is allowed to retrace his steps at half the original fees. The curriculum is a very extensive one, and involves the study of every commodity known to civilisation, its production and distribution, and all appertaining to its purchase, shipment, transfer, and sale. French is the ordinary language of the students, but efficient instruction is supplied in Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and English. With such inducements, and at so low a cost, we cannot help admiring the wisdom of those heads of families who bestow upon their children the benefits of a Continental hall-mark, sanctioned by the security of Government control.

Italy has a complete system of commercial education; while the little kingdom of Roumania supports six public mercantile schools. The ordinary schools of Switzerland devote so much time to commercial instruction that no special institutions are needed. Holland has efficient commercial schools at Amsterdam, Enschede, and Haarlem, and in addition teaches book-keeping, knowledge of materials, commercial law, and political economy, in her ordinary schools. Although varying considerably in detail, the general

curriculum of all these institutions is much the same. Immediately a student decides to adopt a commercial career, classics, and even science, are abandoned at a certain point, and modern languages, together with the principles and practice of commerce, substituted. Having acquired a sufficient mastery over the language and literature of his own and one or two other important nations, he enters upon a more specific course of study. While mathematics are not carried too far, arithmetic must be learnt up to its highest branches. Industrial and economic geography, political history and economy, the transfer, distribution, and characteristics, of raw and manufactured articles of commerce, their chemical and physical properties, the laws and conditions of soils and climates, the resources of countries, their imports, exports, customs duties and tariffs, are studied in their multifarious conditions with an earnestness of application which can scarcely be comprehended in this country. Students must in addition make themselves proficient in other forms of mercantile knowledge and operation, such as prices, weights, measures, currency, credit, bullion, bills of exchange, insurance, consular work, the natural divisions of commerce, and sources of demand and supply, and the legal aspect of partnership, companies, and trading generally. It may be gathered, therefore, how by an harmonious blending of knowledge and purpose, theory and practice, intelligence and capability, and mind and body, the Continental youth is in a position to use commercial knowledge profitably at about the same age as the British boy commences to seek it; the simple explanation being that the foreigner has made mercantile training a science instead of merely a trade as it is with us.

DIVERSITY OF FOREIGN SYSTEMS.

Although the object is the same, the systems adopted by

the various mercantile schools of the Continent are not uniform. The special report on commercial education, presented by Messrs. Percival, Summers, Felkin, and Paton to the Associated Chambers of Commerce last year, clearly exhibits the difference in this respect between the Bavarian, the Saxon, and the Austrian methods. The Bavarian is a six years' course. Taking boys from ten to sixteen years of age, it combines mercantile with general instruction. Commercial subjects are only taken in the last two years, but the preceding years are preparatory thereto. The Saxon consists of a three years' course, beginning at fourteen or fifteen years of age, upon completion of an elementary education. The special mercantile subjects predominate, and a general education is only continued as far as may be necessary to obtain the military certificate. But the commercial curriculum is much more extended than the Bavarian. The Austrian is also a three years' course, beginning at sixteen or seventeen years of age, when the general education is completed. It is almost exclusively mercantile. Students remain up to nineteen or twenty years of age, and are trained so as to render ordinary business apprenticeship unnecessary. It will thus be observed that while the Bavarian system offers the minimum of mercantile instruction, it gives the best preparation for future business apprenticeship. The Saxon only does so to a certain extent, while the Austrian endeavours to supplant apprenticeship altogether. Though based on different principles, and having essentially distinguishing characteristics, we have here represented three methods which the countries named deem best for securing an efficient mercantile education, together with the general culture required for the social position which will hereafter probably be attained. There is no occasion to discuss at any length the question whether it is possible to give efficient mental training by

instruction in mercantile subjects, merely combined with foreign languages and modern science. The analysis already alluded to shows plainly to what perfection mercantile education has grown. It demonstrates, moreover, the fact that apprenticeship in business life, as in industrial work, will be to a large extent probably superseded, and that students must in the future be more thoroughly prepared for commerce in the school, rather than in the office.

The question may now be reasonably asked why Continental nations began, before we did, to feel the necessity for a more advanced mercantile education. That it was due to the desire to develop their new-born industries is obvious. Their commerce had for a time to struggle for an existence against the established position and influence which ours had already attained. The natural, indeed, the only, alternative was to improve the education of their people in every conceivable form. This determination became very apparent after the battle of Jena, when the King of Prussia, in a celebrated proclamation, used these words:—"The State must gain in intellectual power what she has lost in material power, and to this end I desire that everything be done to extend and perfect the education of the people." Overwhelming defeat and bitter military adversity had forced the conviction that the mind of a nation was worth more than its soil. Germany has since accomplished so much by increased educational means that the relative position is more evenly balanced, if not actually changed against us. Without further comment on the Continental position, we will proceed to enquire what steps are being taken in England to follow the examples referred to, and restore, if possible, our commercial supremacy.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

The English Universities propose that the Oxford and

Cambridge Schools Education Board should issue, after due examination, a commercial certificate. This examination is intended for persons of seventeen years of age who desire to enter commercial life. Candidates are required to pass in arithmetic and algebra; English (including shorthand, as a voluntary subject); at least one modern language and its colloquial use; geography, and one literary or scientific subject. The City and Guilds of London Institute have for some time past made instruction in French and German obligatory, it being the only literary training they give. Their desire in doing so is to enable students to ascertain from the trade journals of other countries the progress made in industrial and scientific matters, and also to increase their knowledge, by giving them the power to communicate freely with foreigners. The Charity Commissioners have expressed their willingness to adapt some of the old endowments to the purposes of commercial education. The Society of Arts which, several years ago, inaugurated commercial examinations, has, with the hope of making them more practical, decided to extend the curriculum to special subjects relating to different branches of commerce. For the present, these subjects are confined to the commerce of food, and the commerce of clothing, but it is intended to add other divisions, as time and experience may demand. The syllabus treats of the main divisions of trade, and candidates are to be examined, not only over an extensive field of theoretical commerce, but, when possible, will be required to practically examine and report on samples of goods. This Society having always exhibited the deepest interest in the spread of education, there is much reason to believe that its activity and influence will, in this new effort, result in an improved state of things. Among other attempts, mention may be made of University College, Liverpool, where a two years' course of study has been initiated; and other similar bodies

are adopting the same idea. It must be apparent, however, that all the efforts named require to be brought into one common system if they are to affect the educational machinery of the country at large. The old Oriental mythologists pictured the earth resting on an elephant, and the elephant on a tortoise; but what supported the tortoise they omitted to show. It is to be feared that our present system as a whole does not rest upon a much more secure basis.

The need of reform in this respect may be gathered from some of the remarks made at a representative conference of educationalists, held in London some time ago. Sir John Lubbock then stated that, with regard to Public and Endowed Schools, the return which he moved for three years ago showed that out of 240 principal schools, there were no less than one hundred in which science is either not regularly taught, or only one hour per week devoted to it, and that of the whole number only twenty devote as much as four hours per week to this important subject. With reference to modern languages, there are forty schools in which either they are not taught, or less than two hours per week are given to them. In more than half the schools, less than four hours a week are allotted to modern languages, an amount obviously insufficient. There are only thirty schools out of the whole number in which as much as six hours per week are devoted to modern languages, literature, and history. At some of the largest, and in many respects, the best institutions, French and German when taught at all, are taught as dead languages. It is often alleged that we wish to drive out classics and literature. This is an entire mistake. What we claim in public schools is that out of, say, thirty hours per week, six might be devoted to science, six to modern languages, six to arithmetic, and two to political geography; there would still be left ten hours for Latin and Greek. The proposals of Sir John Lubbock, as

to the redistribution of the curriculum of our Public Schools, are extremely moderate and well grounded. At the same time, do not let us overlook the difficulty that must always arise where instruction is required, on the one hand, for those intended for a professional career; and, on the other, for those only destined for commercial life. Their objects and requirements are so diverse that it will probably be found impossible to bind both by the same rules, and uniformity is not possible, even were it desirable, under such circumstances. It is many years since Milton wrote, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year." If this was correct in his day, how much more so must it be now, when the knowledge of modern languages has such a strong connection with our commercial necessities? Time will not allow of a further enlargement of the deficiencies of English commercial education, but confirmation may be added in another direction to present in stronger terms the wisdom of its more special adaptation to meet these necessities.

FOREIGN CONSULAR REPORTS.

Consular reports from British representatives, the most useful portions of which are now regularly embodied in the monthly journal of the Board of Trade, tell in what manner our commercial education is incomplete, and go far to solve the troublesome problem as to why we are losing ground abroad. In addition, they teem with interesting details of the material resources of foreign countries. Many of our Consuls point out, with much intelligence, the opportunities that exist in their several districts for an increased trade with England. Inspired by local knowledge, they also offer to traders practical hints for introducing or increasing the

sale of numerous commodities. This new feature in these reports has fortunately arisen owing to instructions lately issued by the Government to the consular body to report fully on all mercantile matters, as well as on the efforts made by foreign competitors to supplant us in their own and other markets of the world. By the distribution of official information in an easily accessible form, we are now in a position to investigate more readily the subject of the unprofitableness of trade, and its depression in recent years. It has been said that if Louis XVI had only put his ear to the ground and heard the rumbling of the earthquake which overwhelmed him and his monarchy, he might have averted his doom. Let us be wise in time, and prepare to turn aside the dangers which threaten our trade by studying these consular reports, which are so singularly unanimous in the conclusions they force upon us. In the first place, it appears to be undeniable that, in those instances where we have lost the commerce of a foreign market, our traders have suffered from want of proper information ; and that, secondly, in almost every case where foreign goods are supplanting British, it is not on account of superior quality, or cheaper cost, but rather that we are neglecting to adapt our productions to the particular wants, or peculiar tastes, of the people—in short, our commercial education is at fault.

You will remember it was stated that one of the three cardinal defects of the English manufacturer was want of adaptability. Let us now look a little further into this charge. The evidence seems indisputable, that when a continental trader determines to cater for a foreign customer, he proceeds upon diametrically opposite lines to ourselves. His actions have the merit of being simple, intelligent, and profitable. Commencing with an efficient knowledge of the language of the people with whom he proposes to have business relations, he employs well educated travellers to

study their habits, and push his particular wares. He finds out what class of goods the foreigner wishes to have, does his utmost to make them and thus secure his custom. In addition he corresponds with his customers in their own tongue, he invoices the goods in their own currency, pays the necessary duties, and delivers them free at their own doors. British commercial policy has hitherto been to the contrary. Knowing so well what suits ourselves, we have insisted too much on forcing our commodities on others not similarly situated in habit, climate, or means of purchase. The indifference and neglect of English manufacturers and their unwillingness to adapt their products to specific requirements, is mainly responsible for our loss of foreign trade. The British consul at La Rochelle recently reported:—

“ There is undoubtedly an immense amount of business lost which might be done if British manufacturers went the right way about it, but I see no change in the old ways; people here will have their fancies, and although British shapes and makes may be a great deal better, they do not seem to see it, and it will be found much easier to suit these fancies than endeavour to make them take the English view of what is best for them.” It is a well known fact in natural history that bees desert the flowers of the old colours for newer ones, and that the faintest variation in tint will attract them in such numbers that the old plants often perish by their neglect. The Continental manufacturer evidently believes in a simple and natural philosophy of this sort, and successfully applies it to his commerce. Then, again, the English consul at Genoa deplors the suicidal policy of certain English exporters who, on receiving orders for goods manufactured in this country, send in response those made in Germany; and he seems to think it incredible that firms of any standing can be so shortsighted. Report after report could be quoted detailing how we are losing some of the

foreign trade we had, and how the merchants and manufacturers of other nationalities are taking our place because we will not give up our antiquated ideas, or adapt our goods to the needs and tastes of those who require them. In numerous instances we find that the British article is really better than the foreign one, and generally quite as cheap; but the customer will not look at it because it is not exactly what he wishes. Consul Bristow, of Chee-Foo, says we persist in sending the wrong sort of razors; and Consul Oxenham, of Chin-Kiang, tells us it is no use our shipping matches there unless the size and price of the boxes are reduced. It may be quite wrong of the Chinamen to decline to have our excellent Sheffield razors, and to prefer the short thick-backed ones made in Germany instead. He may also repeatedly burn his fingers in using matches only two-thirds the length of ours; but there are probably 600,000,000 Chinamen, and they are not only a wondrous race for shaving, but must consume an enormous quantity of matches. Our trade with Italy is not as satisfactory as it should be. While the increase in our exports there has been 16 per cent., that of Germany has been 102 per cent., and Belgium 150 per cent. The explanation of this is stated to be Continental competition, coupled with want of activity and trade facilities on the part of British firms. Everywhere in Europe, and also across the Atlantic Ocean, the same tale is sent home by resident Consuls that our Continental competitors are in more sympathetic intercourse with the importers and distributors of foreign commodities, and are thereby securing the bulk of the trade.

MR. GRIFFIN'S REPORT.

Mr. Griffin in his report on competition with English foreign trade, admits that the export trade of Germany has increased more rapidly than ours, and that the United Kingdom, to some extent, is not increasing its emporium

trade. This loss of emporium trade is probably due to a change in the great currents of commerce. We are fairly certain that we can never compete on equal terms with France and Germany in the silk trade, nor can either of the countries named deprive us of our enormous bleaching powder or tinplate business. The danger rather lies in our losing many of the smaller markets of the world in numerous industries employing large numbers of the working classes. In this connection let us bear in mind that the Britain of to-day cannot possibly exist by internal trade. External business is, therefore, a condition of commercial existence, and we shall suffer heavily in the future if we lightly regard statements so authoritative, or allow any disastrous change to come upon us unawares.

MR. GOSCHEN'S SOLUTION.

Mr. Goschen, in his Rectorial Address at Aberdeen, endeavoured to analyse the dangers of our position. He holds the theory that although you may give the rising generation special business instruction, teach them several languages, and found High Schools in imitation of similar foreign institutions, they will be of no avail unless a greater love of work for its own sake can be inculcated. He also expresses the opinion, founded on his own experience, that the German clerk is much superior to his English prototype. While looking at the subject from the highest intellectual standpoint, and admitting that British commerce has been mainly built up by unerring instinct and audacity of enterprise, Mr. Goschen does not appear to acknowledge sufficiently that it was to a large extent personal interest, aided of course by natural shrewdness, that over and over again proved to be enough to ensure success in the past. It may be desirable to encourage intellectual interest, and also to foster the establishment of general principles, rather than

the easier methods of compromise commonly adopted by business men; but is it not a fact that severe competition, and absorbing attention to detail, allow of little leisure to the average British merchant, in which to consider the intellectual conditions that some may deem necessary to success? Being conscious that as traders we have lost the control of many foreign and colonial markets, that we must be prepared to meet Continental competitors in others, and that those who were once our customers are now often our rivals, does it not seem probable that in spite of Mr. Goschen's ideal merchant, personal interest, or, to put it more exactly, the necessity of living, and not intellectual considerations, will mainly govern our future conduct in commerce? The German clerk may exhibit an untiring zeal for work, offer his services for the smallest remuneration, and exist on the barest and simplest regime, but is it not personal interest that brings him here and takes him away again? This individual who is portrayed for us in Walter Besant's *Katherine Regina*, tells us distinctly that he does not always mean to live the life of a clerk on a pound a week, but that sooner or later he intends to trade for himself in our markets and be a serious competitor. As personal interest therefore alone induces this love of work, we must not mistake the effect for the cause. Mr. Goschen is on firmer ground when he proceeds to consider the factors underlying the demand for a better education of our largely increasing population. He finds that the recent rapid growth of trade among the Germans, together with their greater eagerness in commercial enterprise, is due to the scientific spirit which has pervaded their education, and that the comparatively slower progress of our own trade is the result of neglect in this respect. He allows that our long continued supremacy, which passed virtually unchallenged for the better part of a century, is responsible for this

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may be given to the lines of Cowper, which were written in
an age of marvellous industrial growth and prosperity :—

“ The band of commerce is designed
To associate all the branches of mankind,
And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.”

neglect. And last of all he sees how backward we are in this modern spirit, and that without it the unerring instinct and audacity of enterprise of former days will not avail us. Without discussing with Mr. Goschen whether greater knowledge, or a greater love of knowledge, is of the most value, the trenchant address of this combative statesman may be passed over with the obvious assertion that, first and foremost, the greater knowledge is imperative, and must be supplied from a competent source and authority. Erostratus set fire to the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, in order that his name might be remembered. The co-ordination and re-adjustment of English Commercial Education presents a favourable opportunity to some prominent legislator to secure an equal measure of fame by far worthier means.

CONCLUDING PROPOSITIONS.

Two general propositions may be drawn as conclusions to the many facts and opinions here set forth:—

I.—That only those nations who are able to produce, and distribute, requisite commodities, in the cheapest manner, or, who can offer the most desirable and attractive goods, or, can manufacture that which cannot be obtained elsewhere, will have any chance of attaining an advantageous position in the future trade of the world.

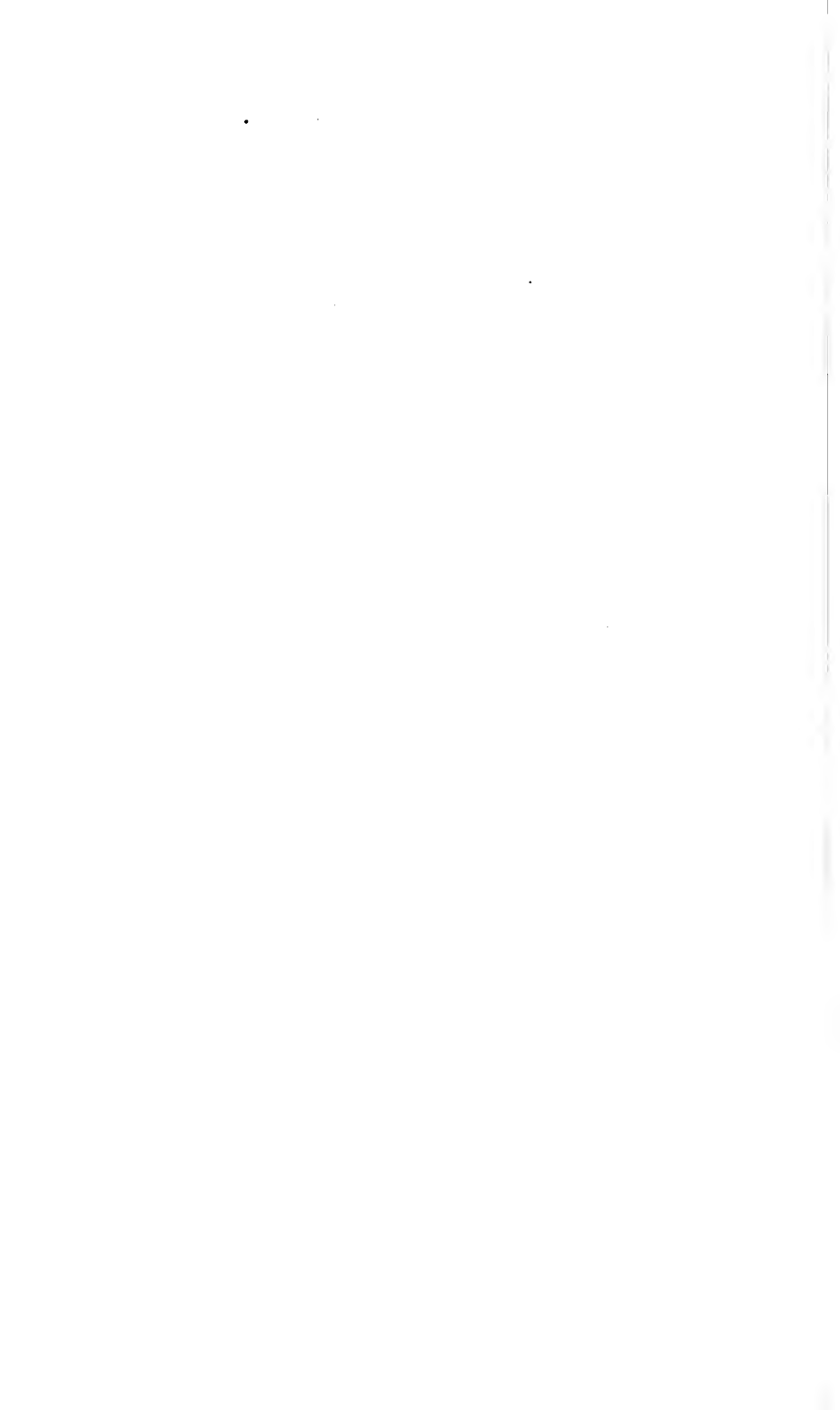
Our early manufacturing supremacy before other countries became possessed of equal knowledge and power is a sufficient confirmation of these points.

II.—That only such countries as put themselves in a position to supply the necessary education for commercial production and distribution can expect to maintain and increase their foreign trade.

It would be a work of entire supererogation to enlarge on the benefits of commercial intercourse; but new emphasis

may be given to the lines of Cowper, which were written in an age of marvellous industrial growth and prosperity :—

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DOMESTIC EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

By Miss FANNY L. CALDER.

It might perhaps seem irrelevant to the discussions of a learned society to introduce the subject of domestic education, were it not that it is so intimately connected with two of the most burning questions of the day, to solve which the judgment and ingenuity of all thinkers is being taxed, viz., elementary education, and the employment of the unemployed; or, as I might almost venture to call them, the "*unemployable*."

It touches also on another point which is daily gaining in importance, and must, sooner or later, rise into prominence with the rapid increase of population and the prophesied decline of wages; this is, the more thrifty use in England generally of foods which in other countries are made the most of, so adding to the wealth of the nation; whereas, in England, prejudice partly, but ignorance chiefly, waste and throw away much that would materially contribute to maintain the health and strength of the people.

Since this paper was written, an article by Lord Meath has appeared in the January *Nineteenth Century*, which tends greatly to strengthen the argument on this special point. It is called "A thousand mouths more every day," and his lordship states that one thousand more mouths to feed are daily added to the population. As in a family, so in a nation; when the numbers increase, economy must be worked out in some direction, unless there is an adequate increase in the provision, and we have no sign that such

increase is the case in England at present. We had better, therefore, look to our methods of using with skill and thrift what does lie within our reach. It is calculated that sixty per cent. of a working man's wages goes in food, hence anything that in this direction promotes economy, combined with comfort and nutrition, must be a distinct national gain.

I have elsewhere connected with this subject the Archbishop of York's definition of "sweating" as an attempt to organise, and make productive, labour which otherwise would be worth no wage at all. We are made aware of the large number of women and girls groaning under a system that trades upon their incapacity, but perhaps we are not equally cognisant of the number who are not so fortunate as to be "sweated," but drag on an existence of haphazard; strong and able to work, but incapable of anything beyond the very roughest employments, of which the supply is not as unlimited as the applicants seem to believe, and the occupations just requiring a little skill, and perhaps a little thought, go a-begging, while women starve for want of remunerative labour. If, after eighteen years of enforced education, so many women are still to be found without capacity for taking up these womanly employments when workers are so often in demand, there must be something wrong somewhere; and I do not think we shall be going out of our way to find fault, if we look for the mistake at the root of our social structure, and accredit our present system of elementary education with some of this incapacity.

I will, therefore, this evening limit my remarks on domestic education to its development in the elementary schools, where our girls' powers are developed, and their habits, tastes, and ambitions are formed.

I use the word *ambitions*, not in the sense of forming

plans in life which they aim at accomplishing, but more simply in the sense of the subjects in which, as school-girls, they are proud to be found proficient, and in which they are glad to shew skill at home.

The tendency of the present line of education is to give the idea that domestic work has no connection with intellectual acquirements, and is therefore somewhat derogatory, so that head and hands are not expected to co-operate to make home management a success. It is to the cultivation of their ambitions towards excellence in this direction that I would fain look for reform in girls' education.

There is now a very general consensus of opinion that, excellent as our system of elementary education may be in many ways, it has not hitherto been quite suited to the needs of the people for whom it is devised. It has not been based on lines adapted to arouse their general intelligence, or develop their thinking faculties, or prepare them for success in their immediate future.

Quite recently, in this very room, Sir Henry Roscoe gave it as his opinion, "that boys and girls leave school with only a varnish of education," and the experiences of our recreative evening classes for continued education betray how very soon this varnish is rubbed off in the wear and tear of life. By the time they reach these classes, most of the knowledge has flown; the power of thinking does not seem ever to have been acquired, and but little idea has entered their minds that their book-learning has anything to do with the active life around them.

Some of these experiences would be ludicrous, were it not that the loss has too deteriorating an effect to allow even of a smile.

One brief sentence in the protest against examination that appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* last autumn gives the key to the secret of this vanishing power of elementary

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One brief sentence in the protest against examination that appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* last autumn gives the key to the secret of this vanishing power of elementary

education. "The education the children at present receive, and the life they have to live, *are as matters separated by a great gulf*;" and until means are found and steps are taken to bridge over this gulf, and produce what Sir Lyon Playfair calls "trained intelligence," the same result will be repeated with each new set of scholars.

It is most difficult for people of cultivation to realise how much of it depends upon the "line upon line" effect of general surroundings, and how hard it is for these children to ponder over and digest their book-learning when it is so unconnected with anything that they see and hear around them.

And specially is this the case with the girls, whose after life is chiefly in the direction of home management, where head and hands could co-operate to the infinite benefit of all about them; whereas now, as a rule, the hands struggle on without any of the efficient aid the head might so well render. And the lookers on cry out, "Where is the good of all this schooling?"

I do not for a moment forget the oft repeated argument that a good *general* education is the true basis for the life structure, but I also remember that in most instances these girls will be called upon, either in their own homes or elsewhere, to carry out this domestic management in one, or even all of its branches, almost *immediately* as they leave school, without any leisure to chew the cud of knowledge, with no direction as to how to join mind and matter in the work before them, and worst of all, with no ambition to excel in such a minor matter as domestic life. Nothing in their school life has led up to it, and one rather troublesome result of the increasing appreciation in which schooling is now held is, that whatever is not taught in school is not worth learning. How much this sentiment tends to widen the gulf between school and life can only be appreciated by those who have to suffer from it.

Now domestic training comes in here as the bridge that can span over this gulf and connect intellectual study with practical detail. Glorified as a code subject, with a place in the time table and a government grant, manual instruction is acceptable to the parents, and is as delightful to the girls as practical experiment is to a science student whose researches have hitherto been confined to book study only.

In fact, taught as it is now, with the reasonableness, the accuracy, and the completeness of a science, it has the same good mental effect upon girls that mechanics and other practical sciences are considered to have upon boys in teaching them to think, and to understand and appreciate natural forces, with the additional advantage that such instruction is certain to be of economic value in after life, and is capable of immediate application.

The two forms in which we recommend domestic education in day elementary schools are—practical cookery and laundry work.

Sewing is not included here, as, happily, it has for some years been classed as an essential subject, and is taught with more or less efficiency in every girl's school. But I cannot help remarking that if elementary education is to fulfil the design of the Education Department, as expressed in the Final Report of the Royal Commission, and "give such instruction to the scholars in general as will best fit them to fulfil the *ordinary* duties of life to which they are *most likely* to be called," cookery might be classed as essential even before sewing, inasmuch as the clothing of a family *can* be bought, in fact *is* bought to a large extent by the very poorest people, but *no amount of money can buy* a well ordered home and the thrifty management of its resources.

Both cookery and laundry work are matters with which almost every girl will have subsequently to deal, even though

she were never called upon to show efficiency in reading and writing, and they are perfectly practicable in any of the modern schools, and even in the old-fashioned ones with a little extra arrangement. For the first reason therefore they will take the same natural place in after life as the three Rs, and should cease to be regarded as technical in the ordinary acceptation of that term; and in the second they recommend themselves by their facility of attainment to all school managers who have the real interest of their girls at heart, and are anxious to make them *capable women* as well as clever scholars. Where cookery has already been introduced it has had a distinct effect in making the pupils more perceptibly intelligent in their other studies, and we need only to point out what a relief practical work is to the brain, calling into healthy action the stores of intellectual knowledge laid up there. Anyone who sees a class of girls at work over their cookery, with bright countenance and eager manner, evidently enjoying the weighing and measuring and the counting up of the cost, will feel that we are here at least on the right lines of education, and that instead of being a strain on their minds this is a wise and productive application of the mental acquirements of the preceding years of school life. It is not enough to teach these girls *how to do* things, they are taught the reason of every practical process, so that they gain an intelligent understanding of the needs of life, and wisdom in the selection of the natural resources to be employed in supplying them. Much attention is purposely given to instruction in the art of choosing suitable, nourishing, and at the same time economical articles of food, as not unfrequently the smallest incomes have to be stretched to meet the need of the largest families.

If the public voice is of any value, the rapidity with which such practical instruction has gained the approval

of educationists will be a strong argument in its support. Only in 1870, the year when the great Education Act was passed, Mr. S. Smiles wrote from France an article in *Good Words*, remarking on the careful economy and skill in cookery of the French women, who wasted nothing. Then he adds, "Cooking seems to be one of the lost arts of England, . . . and our people, through want of knowledge, probably *waste* more food than would sustain another nation. But in the great system of National Education *no one dreams of including as a branch of it, skill in the preparation and economy in the use of food.*" The best comment I can make on this, is to mention that it is stated in the report of the Privy Council on Education for 1887, that the government grant for cookery was paid on account of more than thirty thousand girls, a total that had been annually rising from 1883, when the first grants were made. The steps by which this good result has been obtained are now things of the past.

The addition of laundry work, as a suitable branch of domestic education has been only quite recently suggested, and on that account failed to obtain the same recommendation as cookery from the Royal Commission in their Final Report, though warmly supported by individual members; but its success in the schools where it has been tried shows it to be eminently fitted to serve the purpose of a combined scientific and practical training for girls, and justifies the efforts now being set on foot to procure for it a place in the Code, and a suitable government grant to encourage its adoption in day schools.*

* Since this paper was read, the London School Board has received from the Drapers' Company a gift of £250, for the purpose of trying the experiment of introducing laundry work into their schools, and are now preparing to open five centres for the purpose. The efforts already made in Liverpool have been under the auspices of the Committee of the Liverpool School of Cookery.

In such work, girls come to realise cause and effect. They understand the value of book-learning when they see the power it gives them of dealing efficiently with the materials and forces of nature, with the calls and the incidents of life, and much intelligence is developed when they perceive the difference between good and bad modes of working, and are brought into the actual practice of scientific methods.

With the echoes of the recent cry of over-pressure still sounding in our ears, it is natural that a difficulty should arise in many minds as to how these practical subjects can be taken up when the curriculum is already overfull.

And it is here that we must expect to meet with differences of opinion, perhaps even some real opposition, not from any objection to domestic education itself, but from the old fear, which constantly comes up under a new face, of lowering the mental powers of girls by differentiating their education from that of boys, or of making girls less intellectual, if their whole school life is not spent in cramming them with facts which pass out from their minds quicker even than they were forced in.

At a large meeting of elementary school teachers, gathered to discuss the cookery question, one master rose to speak against it lest it should take time from other subjects, and he drew a pitiful picture of the feelings of a working man who should come home to supper and be seated down with a wife incapable of discussing with him difficult questions of arithmetic. Perhaps I should add that the speaker was a special teacher of arithmetic.

I would propose, even urge, that much *less* time, if any at all, should be given to "English" in the form of grammar and analysis, and to advanced arithmetic—such as is designated as "useless" by the Royal Commission on the Education Acts.

I am quite aware of the arguments brought forward in

support of these subjects, that they are a good mental training, and are important in teaching the children to think. This, however, is exactly what I am convinced they do *not* do; that the reasoning is rarely grasped by the children, and the subjects are only learnt in parrot fashion. I will give one illustration which is a very fair sample of many experiences. A class of eighty children was examined in fourth standard grammar. They had been well taught, and answered well the questions, which were, of course, founded on the lessons they had received. The inspector was much pleased, and in cheerful tones said, "Now, children, make me a correct sentence of four words on the rules about which you have just answered." I think it will surprise some here to learn how many of those eighty little minds had grasped the meaning of the grammatical rules and terms in which they appeared such experts. *Not one*, of her own free thought, could frame a simple sentence of four words accurately. Left to themselves, very many of them would probably have uttered quite correct sentences from what the eye had seen while reading, or the ear heard in daily talk, but never from any rules of grammar, however glibly they might be poured forth in examinations. As to the advanced arithmetic, that is also learnt parrotwise, and by it the girls are carried so far, and so rapidly, past the simpler rules and principles that the whole subject becomes useless to them, and it is said in the Final Report of the Royal Commission that "although girls may pass in the subject of arithmetic, yet they are often unable to apply their knowledge to the simplest practical use, such as making out little accounts for their parents, or calculating the interest on small sums in a post office savings bank." With such evidence before us, much cannot be said on behalf of the value of grammar and advanced arithmetic in training the minds of the children, and teaching them to think, and we cannot but believe

that this object is better attained by giving them the opportunity, under skilled instruction, of bringing head and hand into practical co-operation, and learning to *do* one or two things so well and efficiently as to be a power in their hands in all after life.

This is considered by some a too utilitarian view of education, but with the terrible difficulty of the unemployed before us, it is a wise, if not the best, view to take, unless we mean to be *content* to see people starving around us and offer them books as consolation. Stones for bread they will surely call it.

Again, it is objected that education is meant to give high and noble ideas and raise the tastes of the people. True, but to make home the most comfortable and attractive of all spots is one of the noblest ideas a housewife can conceive. And as to the tastes of the people, nothing hinders intellectual culture more than the drunkenness which there is every reason to hope this important domestic management will largely tend to cure.

The late Mr. Christopher Bushell, a magistrate, and also a keen and liberal supporter of cookery in elementary schools, used to say that most of the cases which came before him were the result of quarrels which arose either from food not being properly prepared, or from its not being provided at all. Provide well ordered homes and we may hope to see a more literary public.

The due consideration of these questions is the duty of all sections of the community, inasmuch as so many now by the School Board vote, and others as promoters of elementary schools in various ways, take upon themselves a share in the guidance of public elementary education, and are to that extent responsible for the results—responsible to the parents, responsible to the children, and responsible to the nation at large. But specially so to the parents, as we have to a great

degree taken out of their hands, and done it of course for good, the preparation that their children shall go through for their life's work.

It is sometimes asked if girls at school are not too young to appreciate such instruction. But when girls of *eleven* even have to keep house it is surely not too early to learn how to do so efficiently?

One of the "Cooking Scholarships" that Mr. S. Smith, M.P., placed in the gift of the committee of the Liverpool School of Cookery, was awarded to a girl of twelve years of age. The committee decided that she had better wait a year or two and be more of an age to value it. The little girl came to the committee in tears, and begged to be allowed to have her advanced lessons *at once*, as her mother was just dead and she was to keep house for her father and family, and the knowledge which such instruction would give her would be such a help in fulfilling that duty. Of course, she was allowed to have her way. Those who know much of the life of the working people know how early responsibility is laid upon many of them, and know also that girls are averse to entering service, very often because they have the ignorant idea that domestic work can be only drudgery and hardship.

In page 218 of the "Final Report" of the Royal Commission on Education, under the heading of "Conclusions," we find this very explicit *conclusion*, "We desire to secure for the children in the public elementary schools the best and most thorough instruction in secular subjects, suitable to their years, and in harmony with the requirements of their future life."

Knowing as we do the immediate future of probably 90 per cent. at least of the girls in these schools (which we have already discussed), we are called upon in calm reason to decide whether the *applied* arts or science, whichever we

like to call them, named above as domestic education, or grammar, advanced arithmetic, French, and so forth, are best calculated to accomplish the aim of these experts in elementary education, and fit our school girls to fulfil their part in life, and succeed in the struggle for existence which, more and more, seems likely to be the *role* of the coming generation.

THE FAITH OF AN EVOLUTIONIST:

BEING NOTES ON PART THE THIRD OF A WORK BY
E. P. POWELL, OF NEW YORK, ENTITLED *OUR HEREDITY
FROM GOD*.

BY THE REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A.

The quotations from Mr. Powell's book indicate by a number the page on which they may in substance be found, but are not generally placed within inverted commas, as necessarily being variously abbreviated, or in other respects slightly modified.

MANY thoughtful minds are painfully impressed by the apparent consequences of the doctrine of Heredity. No other branch of modern science falls with such crushing weight upon a man's thoughts of his own existence as an individual, and of his spontaneity as an agent.

We know that there are intellects so constituted as to be ready to give up individuality and spontaneity if, only, they could be certain to be mechanically kept from going wrong; but, to ordinary minds, such a conception proves to be repulsive in the highest degree. To have no self to devote, heart and soul, to a worthy object; and no choice in the matter, if one had; that what a friend could possess in us would *not* be a free sympathising spirit, but the equivalent of a bit of rack and pinion wheel-work, ought to be intolerable unless it be true. Certain competent writers have felt this deeply, and have set themselves to enquire whether, amidst the rush of knowledge attending the dawn of evolution in Biology, contracted views of life and its directive forces may not have attained undue prominence, to the great disparagement and hindrance of real science, and to the intense discomfort of thousands of cultured minds. In the foremost rank of such writers, if not first,

may be placed John Fiske of America, author of *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution*, 2 vols., 1874. I have seen nothing to supersede this work; but a more recent volume, of about 400 pages, has appeared on *Our Heredity from God*, by E. P. Powell, also of America; and it is with the purpose of submitting to you some account of the plan and contents of this remarkable book that I have given prominence to its title, as indicating the subject of my paper. The work has reached a third edition in America, but is hardly known at all in England. Mr. Powell resides on a demesne of considerable extent, in a beautiful portion of the State of New York, the whole of the estate being devoted to horticulture. Here he at once cultivates plants from all parts of the world, and receives inspiration expressed through a fresh, open-air style of literary composition which, with all its imperfections, is the vehicle for thoughts such as the age in which he lives should receive with sympathy and respect. That you will agree with me in this is, I confess, not beyond my hopes or expectations.

The scope of Mr. Powell's work is indicated by its title. Heredity is, no doubt, a natural law. But it would be unreasonable and false to argue from it as if it were an edict imposed from without. Heredity has no existence apart from the universal order which affects its action as the life of an organism influences its functions. To the establishment of a higher conception of Heredity the entire volume is devoted.

The last of the three sections into which the book is divided takes up evolution after Man is reached. Having devoted nearly two hundred pages to illustrations of the peopling of the world by the development of life, the author proceeds, in a chapter on "Co-operation in Evolution," to show the wonderful unity of the process, whether exhibited in matters physical or psychical.

LECTURE I. CO-OPERATION IN EVOLUTION.

(Page 191. I know nothing, says Mr. Powell, in the history of evolution so pleasant to dwell upon as the social element. For in reality, from the very outset, there has not been a mere selfish individual struggle to exist, but there has been co-operation and helpfulness in every stage of the ferment, between all creatures and all forms of life, and even between the unconscious forces.)

The knowledge of such co-operation, if it can be shewn, certainly constitutes a wondrous advance on the evolution of the schools, in the days when the *Origin of Species* first came out. I can never forget the horror produced in my own mind by the idea that Nature was one huge battle of life—one universal reckless struggle for existence. The statement, however, contained a measure of truth. Not, as we now know, such a measure as was then assumed—though the struggle and the bloodshed were there sure enough—and the story was well told. But there was another story which should have been inseparable, and *that* was not told; for it seemed to support teleology, and teleology was then confidently assigned to the camp of the opponents of science. Let us not hastily condemn partial statements on either side, at an epoch when natural selection seemed to sweep like a flood over the whole field of view in Biology. In such a crisis I regret, but wonder not, that the teleology of those days involved a stumbling-block to scientific minds. But an amazing change has been developed in this respect. The teleology advocated by Mr. Powell is, I believe, of that higher kind, concerning which Professor Huxley thus writes :—

“ Perhaps the most remarkable service to the philosophy of biology rendered by Mr. Darwin is the reconciliation of teleology and morphology, and the explanation of the facts of both, which his views

offer. . . . It is necessary to remember that there is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of evolution." (Huxley, in *Life of Darwin*, vol. iii, page 197.)

One of the principal spheres illustrating co-operation in evolution is that of automatic, or reflex action, to which allusion has been already made, as assumed to dominate even in the most exalted powers of the human mind. For example, affection, pity, hope, awe, imagination, have been asserted to be mere cerebral symptoms; and volition has been compared to the sound of a clock bell, indicating the position of the works within.

Exaggerated as such statements may be, I am by no means sure that Mr. Powell would oppose them absolutely: at all events *that* would not be his method of confuting the pan-mechanical theory. Rather, he would urge that from the beginning, and in the lowest forms of life, there has always been, associated with automatic action, a psyche, a *zel seele*, a bios; and that the evolution of the two has run on together in harmony and entire co-operation. With this, as we know, Prof. Haeckel now agrees.*

Herein lies the secret of the book. Physics no longer appear to be at variance with psychology—not that the former has swallowed up the latter, but because both are found to be too vast, too faithful allies, from the most ancient times; and, both of them, too plainly essential parts of the cosmos, for the one to be the sepulchre of the other.

Of Mr. Powell's many illustrations of co-operation in evolution, connected with automatic action, a few only can be cited, and these much abbreviated. Says our author—whatever we learn to do perfectly, for the most part we do automatically. We breathe—our blood circulates—we as-

* *Monograph of the Radiolarians collected in the "Challenger"* (Haeckel). Introduction, p. cxxviii.

simulate our food—automatically. To us, all this comes as a matter of course. We say that we do these things naturally, and we say rightly; but we forget how much is meant by the word “naturally”—what a measureless amount of evolution and heredity must be involved in the perfect accomplishment of our most ordinary functions.

(Page 195. It took ages to establish a heart. Lower creatures had this to aim at and to do, and then it was done for them and all those that came after them, with need only of modification through environment and by development.)

But the first heart was a co-operative work, physical and psychical, in a process leading to the possibility of a higher life, unattainable with no better organ of circulation than sufficed for the laboured systole and diastole of an animalcule.

The author believes that—“Take it all in all, ninety-nine hundredths of all a man does, he does automatically.” What wondrous relief and freedom of action is thus afforded to the highest reasoning and reflective powers. This *psychical relief*, as well as organic excellence, is pointed to, when eyes and lungs and a nervous system were initiated.

Equally is co-operation shewn in the preservation of acquired advantages by the active principle of heredity. All the higher animals, in the embryo state, before they are born, pass successively through forms resembling lower creatures from which they have ascended. What is to preserve the helpless embryo from sinister maternal influences, or carry it safely through its due number of philogenetic stages, but the strong hand of heredity which moulds with tender grasp the unconscious germ.

But the evolution of which heredity is the chief minister, is not a Bellona caring only to bestow on one vassal sharp fangs, and on another swiftness of foot to escape them. If less conspicuously, yet not less really, does primitive evolution declare for the higher and gentler and nobler capacities

of life. The lowest forms of organisms are destitute of sex. Then, by slow gradations, arose that astonishing division of the unit into male and female, the fountain head of love and poetry and sense of beauty.

In the outset of life, reproduction involved no long continued relation between parent and offspring. In the invertebrates, and in fishes, some commencement was made in this direction : in birds there was further development of parental intercourse ; but it was transient. Then came the mammals with their intense affection for their young, which was brave and altruistic, but brief, not lasting for a year ; till we reach the quadrumana having a greatly lengthened period of infancy and a dependence lasting, sometimes, even for years. It is needless to point out whither all this was leading. In man it was to a greatly prolonged infancy, to a dependence which extended to the time of youth, to a love that knows no period of limitation ; and to the necessity for a permanent home.

(Page 198. So from the very first the order grew towards the home life ; in which the co-operation of the members of a household fulfils the functions of a highly complex life, as in a coral or a sponge. Out of the thought of home has grown every element of social progress. The family is the unit of human existence. All civilization is the unfolding of the words father, mother, child.)

The ascent from reproduction by spontaneous fission, to the same function as involving the human family and home, is only one of the lines illustrating co-operation in evolution. Others must be omitted ; but the lecturer's concluding words are as follows.

(Page 215. It has been my purpose in this lecture to show that, from the very outset, evolution has implied something besides a mere brute struggle for existence ; that it involved a mutual helpfulness and co-operation for a common

good ; and that Nature stood pledged in the cell to create a moral intelligence, and in every cataclysm to establish as the ultimate law "On earth peace, good-will to men."

It has also been my purpose to bring out the duality of nature, as in earlier lectures the unity ; but, as we see, there is no unity except in the multifold, and that the multifold can exist only in unity.)

LECTURE II. DRIVING THE GOLDEN SPIKES.

This somewhat fanciful title was suggested to the lecturer by an incident that occurred "when the Northern Pacific Railroad was completed. President Villard then made the event memorable by driving a spike of gold where the last rail joined the two extremes." On this Mr. Powell remarks that "the evolution of humanity has been signalized at well defined points of progress by its golden spikes."

The lecturer was not likely to limit the advance of the human race to development in one direction. Arts, sciences, inventions, distribution, discoveries, the forming of nations—all these and other lines of progress afford striking examples of periodicity. Again we can follow only one—that in which law and religion are combined.

"Religions, from the outset, have had approximately a period of about five hundred years. Brahminism, itself a reformation of an antecedent faith, burst out simultaneously over Asia about 2000 B.C. The law-giving by Manu in Southern Asia, by Tschow in Eastern Asia, and by Moses in Western Asia was spontaneous and simultaneous about 1400 and 1500 B.C. The song and psalm era of David and Homer was about 1000 B.C. Buddha in India, Confucius in China, Socrates in Greece, flashed forth about 500 B.C. Five hundred years later, Jesus, concentrating all lines of evolution, symbolized the cosmopolitan unity of all future development. 500 to 600 A.D. the papacy was established, and

Mohammed began his crusade of monotheism. 1000 A.D. the completed hierarchy was established by Hildebrand: 1500 A.D. the reformation by Luther was kindled. As we near 2000, it seems certain that we are approaching the culmination and establishment of the age of Reason as the basis of Faith."

LECTURE III. JESUS THE CHRIST OF EVOLUTION.

To the majority of thoughtful Christians who have not been accustomed to regard evolution with feelings of respect and reverence, and who, perhaps, can scarcely realize the possibility of doing so, it may be painful to hear the Founder of Christianity spoken of as the Christ of Evolution.

A moment's reflection must, however, render it plain that Jesus held a most distinguished position in the secular history of the world and of mankind; and that evolution claims an interest in every event, great or small, physical or psychical. Unless, therefore, he is prepared to reject modern science altogether, the Christian should welcome any aspect in which Christ is presented, so far as it represents additional features in the fulness of his character.

The lecturer follows a consistent course, or he would not be worth hearing; and in doing this he urges, (page 243, that a false conception of Jesus is a necessity inevitable to those who look on the world as, in natural goodness, a wreck, and on man as the mere flotsam and jetsam of a moral breakdown of divine purpose. On such a platform, an unselfishly great character, with heroic proportions, is a miraculous product. He cannot be natural, for the natural man is bad. On the basis that typical humanity is not a degenerate product of nature, but that it has, from its earliest dawn, risen in intellectual and moral power; that the race is still rising, and is to rise for an indefinite future—the conclusion may reasonably be that Jesus is the son of Man, pre-emi-

nently gifted with a genius for human sympathy, a man who above all things loved human nature. Such is the historic Christ. Of the mystical Christ it is asserted, on authority presumed to be infallible, that he is to end his career of beneficence, as judge of all flesh, even of those who have never felt his love or heard his name.)

(Page 246. The facts of evolution bearing on the position of Jesus may be thus briefly summed up. Man had existed on the globe for a period of vast length, reaching back to the glacial epoch, when his structure and function were anthropoid, but not strictly human. His career was, at the first, like that of animals, a struggle for existence. Anything like a mental career, or a moral development, he did not have until within the last ten thousand years. He made no history for all the earlier period. He built no cities, had no ships, invented no written language, and, for the most part, had no language at all.)

(Page 249. Five thousand years B.C. commerce had led to tribal life; had built ships, domesticated horses and camels and cows, and built great cities. Someone, about 2000 years before Jesus, had the grandest idea of all. His idea was an alphabet of signs to represent vocal sounds. So a bit of bark, or the face of a rock, could talk as a man himself could talk; only addressing the eyes instead of the ears.)

(Page 250. Eight hundred years before Jesus, thought began to cumulate in ganglia or nuclei. Literature and art broke away from the priests. Philosophy was born in Greece and Asia Minor. Glorious day for mind! Thales of Miletus was the first of a grand succession of thinkers. Language was growing richer, and so men had intellectual tools to work with. Five hundred years before Jesus, things were red-hot. The beautiful rhythm of the Greek language flowed in harmony with the flute as its orators addressed the crowded populace. Socrates came, then Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon,

Pericles. What an age it was, when a dot in the *Ægean* Sea begat a republic, philosophy, and the fine arts. In India, about the same time, was born Buddha, the prince of peace, and, soon after, Asoka, the divinest of kings. In China, Confucius appeared, and Laotze, the more radical. Everywhere in all the world mind was showing its marvellous capabilities; thought was rising to supremacy.)

(Page 251. The old struggle with brute force was over but a mightier contest was at hand. Man must now conquer himself. Would not the gods help in this moral battle, as they had been used to help in the battling of armies? The womb of humanity laboured. It brought forth the victory of peace and hope and love. Evolution closed its first volume and opened the second, with Christ as its frontispiece.)

At such an era to be a Jew was to have the advantage over all other races. No other race could produce an example capable of subordinating all inferior ties to his position as the "Son of Man." (Page 258. Hillel and Gamaliel had reached a wide philanthropy, something better than patriotism. Jesus had what they had, but he had, as no one before him had, sympathy for man as man. A Greek would have tried to argue the world into a higher life. A Hindoo would have expected the golden life only by way of meditations and fastings. A Roman would have used law to compel righteousness. A Jew only, by heredity, was prompted to discern the supreme power of love and hope. Whatever else a Jew is, he is always a hoper. And a man that hopes always is an upward looker. Jesus was the incarnation of this national tendency.) (Page 257. A true estimate of Jesus must take into account that he was a healer. I do not desire to take you into the realm of the extra-natural. The psychical facts to which I refer are fully as natural as the simplest physical facts. Sympathy always

heals. It is the typical power of the age ahead, as opposed to the age behind. Jesus was a prophet of the psychic age ; a possessor of vast psychic power. It was in him that rich subtle power of help, that charm and beauty of life which, higher than an angel's visit, comes to us when we meet a healthy body charged with a pure mind. His *presence* was sweet and health-giving.)

I can only refer to one other of the lecturer's remarks, but it is one that is very characteristic of Mr. Powell's habits and style of thought.

(Page 253. Jesus was a man of the people ; not a priest, nor a prince, nor a noble of any sort. His blood was fresh and virile. In horticulture, when we labour for a new advance in any fruit, we do not take the highest product of cultivation to work from ; at least we rarely succeed in getting a higher evolution from that which already is remarkably developed ; we go back to fresh stock and make a new start. Nature always does this. From the standpoint of evolution Jesus does not appear as the incarnation of a national God, the Jehovah of armies ; but far more than that, as the incarnation of the Supreme Life, vivifying measureless past years of the life of man. Yes, more, as the incarnation of all life, from its dawn upon the earth ; then and now, knocking at the golden gate of a higher humanity.)

Feeling that I am far from having done justice to Mr. Powell's lecture on "Jesus as the Christ of Evolution," I am still hopeful of your consent to the deep interest abiding in the witness which connects the life, character, and ministry of Christ, with his place in evolution and history.

LECTURE IV. IS THE GOLDEN RULE WORKABLE ?

This enquiry seems to be suggested for the purpose of placing in a strong light the main contention of the whole

work—namely, that progress, and not perfection, is the goal in Evolution. This is a position which needs not proof, but thought. A state of society in which the golden rule was universally observed, would leave nothing ethically to be desired, and evolution in morals would be at an end, its place being supplied by automatic action.

The golden rule is on all hands admitted to be the model of a perfect morality. But whilst investigating the schemes by which the various religions of the world have professed to further its practice, the author becomes embittered and unjust. "The world," he says, "contains not less than fifty millions of priests, monks, and medicine men, whose business it is to sustain notions and customs that would quietly, by the common-sense of mankind, be consigned to the keeping of history." "Whoever, in any generation, has been the best expression of the golden rule has met with obloquy, if not with the fate of Jesus, Socrates, and Lincoln."

These are not words of measured exactness, but rather of passionate indignation. He, himself, is sensible of being carried away. (Page 281. Sewing women are compelled to see their children grow up in the streets on garbage, and become as morally foul as the barrels are foul out of which they rake their crusts. Every day, almost every hour of every day, an unfortunate gives up the conflict and kills himself, and possibly his family—elbowed down, and out. Elbows govern the system. When one writes of these things the ink is no longer ink—it is gall.)

It will not be necessary for me closely to follow the lecturer in an utterance to which it must have been sad to listen. Yet it is pleasant to mark how fearlessly he confronts the appalling picture drawn, without any hesitation as to duty, or as to hope. It is not for the Evolutionist to acquiesce in human misery because of a chance, revealed to a few, of perfect

rest in the world to come. He, too, looks for an undying lot; but his present part is to contend manfully against ignorance and wretchedness; and in so doing he is a fellow-worker in a glorious process, which by heredity from a living atom, into and through the brute, has developed intelligence and rightness, because our heredity is from God.

I cannot think that, in this lecture, Mr. Powell is himself. He submits to be led as if fascinated by the depth and extent of the dark side; perhaps because he starts with the object of showing *how* impracticable is the sweet and reasonable golden rule. Sure we may be, nevertheless, that we have seen some dispositions very endearing because they have been permeated by it. Entire self-renunciation would not fulfil the golden rule, which itself appeals to our sense of the way in which we like to be treated by others.

It is an ever to be remembered feature in the life of man that the removal of certain disadvantages would often involve the loss of greater benefits. If pain were abolished we should soon be miserable creatures, if we could exist at all, for we have no other safeguard than pain against injuring ourselves in countless ways. The goal is diminution and alleviation. The lecturer descants so eloquently on the old pessimistic maxim: "Childhood and youth are vanity," that our little sons and daughters might feel themselves a much ill-used race. But he dries their eyes and wins their smiles by asking—What if childhood could be abolished? With it would also go the glory of our adult life.

For what would the world be

If the children were no more?

We should dread the desert behind us

More than the dark before.

Both sides equally, the evil and the good, confirm the argument that the present is a state of imperfection, and that

the goal of evolution is progress. Says the author—"Woe be to us when we become perfect!" In another form this is the well known choice of Lessing, who preferred the pursuit of knowledge to the full possession of it. We are assured, (p. 287, I do not intend to teach pessimism; far from it, I believe matters are growing better; but they were not a perfect adjustment at the outset.) Mr. Powell is here on ground where he cannot even for an instant dismiss polemics with opponents whose glory it is to preserve unchanged and inviolate throughout all ages "the faith once delivered to the saints." Reconciliation here seems hopeless. Let us pass on to consider some of his less troubled thoughts.

LECTURE V. THE EYES OF EVOLUTION IN ITS FOREHEAD.

(Page 289. We have so far studied the past and the present; we turn now to the future. Is it a closed book? I think not. In proportion to our accumulated knowledge of the laws of evolution, we can foresee what is before us, but as yet is not fulfilled. The men of ten thousand years ago were not in body or in mind, the same kind of men as exist to day; it is highly probable that the men who may exist a long period hence will be still further removed from the primitive anthropoids. The changes that have gone on have followed ascertainable laws. The bones of the skull have increased in number, the area of brain surface has quadrupled, the tail has aborted,* and these changes have been accomplished by laws of exact causation. Nothing has happened fortuitously, nor was there an arbitrary change at any point. Following these ascertained purposes and tendencies of evolution, we are able to look into the future.)

Such is the significance of the somewhat enigmatical title of this lecture, which is mainly a setting forth of a

* The caudal vetebræ in *Bimana* have not yet entirely disappeared, it would have been safer for us if they had.

series of future events, to be anticipated with more or less of probability. In our physical structure, future modifications seem to be confidently expected. (Page 291. The plasticity of human development is in brain, voice, and hands; and in the increase and education of our senses. There is no chance of a better heart or lungs, or for the most part any improvement of that large part of us that has become automatic and unconsciously operative.) (Page 298. Sir William Thompson suggests that we are acquiring a new function of sensation, which he terms the electric. Is it possible to develop a new sense organ? or a composite sense? Is what we call our psychical life, at present crudely known as mind-reading, telepathy, hypnotism, leading us to a new and subtle relation to the universe? Certainly we have come into the electric age, and our needs are also new.) (Page 296. Professor Cope figures the coming man of higher races as distinguished by twelve teeth in either jaw, or twenty-four in all. Our food must hereafter partake of the refining influences of culture.) Passing from physical to intellectual growth, the author is not sanguine of advancement in mental power, which, as exhibited in England to-day, he does not regard as superior to that of Athens in the days of Thales or Pericles. (Page 299. While we cannot anticipate any large increase of brain power for the future, science applied to education will, no doubt, produce an average of intellectual power that will obliterate first barbarism, and then superstition, and finally vice.)

The social evolution of the future is dwelt upon at considerable length, especially with reference to two of its characters. It will preeminently be cosmopolitan, and it will also be the result of allowing to woman the free exercise of her functions.

Such predictions are strikingly illustrative of the title chosen for the lecture. For from what other source than

that which reveals unity in nature, could spring thoughts of a common interest binding together all the nations of the world? It is the spirit of the prophet as opposed to the spirit of the priest. And as to the franchise of women, chivalry was very well for the queen of beauty on gala days; but evolution declares a full recognition of the unity of the twain, the man and the woman, under all circumstances and at all times; not because of their being man and wife, but because of the co-heredity leading up to their respective conditions, being from God.

The wonder of all wonders is the universal and continuous forecast, running throughout all nature, and rendering it reasonable to speak of the world of to-day as predesigned in the condition of the world ten thousand years ago. "Not so," might reply a mechanicalist opponent. "The world of to-day owes nothing to any world whatever except to the world which existed at the previous moment, and *that* nothing except to the world immediately next preceding."

All of which would be true if there were no life, and no heredity involving laws, whatever they may be, not the laws of mechanics.*

Hence it is no false metaphor to ascribe far-seeing eyes to evolution. Gather the winter bud of a deciduous tree, and examine within. There you will find predictions of a summer that has never yet dawned on the world. It matters not whether the prediction be for six months or for a thousand years. It is teleology of that wider kind which is based on evolution.

LECTURE VI. ETHICS THE AIM OF EVOLUTION.

A brief reference to the course of the argument may here be of service.

* "On the Individuality of Atoms and Molecules." H. H. H., *Proc. Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Liverpool*, 1888.

Lecture I showed, that evolution from the very first included more than a selfish struggle for existence; and that its agencies were co-operative.

Lecture II, on the driving of the golden spikes, pointed out that the progress of evolution has been characterized by well marked periods.

Lecture III directed our thoughts to the historical position held by the founder of Christianity, as the Christ of Evolution.

Lecture IV, on the golden rule; demonstrated that the continuance of evolution implied imperfection.

Lecture V examined how, from the outset, evolution had prospective tendencies thus establishing teleology.

Lecture VI, the present lecture, seeks to show that these tendencies are, in the main, ethical, and favour the good, the beautiful, and the true.

One important omission may have been noticed. I refer to degeneration and its results. A whole lecture is devoted to this subject in an earlier portion of the volume. In passing on to consider the ethical aim of evolution, the severity of nature towards transgressors would occur to some as of primary moral importance. Nature is not less merciful for being inexorable. A slighter penalty, which is inevitable, is more salutary than a tremendous doom which every offender hopes to elude.

On the whole, the deterrent discipline of nature is more conducive to ethics than the penal system of the popular faith. But what, on the other side, can be said of the moral attractions of nature? Has evolution any claims on the heart?

Evolution is a name for a way, an order, a method, a channel. But when even a special channel or instrument brings us a satisfaction inexpressibly grateful to us—for so does a home, or a book, or a musical instrument—we

love the senseless thing as if it were a bit of selves.

Now evolution, through heredity, has laid the foundation for all that we derive from love ; beginning with the primitive love of offspring, in an insect or a bird, the spirit of alliance, active even amongst uncultivated up to the most refined and self-devoted affection expressed by poets. All has been accomplished at an immense cost of time, involving ages beyond computation apparently, only by overcoming a multitude of difficulties. Surely it is as reasonable to love evolution as it is to love home or a book.

An obvious reply would be—If evolution claim to be the foundation of love, what must be its due for development of crimes, diseases, famines, catastrophes, and inevitable

It is true that evolution hath so far left us in a rather imperfect state ; but, on the other hand, the knowledge of evolution is the only conceivable universal remedy for its impartial capacity towards the development of life. If our miseries had fallen upon us by the stroke of an angry, extra-natural power, remedies as diverse and uncertain as the religions of the world

Again, sensational events occupy men's minds in a sure and degree out of all proportion with their duration as set in the balance over against events occurring in the ordinary course of nature, and attracting no attention for example, the myriads of unrecorded happy hours of our lives, as contrasted with widely published sufferings and much read descriptions of tragic ends.

One other reflection I would submit. Evils, catastrophes, wars, calamities, and tyrants, pass and the world is not permanently the worse for them. Good inventions, and good lives, confer benefits that endure from generation after generation to the end of time. The

marked *difference*; and the advantage is given to the good—ethics being the aim of evolution.

A moral world would not of itself prove evolution; but evolution once acknowledged, in a more or less moral world, the ethics therein can only have arisen in close association with heredity.

That evolution makes for beauty goes without saying. There is a million times more beauty in the world than can be attributed to the efficiency of beauty in the struggle for existence.

The lecturer said (page 341, the latest and fullest lesson of evolution is this, that we should cease altogether seeking a moral finality. Some noble souls are ever dropping into the conviction that at last their pilgrimage after truth is ended. A creed that is anything more than a milestone is a blunder. As we find animals on the road, so is man, and ever must be. The rose never will quite reach its ideal. Our hope is that our hope will never be fulfilled; that is, filled full.* We must get accustomed to the truth that the mind, with ever-widening experience, must ever change the horizon of belief.)

LECTURE VII. THE SELF THAT IS HIGHER THAN OURSELVES.

It is a consideration having an important bearing on the reception of this portion of our subject that the minds of ordinary Christians, so far as they are interested in systematic theology, are mainly informed by the Old Testament. Christ's teaching respecting the Father leaves a deep impression, associating the Supreme Being with the blessed life and character then unfolding on the earth. The Father is Christ over again, rather than the possessor of infinite cosmic attributes. In the synoptic gospels, He is the giver

* "Hope that is seen is not hope."

of good gifts to them that ask him, rather than the Creator of all worlds, and the immanent, omnipresent God.

Consequently at a time when, by modern science, our thoughts are irresistibly drawn to the infinite First Cause, we are made sensible that our resources in written theosophy are chiefly found in the Old Testament.

The warlike and wonder-working character distinguishing the Jehovah of the Hebrews, impressed his followers with the conviction that he was a terrible enemy, but an unspeakably valuable and lovable friend. We readily discern here the sources of liability to intellectual and moral error. In their theology, personal or national favours supposed to be heaven-granted to the Jew, were never questioned as to their rightness, whatever might be the injury thereby inflicted on others, *e.g.*, the destruction of the firstborn in Egypt. *That* age has passed away, but its footsteps remain. The God of evolution is too cosmopolitan a power to be our very own God. In the Old Testament Jehovah is said, Exodus xxxiii, 11, to have spoken unto Moses "face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend." Your memories will supply you with a store of parallel passages. Is it a wonder that He, whose path is now seen in the evolution of the universe, is regarded as too vast and diffuse and unapproachable, too closely associated with the cold of infinite space to be of much comfort to us, who have been taught, moreover, that by nature we are at enmity with Him.

Reason suggests that we may safely dismiss the turbulent theosophy of the ancient Hebrews, dismissing the whole hypothesis of strained relations between God and man, adopted from the Old Testament; and, since a living universe must have a psychical source, enquire if evolution can throw any light on so profoundly hidden a subject.

In his long and elaborate discourse on "The self that is higher than ourselves," Mr. Powell proposes to discuss his

subject on a basis which he regards as already in his former lectures sufficiently established. Thus he at once treats as inconceivable, the existence of a living universe and a dead universe. He denies the possibility of a fundamental separation between the organic and the inorganic worlds; and boldly assumes that "Life is a mode of the universe." To myself this expression is not lucid. But it may be intended to be a corollary on the proposition that the Supreme is immanent, held by some of our finest old ecclesiastical writers, and apparently by the author of the 139th Psalm.

It will not therefore be surprising if readers, unprepared to grant these premises, should regard the lecturer as wandering far from his subject.

An endeavour will be made to place before you the nucleus of the lecture; more cannot be attempted.

Light seems to reach the author through the contemplation of an orderly arrangement of modes of existence which he believes to characterize the universe. If his views be reasonable they are worth close attention. We may find them briefly summarized by the author himself on page 855.

I. Pre-conscious sensibility (mind) is a function of the universe (property).

II. This pre-organic life eventuates in a comparison of sensations (consciousness)

III. This becomes a synthetic power in man, and, lo! self-consciousness.

IV. Unconsciousness, he defines to be a lapse of consciousness, owing to a completed functioning. It is synonymous with our automatic condition. But self-consciousness does not lapse except by degeneration.

V. Mechanism or organism is the result of purpose and desire in primitive life-stuff, primarily manifested as hunger.

No. 1. Under the names—pre-conscious sensibility, mind, sentience, pre-organic life, primitive life-stuff, protein, protoplasm, &c., &c., are included the universal life energies out of which arise higher modes of existence. Of No. 2, the author says—"Consciousness is not sentience, but the result of a comparison of sensations. It does not lie in the primitive conditions of life, as these appear in the amœba, but where functions have become organic and specialized allowing a comparison of sensations" (page 358).

No. 3 (page 358). Mr. Powell writes—"I have used the term *self-conscious* to indicate that point where reason reaches the concept man. The animals have perceptions but not conceptions. The dog sees a man; he has not the concept—man." (Page 360.) "We know the infinite, then, not in mechanism and instinct, or in consciousness which may lapse into instinct. The conscious being would never know the Infinite any more than would a machine; but having reached self-consciousness, we discover the higher Self. So that the unity which is discerned in organic life, in co-operative functional life, in moral and historical development is enfolded by the sublime concept of infinite Self, intelligent and moral, in whom we live and move and have our being. The amended form is not, "there is one God," but "God is one."

No. 4. The lecturer uses the term "unconsciousness" to denote the condition of activity which we recognise as automatic action. He also calls it lapsed consciousness. "Unconsciousness" is however a word so completely pre-engaged to a wider meaning, that its restriction is scarcely warranted. All creatures of lower organization or of instinct, even such as the ant and the bee, are here regarded as unconscious. Man's activity is chiefly of the unconscious kind. The sphere of conscious activity in which every thing is comparative and relative and imperfect is wonderfully

elevated above the sphere of automatic action, in preparation for self-consciousness.

No. 5. Hunger is rightly emphasized. In the lowest forms of life, as the *Monera*, *Amœba primitiva*, or *Protista*, since the attitudes assumed in hunger are not the results of stimulations conveyed from without by the presence of food materials, but are waitings and watchings prompted from within; this, of all biological phenomena, seems to be the most amazing. No doubt it is the product of heredity; but where can we look for the pedigree, except in molecules and atoms.

The aim of the lecturer, as apprehended by myself, is to account for the idea—"First Cause"—by tracing the evolutionary development of the idea. The lecture is in fact on the philogeny of the idea "Highest Self," which is equivalent to "First Cause." The recognised steps in the progress are but few; and analogy forbids the expectation of finding sharply defined limits between them.

The first stage is the great panorama of life—atomic, molecular, mineral, vegetable, animal, and psychical, as far upwards as the inferior organisms. Then, through organization, comes in the sphere of conscious life, comparing like things, and recognising relativity in all things. Further development still, in man, introduces reason enquiring into the cause of things, cause behind cause, and involving the conception of the infinite. Chief of all arises self-consciousness—the idea of self—capable of psychical and moral elevation and deterioration. Leading to the conception of the Highest Self. Here, prognosticated from the very first, steals over us—like bloom upon fruit, the beauty and the glory of incipient psychical maturity—the consciousness of the self that is higher than ourselves, the infinite source of all self-hood. A process such as this seems to be genuinely distinct from the ordinary

method of inferring from natural laws the existence of a Lawgiver; or from a cosmos, the existence of an orderly Disposer. I find no fault with the soundness of *these* inferences; but the development by evolution of an idea—the highest self—seems to put it on the same basis as any other result of evolution, namely, fact.

LECTURE VIII. THAT LAST ENEMY, DEATH.

Whilst pondering on the title of Mr. Powell's last lecture, it occurred to me that I had been much struck with an article in the *Quarterly Review* on a work by M. Fontenelle, entitled, "The Signs of Death." The perusal seemed as if it must have taken place twelve or fifteen years previously. Under this impression I went to my friend the librarian, Mr. Cowell, who found the paper; but my date was very incorrect—the interval had not been twelve, but forty, years. The interest of the paper had not faded, and a wondrous supplement had since been evolved. M. Fontenelle's orthodox reviewer in the *Quarterly*—rejoicing in a style of composition literary, sensational, and sparkling with the names of illustrious men—and Mr. Powell revelling in a field of modern scientific speculation, as little anticipated half a century ago as the gold fields in Australia—were found joining hands in the happy conclusion that death, as designed by nature, is not an enemy.

Can the question—What are we to think of death?—be seriously affected by such considerations as are supplied by modern science? The preliminary difficulties are of the gravest kind, something like those attending an effort to think in a foreign language. The strong current of heredity, descending through many generations, prompts us to regard the question as already settled from another place and in another manner. Psychological refinements seem almost like trifling with too serious a matter. We cannot yet quite

realise that evolution comes from a source not less sacred than the source of orthodoxy.

It is a vain thing to examine a body of evidence, learned, scientific, and apparently conclusive, only to be told that it is all irrelevant because it cannot be understood by the common people. What the lecturer has to say about death requires all evolution for its postulate. Addressing his sympathisers, he needs no apology ; addressing ourselves, it is as the case may be. His argument is certainly very unfamiliar. After listening to Mr. Powell's thoughts on death in the aspect of evolution, it might perhaps be only natural for the masses to turn away in despair, and perhaps in disgust. Has intelligent common sense any right to do so, or to expect that all reasonings on such subjects as death and immortality should be exhausted in teachings founded on the faith once, and long ago, delivered to the saints? The profound and universal importance of a subject is no ground wherefore its discussion should be limited to fields familiar to every one. The common people—the term is used seriously and with the highest respect—have their own way of coming to a decision on the deepest questions. Often their conclusion is the best which they are capable of entertaining in their present mental condition ; and it may be for them both suitable and wholesome. A large minority, however, have come to be dissatisfied : are they to turn away from suggestions demanding wider knowledge and deeper thought, simply because such considerations are palpably unsuited for the masses, who are not discontented or in difficulty? One of the most needful lessons in the present day, is the high value of imperfect creeds to their respective believers.

It is now for us to ask the lecturer his reasons, as an evolutionist, for believing in a life after death.

1. *The Purpose in Evolution is fulfilled in Man : progress, not perfection, being the goal.*

(Page 377. The more we discover of the unknown, the more we find it possessed of the same laws as the known. The spectroscope confirms the telescope that all globes are of one system, and of one substance, having one law.* Nor can we discover any flaw in our conviction that honour and truth are the same everywhere; that character, like energy, is cosmical. . . . The aim of purpose has been ethical; it has been steadily fulfilling itself, and it may ever be fulfilling itself in man.)

2. *Man's place in nature.*

(Page 381. The question therefore becomes this—whether in evolution *that* being has been reached which can in perpetuity be adapted to new and wider environments, a being to whom the universe, whatever its unfoldings shall be, may be food for ever. Is man the individual that should come, or look we for another? Is man what Nature seeks and ever has sought from the age when there were only animalcules? If we interpret Nature as ethical, then, it may be, ethical man is what Nature desired, and in whom is found a capacity for the supreme expression of ethical progress. There has been a mournful amount of meaningless assumption written and spoken of the blinding pride to which man's nature is said to cling. It is charged with the rejection of orthodox belief: it is equally charged with the rejection of atheistic automatism; in fact, it is made to bear the blame wherever and by whomsoever an *oracle* is called in question.)

3. *Inconsistency of Annihilation.*

* *E.g.*, a meteorite rushes from the unknown empyrean, and is found to contain the familiar materials—iron, nickel, olivine. The sun teems with hydrogen, and the basis of common salt. Star-light has properties which are known to us in light from other sources; and our valued member, Mr. Isaac Roberts, only the other day, brought before our very eyes, from the constituent bodies in the nebula of Andromeda, evidence of obedience to laws discovered by Kepler in astral systems comparatively much nearer home.

(Page 382. If man perish, there has been no searching—no purpose, no desire, no ethical aim—no hunger for rightness; we have read the whole story wrong: what seemed to be a magnificent unfolding and progressive revelation of intelligent purpose was only a soulless trend of fateful atoms and forces.)

4. That there should be physical, but not psychical, conservation of energy seems to myself to be incredible.

(Page 384.) Does transformation at death involve such a breach with the organic heredity of man that, while the elemental body is passed over to the action of physical forces, it must be impossible for him to draft off, to fulfil higher relations, a substantial self of a spiritual sort? Mr. Powell affirms that there is nothing in nature which renders this a monstrous supposition; for that evolution has at more than one point established a new order of relations, involving consequences quite as astounding.

5. *The limits of human life.*

Every material particle in our bodies is repeatedly changed—physically we become new creatures every few years. It cannot be the physical frame that demands a limit of threescore years and ten, for the muscle and the bone are renewed perpetually; and when a man dies he has not a particle in his body that he has had in work ten years. It must be a psychical necessity.

(Page 401. Physical decay and death in evolution is therefore not an evil. It never has been an evil. It is a part of meliorism and progress.) As to the distressing character of the end itself, persons thus situated commonly attest that there are few things in life less painful than its close. If I had strength to hold a pen—said William Hunter, of Edinburgh—I would write how easy and delightful it is to die. If this be dying, said the niece of Newton of Olney, it is a pleasant thing to die. The same words—

says the *Quarterly* reviewer—have so often been uttered under similar circumstances, that we could fill pages with instances only varied by the name of the speaker.

Our remarks on the faith of an evolutionist must now be brought to a close. The faith which an evolutionist may derive from his special study, may be of large or small account in comparison with that which he may attain through other sources, *e.g.*, the witness of sacred books. The streams should mutually be tributaries, and always would be so, but for the tendency on all sides to set up infallibility as attainable, and, *before all things*, to be sought after.

Why should we so hanker after positive certainties, when all the very best and most salutary influences that form our characters and mould us into human beings, men and women, worthy of a place in God's great work, are distinguished by the absence of infallible certainty—We are saved by hope—Love, uncertain to a proverb—Love, that if it could be shorn of its anxiety, would lose half its energy—the sympathy of friends—anticipation—the affection between parents and children—the spirit of alliance—the troubles we incur in striving to know our own hearts! Why, in all these things, there is not a holding place whereon to fasten a certitude or a positive proof.

Yet these are the powers that make us—beginning with infancy, shaping us without intermission, in the “circle of the suns”—in all our *real* life, constraining us to trust, where we cannot see.

Whether personal or impersonal, or whether neither of these terms can here be applicable, that infinite *ENS* which has maintained the progress of the universe from the so-called beginning to the present day—immeasurably, inconceivably, vast though the eternal, immanent *EXISTENCE* be—has the features of a life, and the true properties of a character. For the same is proved capable of being

regarded with intelligent acquiescence—of being feared, hated, loved; and of being hopefully entrusted with man's destiny.

If then we have apprehended the thought that evolution is prophetic—if, with Huxley, we can admit the higher teleology—we are on the way not to agnosticism but to a brotherhood of faith that knows no limits short of the human race. For teleology implies in the cosmos a lovable and reliable as well as an awe-inspiring character.

The Greeks were indifferent to moral consistency of character in their divinities. Men of all other civilized religions have constantly been subject to Manichean influence. Every Osiris has had his Typhon: every Allah his Eblis: every Ormuzd his Ahriman. How great must be the liability in man to offer that most painful service—a divided homage; and how wondrous his enfranchisement by the knowledge of evolution.

When therefore we come to think of death, our anticipations can have nothing of the certitude of a natural law, but only the kind of trust we may have in the heart and hand of a friend; coupled with the grateful reflection—the psychical *magna charta* of evolution—that there is no antagonistic hand into which, if it existed, it might be possible for ourselves, or those we love, at death to fall.

THE NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND SOME OF ITS PREDECESSORS.

By R. McLINTOCK.

As neither the ancient Greeks nor the Romans had anything which would correspond with the idea which the word dictionary suggests to us—there is no name for such a thing in the classical languages, and the late words *dictionum*, *glossarium*, etc., according to the Brothers Grimm, meant something quite different—it is not very surprising that the history of English lexicography is rather of the shortest, especially if we exclude from our reckoning the various bilingual dictionaries, glossaries, vocabularies, etc., intended to facilitate the learning of Latin, Greek, and the more useful or fashionable of contemporary continental languages. Of these it must suffice to say that one of the earliest—perhaps the very first—was published in 1499 by Richard Frances, a “preaching or black friar,” under the title of “*Promptorius Puerorum. Promptorium Parvulorum sive Clericorum. Medulla Grammaticæ*,” and is now a valuable source of information as to old English words, and one that is frequently cited in the New Dictionary. The first books in which English words were explained in English were not dictionaries in our sense of the word: they professed merely to “explicate” hard words. Here is the list of them taken from the “History of English Lexicography” prefixed to *Webster’s Dictionary* (Ed. 1856).

1616. “*English Expositour or Compleat Dictionary, teaching the Interpretation of the Hardest Words and Most Useful Terms of Art used in our Language.*” By Dr. John Bullokar. (The 8th edition, 1688—“very much augmented”—contained 5080 words).

1632. "*An English Dictionarie, or an Interpreter of Hard Words.*" By Henry Cockeram.

1656. "*Glossographia, or Dictionary interpreting the Hurd Words now used in our Refined English Tongue.*" By Thomas Blount (or Blunt),

1658. "*The New World of English Words, or a General Dictionary, containing the Interpretation of such Hard Words as are derived from other Languages.*" By Edward Philipps (Milton's nephew).*

1677. "*An English Dictionary, explaining the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Philosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematics and other Arts and Sciences.*" By Elisha Coles.

1707. "*Glossographia Anglicana Nova, or a Dictionary interpreting such Hard Words, of whatever Language, as are at present used in the English Tongue.*" Anonymous.

1708. "*A General English Dictionary, comprehending a Brief but Emphatical and Clear Explication of all Sorts of Difficult Words, that derive their origin from other Ancient and Modern Languages*" By John Kersey.

1721. "*An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, comprehending the Derivations of the Generality of Words in the English Tongue.*" By Nathan Bailey.

1724. "*Cocker's English Dictionary, Enlarged and Altered.*" By J. Hawkins. (Cocker died in 1677).

1752. "*A New General English Dictionary, peculiarly calculated for the Use and Improvement of such as are unacquainted with the Learned Languages.*" By Thomas Dyche and William Pardon. (7th ed.)

1735. "*A Compleat English Dictionary, containing the True Meaning of all the words in the English Language.*" By B. N. Defoe.

1737. "*A New English Dictionary, containing a large and almost complete Collection of English Words.*" Anon.

1749. "*A New Universal English Dictionary.*" By Benjamin Martin.

1754. "*The Royal British Grammar and Vocabulary, being an entire Digestion of the English Language into its proper Parts of Speech.*" By Daniel Farro.

* The title of Philipps' work contains a reference to Floris's *A World of Words*; a most copious Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues. 1598.

1755. "*Bailey's Dictionary, Enlarged and Revised.*" By Joseph Nicol Scott.

1755. "*A Dictionary of the English Language, in which the Words are deduced from their Originals and illustrated in their different Significations by Examples from the best Writers.*" By S Johnson.

Between Bullokar's "Expositour" (1616), and Johnson's "Dictionary" there are fourteen works, of which the seven that precede Bailey (1721) make no pretence of completeness. Bailey was the first to mark the place of the accent in polysyllables, but neither he nor any of his predecessors distinguished the parts of speech. I do not carry the list beyond Dr. Johnson, both because the improvements made on his work during the century which followed its publication were relatively insignificant, and because Johnson's Dictionary is the true forerunner of the great work whose first volume is now before the world. The distinguishing feature which Dr. Johnson introduced into lexicography—the illustration of the different uses of words by extracts from the best writers—has been adopted by the most famous and most scientific dictionary makers of the continent, the Frenchman, Littré, and the Germans, Grimm, and their successors, and has been carried out in such a manner by Dr. Murray and his coadjutors in the New English Dictionary as to make that work the nearest approach to an ideally perfect dictionary of a modern language that the world has yet seen.

During the latter part of the hundred years which followed the publication of Johnson's Dictionary, linguistic science made great progress, and the serious insufficiency of Dr. Johnson's scholarship, felt more and more distinctly as the years went by, together with the natural changes undergone by the language itself, made a new dictionary of our tongue a thing much to be desired. Then, in 1854, the Brothers Grimm published the first volume of their great

German *Wörterbuch*. In 1857, the Philological Society, at the suggestion of Dean Trench, resolved that materials should be collected for a dictionary, which, by the completeness of its vocabulary, and by the application of the historical method to the life and use of words, might be worthy of the English language and of modern scholarship. With this view it was resolved to begin at the beginning, and extract anew typical quotations for the use of words from *all writers whatever before the sixteenth century*, and from as many as possible of the more important writers of later times. The time requisite to complete even this preliminary labour proved so long that several promoters of the undertaking died, and many became absorbed in other duties, before it was possible to take in hand the actual preparation of the intended Dictionary; but the materials continued to accumulate, till upwards of two million quotations had been amassed, portions of which were also provisionally arranged and made more or less ready for use.

For several years no further steps were taken, but in 1878, Dr. Murray, for the Philological Society, laid before the delegates of the Clarendon Press specimens prepared from these materials, and they consented, on certain conditions, to bear the expense of printing and publishing a dictionary to be founded on these materials. Careful examination of the quotations revealed many deficiencies, and a new appeal was made to volunteers to collect additional quotations from specified books. More than eight hundred readers responded to this appeal, and in the course of three years additional quotations were received, which raised the total number to about three and a half millions, selected by 1,800 readers, and drawn from the works of more than 5,000 writers. Publication began in 1884, and about this time last year (the Preface is dated April, 1888,) the first volume of 1,260 pages, containing the letters A and B, was completed.

In order to furnish something of a critical platform from which the work being done by Dr. Murray and his coadjutors may be properly appreciated, I have here set down a few particulars of the only two dictionaries which can in any way fitly be compared with it—the *Neuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, begun by the Brothers Grimm, and the *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* of M. Littré.

Political events were the immediate cause out of which the great undertaking of the Brothers Grimm sprang. In 1837, King William IV of Great Britain and Hanover died, and was succeeded by his niece, her present Majesty, and—as the Hanoverian crown had not been made to fit a female head—his brother Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, one of whose first acts on becoming king was to abrogate the Constitution granted to the Hanoverians only four years previously by King William. Seven professors in the University of Göttingen hereupon refused the oath of allegiance, and were deprived of their offices, and some of them were banished the country. Among them were the brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, who were already famous for their knowledge of Teutonic antiquities, language, and literature. Being thus thrown out of employment, they were sought out by the head of an eminent publishing firm who proposed that they should start work on a new German Dictionary which should be worthy of the name and of their scholarship. They agreed to the proposal, and in seventeen years—that is, in 1854—produced their first volume, containing the letter A and part of B. Wilhelm Grimm died in 1859; nevertheless his name was continued on the title-pages of the next two volumes, published respectively in 1860 and 1862, and bringing the work down to the middle of the letter F. In 1868 Jakob Grimm died. Other hands were found to carry on the work, but it took time to pick up the broken threads. It was not until 1878 that

another volume appeared, and then it was volume V, containing the whole of the letter K, and edited by Rudolf Hildebrand, that came. This was followed in 1877 and 1878 by volume IV, in two parts of 1076 and 1204 pages respectively; part 2, edited by Moritz Heyne, being published first; the first part, when it came, bearing the names of Jakob Grimm, Karl Weigand, and Rudolf Hildebrand. The sixth volume, containing the letters L and M, and edited by Moritz Heyne, came out in 1885, and there, for the present, it rests. In thirty-one years from the beginning of publication one-half of the alphabet has been gone through, and seven volumes produced averaging 1,100 pages large octavo each.

I cannot say that I am very familiar with this really great work, which with all the treasures of erudition that it contains is very unattractive—and this in spite of the “setting-in” of the verse quotations from which the writer of the preface expects such great things. A few words from the preface, however, explaining the nature and scope of the work, will not be amiss here. The Brothers Grimm, it seems, did not like the word *Dictionary*, which to them meant only a book of select phrases, or something akin to our early English Dictionaries. They preferred *Wörterbuch*—word book—for their work was intended to contain all the words which have formed part of the literary High German since the middle of the fifteenth century. The language of this period is generally known among German philologists as “New High German” in contradistinction from the “Middle High German” and “Old High German.” Old High German extends from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh, and “Middle High German” covers the intermediate time from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The word “new,” therefore, in the title of the book refers to the language, and not to the work—in the

New English Dictionary the converse is the case. The main reason why the Grimms made no effort to include the whole language from its beginning is the impossibility of mastering the whole of the literature of such a period. It is impossible indeed, they say, to know the whole even of the written and published books of the seventeen years which have elapsed since the beginning of their own work. Therefore, while not excluding from consideration any writer or any book within their period—four centuries—all that they can promise is that their explanations shall be guaranteed by quotations from the more eminent writers of each century—and, with Luther and Hans Sachs at one end, and Goethe at the other, they seem to keep their promise well.

In France, as everybody knows, there has existed for 250 years an Académie whose main purpose has been the cultivation of the French language and the preparation of a dictionary. This dictionary, however, which is now in its 7th edition, not being either historical or etymological, quite fails to satisfy any except the most superficial students. Conscious of this, and impelled, as he tells us in his preface, by his studies in the older forms of the language, M. Littré, himself a member of the Academy, undertook the gigantic task of writing a dictionary which should answer the demands of modern scholarship, and in 1872, after more than twenty years' work, with no assistance except that of his wife and daughter, he was able to place the last instalment of his dictionary in the hands of the public. It is indeed a monumental work, and has, for all serious purposes, quite superseded the product of the never-ended task of the Academy. It omits no word that is given in the dictionary of the Academy, and its additions to the Academy's vocabulary number thousands. The main points, however, in which it differs from the Academy's dictionary are the results of the adoption of the historical method. The Academy, in

treating a word which is used in several senses, places the most usual meaning of the word first, and makes no attempt to affiliate its various uses one to another. Now, in a language which has lived through so many centuries as the French has, it will very frequently happen that the most common modern sense of a given word will be a long way from its original signification, and will furnish no clue as to the way in which its other uses, past or present, have arisen. And then the Academy avoids etymology altogether, and claims the right of manufacturing its own illustrative sentences. Its dictionary is therefore a merely popular one, almost valueless to the real student of language. M. Littré gives in the first place, wherever it is discoverable, the sense in which the word was used when first introduced into the language; he then arranges the other and later significations in as good a *logical sequence* as he can make out for them, and for each meaning gives one or more quotations from classical or standard writers of the seventeenth century and later times. In addition to these he gives quotations in *chronological order* from writers of the previous centuries, which constitute what he calls the *historique* of the word, and lastly the etymology—this consisting in the mention of the word or words in Latin or other language from which the French word is derived, or out of which it is compounded, and the enumeration of cognate words in kindred languages. This is a great advance on the Academy's performance, and if I presently proceed to shew that the conception falls short of the demands of modern scientific wants, and that the execution sometimes does not come up to the conception, it is not that I would depreciate the really great work of a great man, but that, despite the failure of the French Academy, experience has now shewn that by the intelligent co-operation of many workers a much nearer approach to an ideal dictionary can be made than is possible to the single handed scholar.

It will have been noticed that both the Grimms and M. Littré limit the retrospective purview of their respective works, the former declining to look further back than the middle of the fifteenth century, and the latter making his start at the classical era of the seventeenth century. The Grimms point to the immense mass of literature to be examined, and one cannot but admit the force of the plea; one or two men cannot master the whole literature of twelve or nine centuries of a modern language as a clergyman masters his Bible. M. Littré does not claim the benefit of this fact; his refusal to look at the earlier centuries is based on a principle under whose operation we in England have escaped falling. Enumerating the various sources from which words not to be found in the Academy's Dictionary have been or might have been drawn he says:—"Writers of the sixteenth, fifteenth, and even earlier centuries, would furnish a plentiful supply if it were possible to draw on them unreservedly. But the greatest discretion is necessary here; that which is quite dead ought to be allowed to go. Nevertheless, it is not forbidden us to pick out of this rich heap of ruins a few bits of wreckage (*quelques épaves*) capable of being restored to circulation, provided that the words thus brought back into the language offend neither ear nor analogy, and are self-explanatory." M. Littré is thus seen to be not free from the fault described by a recent German writer:—"In their one-sided overestimate of the classical Louis XIV-time the French are quite too much in the habit of regarding their mediæval language and literature as rude and barbarous, and it is very difficult to them to overcome this prejudice. Further, by their great Revolution they have broken with their national past, which they look upon not only not impartially, but often indeed with a preconceived evil opinion." (Körting, *Encyc. der Rom. Philologie*, I, 183.) A descriptive title to M. Littré's Dictionary might run:

“An Etymological and Historical Dictionary of the French Language as exemplified in the best writers since the beginning of the seventeenth century.” Grimm’s is fairly described by the title actually given to it—“New High German;” being taken to extend from the Reformation time to the present. It will now be clear that neither of these two great works is a dictionary of their respective languages in the same sense as our New English Dictionary may claim to be of English.

In order to exemplify the progress of lexicographic science, I propose to take a word which has been in use both in English and in French for six and a half centuries, and shew how the dictionaries treat it. I should have liked to do the same with some word both English and German, but have not been able to think of or find one suitable—words important enough to be interesting are apt in German to make very long and technical articles.

Our English verb *to avow* is derived from and is precisely equivalent to the French verb *avouer*. We will see first what the French dictionaries say about it. The Academy defines its meanings thus:—

1. To confess or admit that a thing is or is not.
2. To own (a person or a thing) as in some way belonging to us.
3. To approve or ratify (an act).
4. To assume the responsibility of an agent’s acts.
5. *S’avouer d’une personne (refl. with genitive)*. To look to or rely on a person for favour or countenance. This phrase is little used.

These definitions, and some illustrative phrases of its own manufacture, are all that the Academy condescends to give. Turning to M. Littré, we find a tremendous advance. According to him the word means, or has meant:—

1. In feudal times, to make a vow to a superior; to recognise as lord.
2. By extension now: to approve of what is done in our name.
3. To admit that a thing is or is not.
4. To recognise as one's own (a letter, etc.).
5. *S'avouer de quelqu'un* (*refl. with gen.*) Rely on some one for countenance, favour, etc.; (*refl.*), to confess oneself (beaten, etc.).
6. (*Pass.*) To be confessed.

These meanings are all illustrated by quotations from writers of repute of the seventeenth century and later times. Further quotations from writers of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries furnish the *historique* of the word, and then follows the etymology, from *à* and *vouer*. *À* is, of course, the *prep.* *à* = Lat. *ad.*, and, turning to *vouer* (to vow), we find its source given as "Lat. *votare*, derived from *votum*, a vow;" *votum* itself being derived from the verb *vovere*, to vow. Under the cognate substantive *aveu*, M. Littré declares the sequence of meanings to be—"act of vowing (and properly, of vowing feudal service); then approbation; then recognition of right; and, lastly, confession." Is it clear how the other meanings hang on the first? I think not; nor is the case improved by recalling the word *avoué*, the past participle of the verb, and the name given both to a pleader in the law courts and the patron or defender of a church, always rendered in Latin by *advocatus*, the past participle of the verb *advocare*. Let us see whether our English scholars can clear this up. Dr. Johnson certainly cannot; he simply derives *avow* from *avouer*, defines it as meaning "to declare with confidence; to justify; not to dissemble," and illustrates it with quotations from Spenser, Boyle, Dryden, Thomson and Swift. He also gives *avowee*, or *advowe*, as the title of the holder of an *advowson*, derived

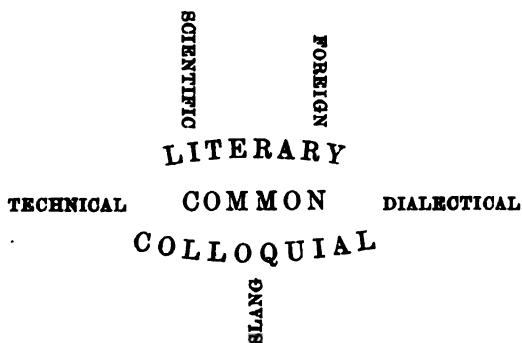
from *avoué*. A quotation from Cowell under *advowson* tells us that the original holders of that right were sometimes called *Patroni*, and sometimes *Advocati*. Putting this together, we are driven to the conclusion that *avow* is somehow related to *advocate*. Against this we have the fact that *vow* is said to be derived from Fr. *vœu* (Lat. *votum*) or Fr. *vouer* (Lat. *vovēre*) according as we enquire of the substantive or the verb. Dr. Johnson though, we may note, is superior to the French Academy, in that he makes an attempt at etymology, and justifies his definitions by reference to other writers than himself.

Turning now to the New English Dictionary, we find *two* verbs *to avow*, one altogether obsolete, the other obsolete in some senses, and in some still full of life. We will look at the latter first. This is stated to be derived from the Fr. *avouer*, and that in turn to be the issue of the Latin *advocare*. The general meaning of our word is said to be "to call to, to call upon; especially to call in as a defender or patron; hence, in feudal times, to call upon, or own as defender, patron, client, or person in some way related; to acknowledge (a person) as ours in some relation, afterwards extended to things." This makes the whole thing comprehensible. The word was an invention of the feudal lawyers—the earliest discovered use of it, both in French and English, dates from the thirteenth century; it was equally applicable to patron and client: each was liable to be called upon for the other's defence; people who knew the use, but not the source of the word, took it to mean to claim or admit an interest in a person; this was easily extended to things, and in process of time the idea of admission or confession grew stronger, and the sense of claiming or calling upon was lost sight of, probably in consequence of the decay of feudalism, for the use of the word in that sense does not seem to have

extended beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, at any rate, in England.

The other verb *to avow* was derived from a later Latin *advotare*, a frequentative of *votēre* formed from *votum*, and meant to impose or take a vow, or to dedicate or consecrate a person or thing to some pious purpose. The quotations shew that it was used from 1800 to 1600. As its earliest date is less than a century after that of the other verb, a proper search would probably discover it in contemporary or earlier French. It is quite clear, from its form, that it was a French word before it was English.

The first question which the dictionary maker has to settle is what the dictionary is to include. A modern language—and English pre-eminently—is no fixed quantity; it has a centre, but no circumference. Dr. Murray has represented the manner in which the various constituent elements combine to make up our language in a diagram, in



which the word "Common," representing the great body of words used both in literature and in conversation, occupies the centre, with "Literary" above, and "Colloquial" below. Into the figure thus formed—which may be compared to an enclosed sea or lake—run five converging lines, streams that feed the lake. Through the upper margin—the literary

side—enter the scientific and foreign elements; between, the literary and colloquial come in, on the side nearest to science, the technical, and on the foreign side the dialectal elements; through the colloquial, slang finds admission. These very tributaries themselves, as a little reflection will discover, ramify into each other's regions. Slang, by the intermediation of trade and professional words and terms, easily shades into the properly technical, which in turn joins hands with the scientific. The scientific and the foreign are not divisible by any definite line, nor are the foreign and dialectal more sharply distinguishable, while, on the other side, the dialectal fades into mere slang, and so completes the circuit. The dictionary maker must travel some distance along each of these divergent lines, but, as they all lead out into infinity, and even the greatest of dictionaries has its limits, he is bound to stop somewhere; that somewhere, however, being of necessity more or less arbitrary, it is always open to a caviller to complain that he has either gone too far or not far enough. Dr. Murray's rule seems to be good: "He must include all the common words of literature and conversation, and such of the scientific, technical, slang, dialectal and foreign words, as are passing into common use, and approach the standing of common words." This does not differ essentially from that laid down with regard to scientific words by M. Littré: "Choice must be made of words likely to be required by a man of general culture, and his wants must be exceeded rather than stinted."

Dr. Murray divides words into three classes—Main Words, Subordinate Words, and Combinations. The volume, now complete, contains 31,254 articles, of which 22,232 are on main words, 4,292 on special combinations, and 4,730 subordinate words. If all the combinations illustrated by quotations were counted, the number would be raised to over

40,000. Of the main words 5,982 are obsolete, and 870 are alien or imperfectly naturalised. The proportion of obsolete words differs somewhat under the two letters here treated, being 28·3 per cent. for A, and 25·2 for B. This is owing to the fact that the words under A include a much larger proportion of Latin words (taken direct or through the French) than those under B. Many of these Latin words were learned importations of the Renaissance-time, and perished before the end of the seventeenth century. Another point of difference between A and B is that, while there are very few A-words that present any difficulty in an etymological sense, B is full of problems that puzzle, and even, in many cases, baffle the efforts of all investigators. Many of these words have no kindred abroad, but are purely English, and furnish proof that the "origin of language" is not to be sought only in Indo-European or pre-Aryan antiquity, but is still in perennial process around us. Dr. Murray enumerates a long string of such words, among which I notice "barn," "bilk," "blight," "blizzard," "blunder," "bore," "bump," "bustle." These words—mostly of relatively recent appearance—prove also that our language is still a really living language, and not a petrification such as it seems to be the object of French scholars to make of theirs.

The dictionary does not set up for an authority on what is correct in spelling or pronunciation. Where spelling is unsettled some form is chosen under which the explanation and the other forms are given; the other forms are also given in their alphabetical places, with cross references. In cases where two pronunciations are current, both are given; in some cases, as for the A in grass, glass, &c., an ambiguous symbol is used which may be interpreted as indicating either the broad or the close sound. I may remark that, although Dr. Murray is a Scot, his pronunciation is thoroughly English, but decidedly not Cockney.

In the very material point of "get up" it seems to me that it will be very difficult to go beyond the New Dictionary. The printing is beautiful; every typographical device possible for attaining the maximum of clearness at the same time as the maximum of condensation has been employed, with the result that after a very little experience in its use any precise point of information desired can be picked out without waste of time. Short paragraphs plainly numbered; various types for various purposes; dates made prominent—what a contrast to the long featureless paragraphs of uniform type and the jumbling together of explanations, remarks, and quotations of Littré and Grimm!

Doubtless it will be possible, as time goes on, to pick holes in the Dictionary—it has been done to a certain trifling extent already. But at present it is the high water mark of lexicography, and the honour belongs in the first place to the Philological Society and Dr. Murray, and in the second place to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. For my own part, I am proud to have had an infinitesimal share in this truly national work, and to have the honour also of introducing it to the notice of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.

The particulars here given concerning the New English Dictionary are taken with more or less of condensation from the Preface to the first volume of the work itself.

**FIRST STEPS IN DICTIONARY-MAKING :
ILLUSTRATED MAINLY BY THE WORD "HIGH"
AND ITS COMPOUNDS.**

BY B. J. LLOYD, M.A.

It seems not unfitting to follow up the account just given of the great enterprise which is now being carried out by the joint efforts of Dr. Murray, the Philological Society, the Oxford University Press, and a multitude of voluntary workers, by giving some account of the processes whereby the unwieldy bulk of illustrative material, now amassed and still amassing, is being gradually worked up towards its predestined form and uses. The unique feature of this dictionary is that the quotations wherewith it is enriched have not been adduced to illustrate the meanings, but the meanings, for the most part, have been deduced from the quotations themselves. It has aimed first of all to accumulate in the form of apposite extracts a complete and impartial conspectus of the actual forms and uses of all the words which have ever been used in literary English for the past seven or eight hundred years, and then to tabulate or index all those forms and uses in the columns of a dictionary. Being thus based strictly on historical principles, it never troubles itself much with the question what a word ought to have meant, or in what way it ought to have been used. Its task is simply to show for every word what it really has meant, and in what ways it really has been used from age to age since the English tongue began. The construction of such a work is evidently a very different task from the ordinary compilation of a modern English dictionary.

It would be impossible, within the limits of the present

paper, to give an adequate account of the whole process which intervenes between the amassing of the illustrative quotations (whose number is expressed in millions, and their weight in tons) and the presentation of their compressed essence to the public in dictionary form. But it will be possible to deal with the earlier half of the process in a fairly complete manner, and to offer a few reflections which are suggested thereby. A convenient line of demarcation is afforded by the fact that the earlier portion of the work is not done at Dr. Murray's headquarters in Oxford, but by voluntary workers in various parts of the country, who are styled sub-editors. I purpose, therefore, on the present occasion to follow the fortunes of the quotation-slips from the time when they are first sent up by the various readers to the editor, to the time when they are again sent up to him from the various sub-editors. This is the part of the work which is most familiar to me, because I have myself been engaged in it. My knowledge of the remaining part of the process is less complete, having been gained only during a short visit paid to Oxford, and to Dr. Murray's Scriptorium, in the summer of 1887. In the event of my repeating that visit this year, a short account of it, embodying fuller knowledge, would be the best possible supplement to the present paper.

On the arrival of a new parcel of quotations at the Scriptorium, the first person into whose hands it is committed is the sorter. It will be seen from the specimen of quotation-slip here exhibited that each of them bears in its left-hand upper corner the name of the word which the subjoined quotation is intended to illustrate, written in its normal modern spelling, generally by the reader himself. This word in the corner is called in dictionary parlance the "typical form," or sometimes the "catchword." The office of the sorter is, therefore, for the most part mechanical; it

Diplomatist, *n.*

1860. J. L. MOTLEY, *United Netherlands* (ed. 1868), I. ii. 24.

If diplomatic adroitness consists mainly in the power to deceive, never were more adroit diplomatists than those of the sixteenth century.

consists simply in arranging the slips received in the strict alphabetical order of their catchwords.

It is only in one class of cases that he finds any ground for uncertainty or hesitation ; that is, when the word has long been obsolete, for it then does not possess *any* modern spelling, and it is consequently impossible to range it under any living catchword or typical form. Of course it can always be ranged under its actual spelling, as found in the several quotations, but such is the variety of ancient orthography that in that case the quotations for one and the same word might be found distributed in ten or twenty different places. Fortunately, however, it is nearly always possible to say what the normal modern form of the word *would have been*, if it had lived long enough, and by making this, generally imaginary, form into the catchword, it is secured that all the slips belonging to it shall be assembled into one place, although that place, as will be seen hereafter, is not always exactly the right one, or at least the best one.

The next process after the sorting is the cutting up of the huge alphabetic series thus produced into blocks suitable for sub-editing. The quantity sent to a sub-editor at one time never bears any great proportion to the total mass. The parcel which I have in hand at present comprises all the slips whose catchwords begin with HI ; it comprises many thousand quotations, illustrative of several hundred words ; but it constitutes, although it is larger than the parcels usually sent out, not more than the three-hundredth part of the whole accumulation.

In consideration of the irreplaceable nature of these materials, no portion of them is ever sent to be sub-edited beyond the seas, notwithstanding the zealous desire of many American, colonial, and other distant scholars to co-operate wherever possible in this Pananglic enterprise.

The first work of the sub-editor is to read through all his

slips, and arrange them under their distinct words and parts of speech. The merely alphabetical work of the sorter has left all words of identical form, however they may differ in sound, or sense, or grammatical office, in a state of indiscriminate mixture. Quotations, therefore, for *wind*, verb, and *wind*, substantive; for *hinder*, verb, and *hinder*, adjective; for *list*, a catalogue; *list*, the border of woollen cloth; *list*, an enclosure; *list*, to listen, and *list*, to please, all lie as yet in a state of intimate confusion. Add to this the fact that the majority of common words cannot be classed always under the same part of speech, but generally need to be distributed into two or more distinct grammatical categories, and it will be seen that this stage of the editorial work is by no means a slight one. Even so unusual a word as *hieroglyphic* turns out upon examination to be a noun, an adjective, and a verb, whilst the adjective *high* turns out to be also used as a noun, a verb, an adverb, and perhaps even as an interjection!

At this stage, too, the very numerous and important class of compound words gives rise to many difficulties of its own. The materials of a word like *high* present an immense multitude of double-worded expressions containing *high* as their prior element, and these demand a two-fold winnowing before they can be rightly placed in the dictionary. The first winnowing process consists in the rejection of those which are not true compounds at all, and which require no explanation whatever. It would be useless, for example, to explain the meaning of *high hill*, *high price*, *high office*, or *high antiquity*. Their meanings are each regularly and grammatically constituted out of some of the most ordinary meanings of their parts, and it is useless to waste time over them further.

But when either of the two words is used in one of its less usual meanings, or when the compound as a whole possesses

some signification which is not strictly contained in its parts, it evidently demands more or less elucidation, and is best regarded as a compound. *High-tide*, *high-seas*, *high-road*, *high-relief*, *high-sheriff*, *high-change*, each contain no meaning which is not already fully contained in their respective elements; and yet their meaning is not obvious at a glance, because one or both of the elements is employed in some other than its most familiar sense. Nor, again, would anybody guess, without previous knowledge or elucidation, that a *highwayman* was a kind of robber, a *high-head* a kind of coiffure, a *high-low* a kind of boot, a *high-man* a kind of loaded die, or that, when our ancestors spoke of a *high-father*, a *high-angel*, and a *high-bishop*, they meant a patriarch, an archangel, and an archbishop respectively.

But when this sifting process is over the body of real compounds thus obtained needs sifting a second time for another purpose. The amount of explanation which most of them need is small; a dozen words and a quotation explain them fully, and they are then marshalled in classes, according to their grammatical form, in the wake of the word which constitutes their prior element. But a large minority of them are too frequent in use, too important in history, and too diversified in meaning to submit to such a summary treatment. They demand a place for themselves in the alphabetical concourse of English words, and wherever the considerations of extreme currency, or long history, or diversified meaning are sufficiently strong, it is desirable to concede them one. The most casual observer can see that it would be ridiculous to treat *highway* and *highlander* and *highflier* as mere compounds of *high*; and when the evidence is examined it is no uncommon thing to find that other words of long date, such as *high-flying*, *high-flown*, *high-bred*, have exhibited historically half-a-dozen or a dozen different meanings. Hence the necessity for a second

process of sifting whereby the general body of compounds is divided into a less important and a more important class, the one destined to be treated *en masse* under the principal word, and the other to be honoured with separate notice in the ordinary columns of the dictionary.

The sub-editor's trouble in carrying out both these siftings is that, although he is able to indicate the desired distinction very sharply in words, and by chosen examples, there is no such sharpness of distinction in the materials themselves. Neither of the divisions which, for practical purposes, he is compelled to draw, represents any palpable demarcation in reality and fact. The classes shade off into each other imperceptibly, and the task of allocating the doubtful instances is beset with conflicting considerations. What shall he do with *high art*, *high life*, *high feeding*, the *higher-house* (of Parliament)? Do they demand explanation, or shall they be "cast as rubbish to the void" along with the rejected ones? It has generally seemed best to give the dictionary reader the benefit of the doubt. A work which is intended for the use of distant ages and places cannot be too full and clear in the explanations afforded.

The other sifting, which might perhaps be deemed the more difficult, is really much easier. It lies in a much smaller compass, and the rough practical consideration whether any given compound can be fairly dealt with in two or three lines of the general list is generally sufficient to fix its destination with tolerable fairness.

In this stage, also, those obsolete words which the sorter has arranged provisionally under hypothetical, and generally imaginary, catchwords, come up for reconsideration, and often present very interesting problems.

The natural thing to do under the circumstances is to review the material which is actually found to exist, to ascertain the *latest* form in which the word was actually

current, and then to index it accordingly. There were a number of slips in my parcel bearing the catchword *highship*, meaning honour or dignity, but it turned out upon examination that they belonged entirely to the Anglo-Saxon period, when the normal form of the word was *héahscipe* or *héhscipe*, and they were accordingly transferred to an earlier position in the dictionary.

The same rule neatly applies to most words which became obsolete in comparatively recent times. The materials for the word *hiccup* were found to contain a large number of quotations which really belonged to another resembling and synonymous word, whose final form in seventeenth century spelling was *hicket*. They were accordingly separated and conveyed under that head.

But when words become obsolete in the Middle-English period this treatment is not quite feasible. It must never be forgotten that for three hundred years after the Conquest there was no standard dialect of literary English; everyone wrote in his own local dialect, everyone spelled by sound and not by rule, and, to heighten the confusion, the very letters of the alphabet are found to fluctuate in value, being used with a varying significance at different times and places. As an illustration of this, it is perhaps sufficient here to note that for about three centuries the word *high* has been spelt as we now know it; its spelling before the Conquest is almost equally stable; but it is spelled in the five intervening centuries in no less than forty-six different ways, each of which has nearly as much right to be considered correct as any other.

Hence a practical difficulty, which is well illustrated by a group of quotations which came to me under the catch-word *high-settle*. The word is Old English, and means throne or judgment-seat; it is supported by quotations from Mercian and Northumbrian as well as West-Saxon (i.e., classic

Anglo-Saxon) sources ; it has a short life in Middle-English, and expires about the year 1200 in the form *heg-settle*. Now it is quite a chance that its final form is in *heg-* rather than in any other of the forty-six forms which experience shews to have been possible. The exactly parallel word *high-father*, expiring just at the same date, has for its final form *hage-fader*. It would be highly absurd therefore to index it under *heg*, except by a cross-reference : and in fact the only reasonable course seems to be to keep it under the hypothetical form *high-settle*, certain as we may feel that no such form has ever existed.

This stage being over, the sub-editor's next task is to arrange the quotations for each several word in the order of their date. As every slip ought to, and generally does, bear its correct date on the face of it, this work is mainly mechanical. It is necessary even here however to be on the look-out for anachronisms. Sometimes a thoughtless reader puts down the date of the *edition* instead of that of the work : it is irritating, for example, to find a quotation from Scott dated 1864. At other times the date is only an approximation, the best no doubt that could be made when the book was read, perhaps twenty-five or thirty years ago, but often very widely removed from the estimates of modern scholars. This is notably the case with quotations from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospels, both of which are now considered to be a century or two older than the date which the gentleman who read them for the dictionary has placed upon his slips.

The next step is to take the body of slips belonging to each word, while they are still in this simple chronological order, and make a list of the forms which the word has successively assumed since its first introduction into English, attaching also to each form the numbers of the centuries during which it is found in use. The result, in the case of an old word like *high*, is to produce a long and, to the

untutored eye, chaotic-looking list of forms, whose chief teaching might easily be thought to be that there was a great lack of good spelling books in the days of the Plantagenet kings. The word *high* exhibits altogether in the positive degree fifty, in the comparative twenty-one, and in the superlative twenty-four different forms.

But in the present state both of English and of general linguistics there are few things more interesting to the student than these lists of apparently barbarous misspellings. Their charm is that they are frankly and fully phonetic; they transcribe faithfully, or at the least are meant to transcribe faithfully, so far as the alphabetic resources of their writers will permit, the actual sounds which were used by our Middle-English ancestors. The result is that there is no finer field to be found anywhere for studying on the largest scale the laws of the historical development and succession of spoken sounds than Middle-English, and so far is the linguistic student from joining in the condemnation of these archaic spellings that he is tempted to wish that people had always continued trying to spell words as they really speak them, and that that orthographical monstrosity, the English spelling book, had never been invented.

It was my original intention to have here demonstrated from these forms the sound-history of the word *high*, but it would have been a digression from the subject of the evening, which is essentially the Dictionary: and I soon found out that the limits of any reasonable digression would be insufficient for the full and careful treatment which the subject requires. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate here to note that the collections of the Philological Society, which form what may be called the raw material of the dictionary, will not have lost all their interest when the dictionary itself is made: they will still constitute by far the most important mass of material which is anywhere available to the student

of the laws of the succession and development of spoken sounds, and it is strongly to be hoped that means will be taken so to bestow them when the dictionary work is ended that they may be readily accessible to all competent scholars. The sound-history of short words like *high* is peculiarly interesting to philologists at the present time. The broad laws of the historic mutation and succession of the individual consonants and vowels are now generally understood and accepted: but it is found that in many instances the result is modified very considerably in certain collocations, and that sometimes two almost identical collocations present a remarkable contrast in their subsequent sound-development. Some progress has been made in reducing to law the influences of collocation, notably in the discovery of Verner's law, and the phonetic explanation of *umlaut*; but much more remains to be done, and in the many remarkable cases of divergent growth from a nearly identical stem, explanation is almost unattempted.

The word *high* is interesting in both respects. Its original form as seen in *Beowulf* and the early literature of Wessex is *héah*, but in the sister dialects of Northumbria and Mercia it appears from the earliest times almost exclusively in the non-diphthongal form *héh*: and the modern form is, in this case as in most others, traceable more directly to the Mercian than to any other form. In the early Middle-English period it differs in form and sound from the pronoun *he* by nothing more than the additional *h*. Yet in modern English the vowels of these two words are totally different, and the difference is undoubtedly due to the collocation of the *e* of one of them with a following *h*. But for that collocation the adjective would certainly have been pronounced in modern English exactly like the pronoun: and the conclusion is not a merely empirical one, but can be clearly traced in the written forms of Middle-English, and

satisfactorily accounted for at every step of its phonetic development.

But aside from the main stream of instances, there are a few which show that the word *high* in some dialects tended to progress also through another series of forms, such as *hage*, *haze* and *hohe*, to a sound closely resembling that of the cognate German *hoch*; and we know also that the conjunction *though*, O.E. *péah* (contracted *péh*) not only produced a similar series, but that they became the prevalent ones, and the direct progenitors of the modern form *though*. Philology is called upon to explain sooner or later why the development which is so feeble in the one word is so triumphant in the other, insomuch that *héh* and *péh*, which rhyme exactly in Old-English, have produced forms so dissonant as *high* and *though*. But it is time to abandon these reflections, and return to the subject of dictionary-making.

As soon as the list of obsolete and archaic forms is completed, the next duty of the sub-editor is to make out a slip for each of them, giving first of all its actual spelling, and then stating that it is an archaic or an obsolete variation of that which has been adopted as the "typical form" or "catchword." The slips thus made out fall once more, upon their return to Oxford, into the hands of the sorter, who then distributes them each into its exact alphabetical position, and thus creates a huge system of cross-references, whereby even the most extremely perverted spellings can be traced to their true origin and meanings. It is hardly to be expected for example that, without some help of this kind, the users of the dictionary would be able by their unaided insight to look for the meanings of forms like *hoh*, *he3y*, or *y3e*, under the adjective *high*, or to divine that *herre*, *harre*, or *ha3er* meant *higher*, and that *heast*, *hexte*, and *hexist* are archaic forms of *highest*.

It is not until these steps are completed that any attempt

is made to discriminate between the different meanings of the same word, except in that broadly marked case where it is converted into a different part of speech. It is now the duty of the sub-editor to take the whole series of slips belonging to each several word and distribute them into separate parcels, according to meanings and constructions. It is natural and convenient at this point to call in the aid of other dictionaries in order to map out the main lines of sub-division; but it soon becomes apparent that the old frameworks are too narrow, and that many very distinct shades of meaning have entirely escaped the notice of our older lexicographers. Earlier dictionary makers seem either to have despised illustration altogether or to have simply angled in the waters of literature for illustrations suitable to a preconceived set of meanings; but the modern dictionary-maker sweeps the whole of those waters with a drag-net, and then proceeds to classify and catalogue his spoil with the minute completeness of a naturalist. And as the sub-editor is specially desired here to make his sub-division as searching and complete as possible, the number of meanings catalogued under some words is very surprising. The materials of the adjective *high*, which are displayed here this evening, will be found to be arranged under no less than sixty-eight different meanings, besides being contained in twelve different phrases which do not attach themselves precisely to any of the meanings. The same word used substantively has eight more meanings and four more phrases; the adverb *high* has twenty-eight meanings and two phrases; and the obsolete verb *to high* has eight meanings more, making the formidable total of one hundred and twelve meanings and eighteen phrases, without saying anything about the innumerable multitude of compounds, which will be dealt with in due course by and by. But it is even more surprising to find less common words, such as *highness* and *hieroglyphic*, running up a list of

fourteen or fifteen very distinguishable meanings. And subdivide as one may, there are always actual uses which seem to be exactly intermediate, or to have at one and the same time suggestions of *several* of the more primary senses.

The use and comparison of other dictionaries, which is at this point necessitated, proves to be interesting and instructive in many respects. The chief result is to give a wonderful impression of the great completeness of the amassed materials. Very few words indeed which have ever been used in literary English have escaped the industry of the readers. The great majority of the words which find no place there are either technical or scientific; and it is continually necessary to remind critics of the Dictionary that it has from the first expressly refused to make provision for words of those classes, except in so far as they are or have been adopted into literary or general use. When these have been allowed for, the remainder consists mostly of that class of words which may be called emphatically dictionary words, words which have not, and never had, any existence outside the backs of a dictionary. Some of these are simply words of regular formation which the dictionary-maker, without knowing them to have been really and actually used, but reasonably conjecturing that they might, could, would, or should be used at some time or other, has thought fit to admit into the language by anticipation. But others of them simply perpetuate the dictionary-maker's own bad writing, or the blunders of his printer; and as all dictionaries hitherto have been largely copied from their predecessors, the mistakes of one lexicographer have been systematically perpetuated by his successors, and might well have continued to be embalmed in dictionaries until Doomsday if their true nature had not been made clear by this new method of dictionary-making.

Bacon, in his *Natural History*, uses the word *adventive*,

meaning *adventitious*. The second *v* was at first printed, after the manner of that age, like a modern *u*, but in the edition which was used by Johnson this *u* appears to have been accidentally turned upside down in the printing. The consequence is that Johnson created a dictionary word *adventine*, and has bequeathed it to all dictionary-makers ever since.

There is found among the compounds of *high* a word whose commonest form is *high-taper*; it is the name of a plant. It has several by-forms, in one of which it takes the shape of *higtaper*. Now it would appear that some dictionary-maker, once wishing to include this word in his collection, took note of it and set it down in writing, but he forgot to cross the *t*, and the result is that, from the time of Ainsworth at any rate, there has been in dictionaries a word *higlaper*, which still maintains an existence there which it never possessed anywhere else.

The dictionary materials very seldom fail altogether to illustrate a word, however recondite it may be, for the simple reason that recondite words, senses, and uses are precisely those which are sure to have arrested the reader's attention, and to have been represented in his slips. But it is quite frequent to find the commonest meanings of a word very sparsely illustrated, and still oftener does it happen that large gaps exist in the chronological series of quotations illustrative of any given meaning. It is especially remarkable how often there is such a hiatus in the eighteenth century, and that clearly not for want of ample literature, but because readers generally did not care to read eighteenth century books. The truth is, perhaps, that to us the eighteenth century is neither new nor old—it has neither the interest of novelty nor that of antiquity; it is illuminated by great talents, but by little genius, and the intellectual paternity of the nineteenth century is seen far less in its

immediate predecessor and progenitor than in its earlier ancestors, the sixteenth and seventeenth. Be that as it may, the fact is certain that the eighteenth century was not read with anything like the completeness of the rest, and the task of hunting up the desiderated quotations is generally quite beyond the scope of the individual sub-editor's powers and opportunities. It must perforce stand over, with other tasks only partially indicated here, until the scene of action is once more transferred to the headquarters at Oxford.

The slips for each meaning being now in a separate parcel, chronologically arranged, are pinned together at the left-hand lower corner, with a blank slip in front to receive the definition. Certain rough definitions, of course, have already been adopted, in order to facilitate classification according to meaning, but it is always necessary to read through the slips of each class a second time before finally adopting the definition to be placed at their head. The quotations are, at the same time, carefully weighed during the perusal, and a certain number of them, amounting to about one in each century for every meaning, are marked with a cross in the right-hand upper corner, to indicate that they are considered to be the most suitable to be made use of as illustrations in the dictionary.

When the definitions have been duly settled, the next business is to arrange them in consecutive order, and to number them accordingly. And here there is a departure from the otherwise strictly historical order of treatment which users of the dictionary would do well to take notice of. The several meanings are marshalled, not in *historical*, but in *logical* order, which is not always exactly the same thing. Users of the dictionary should therefore beware of thinking that the quotation which stands first under the first meaning is necessarily the earliest quotation for the word. It sometimes happens that the word comes to us first in a

secondary meaning which will be found much further down the list.

Two matters remain still to be dealt with before the treatment of the word can be considered to have been fully sketched out. The one is the pronunciation, and the other the etymology, but the former of these is not dealt with by the sub-editor. The only trace of it which is to be seen on the sub-edited materials here exhibited is the empty bracket placed immediately after the "typical form" of each word, and destined hereafter to contain the pronunciation, duly transcribed into the special characters adopted by the editor for that purpose.

It is optional, also, with the sub-editor, whether he deals with the etymology, or simply leaves space for the editor to do so. So far as it is elucidated by the slips themselves the sub-editor is undoubtedly the best person to deal with it, and may do the editor much service by summarising the evidence thus placed at his command; and in all other cases, too, where the course of derivation can be traced without uncertainty, it is just as well that he should do so; but in doubtful cases it is best to leave it over for later treatment at the hands of the editor, who, if it can be settled at all, will have the latest and amplest facilities for doing so. The point aimed at in these etymological particulars is just to state as concisely but completely as possible how the word became English, and to account for the form in which it first occurs. Its backward history in other languages is never pursued any further than this aim necessitates; nor are any collateral foreign forms adduced unless they also throw light upon its purely English development.

The former parcels which I sent to Dr. Murray were full of interesting etymologies, but in the word *high* of course there is but one etymology, and that of no extraordinary interest. The word reminds one however of the old semi-

theological theory that all languages were derived from the Hebrew. Marsh in his *Lectures on the English Language* tells us that the word *high* was one of those which were relied on to shew that such was the case even with English: for was not one of the sons of Anak called A-hi-man?

The stages now enumerated complete the sub-editor's treatment of all words except those like *high*, which are important enough to have attached to them a series of phrases or a body of compounds. The way in which these are dealt with will be better seen by a glance at the dictionary itself than from any written explanation here. The compounds of the word *all*, or *back*, or *black* will afford excellent illustrations. The main principles of treatment are to explain or paraphrase the phrases, and give chronological illustrations of each; to divide the compounds into classes according to their mode of derivation and their parts of speech: and then to arrange them in alphabetical order, also with illustrative chronological quotations, giving a brief explanatory note to any which are not made sufficiently clear by the context. The number of compounds thus attaching to the word *high*, including fifty-four which find a place of their own in the list of principal words, and nine which are really sub-compounds of *highland* and *highway*, is no less than three hundred. Add to these the one hundred and thirty phases of the principal word, which have been previously dealt with, and allow for the fact that the fifty-four principal derivatives are on the average distinguished into three or four different senses; and it will be seen that the final result has been to convert the first indiscriminate mass of "*high*" quotations, which must have numbered at least two thousand, into an orderly arrangement of more than five hundred ultimate sub-divisions, each having its own definite place and portion in the logical and grammatical hierarchies wherein they were predestined to be ranged.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE RELIGIOUS IDEA.

BY JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S.E.

I SUPPOSE there is no one present who has not been struck with the prevailing unrest of our times. To those who have passed the meridian of life, it must have often come as a painful shock to see their most cherished beliefs treated by the leaders of science and of public opinion with ill-disguised or open contempt, and denounced as behind the age. It would be easy to multiply examples. Thus Professor Clifford, for instance, has repeatedly published it to the world that there can be no God, because He is not found as a force in the universe, which can be weighed or measured. And some of our poets follow in the same path. Arthur Clough says or sings:—

He is only a cloud and a smoke, who was once a pillar of fire,
The guess of a worm in the dust, and the shadow of its desire.

Matthew Arnold, indeed, has tried to compromise matters by introducing a new patent faith of his own, suited to an age of doubts and compromises, but which is no faith. Instead of a personal God, we are to venerate "the stream of tendency, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." Instead of Religion; we are to cultivate "morality tinged with emotion."

The religious idea, however, remained, seeking an object for worship, a tremendous power over mankind, in every clime and age; this had to be accounted for, or explained away somehow. Nor can it be alleged that the atheists and doubters of our times have altogether evaded this difficulty.

Not to mention the theories of Comte and Taine, and Strauss, we may notice that adopted by Professor Huxley, the founder of Agnosticism, who long ago (in his *Lay Sermons*, 1870), published his belief that religion took its rise in ancestor-worship. The same theory has been adopted by Herbert Spencer, who has lately devoted a bulky volume to establish the position "that ghost-propitiation is the origin of all religions." *

If we turn to Paley's *Natural Theology*, published in 1802, to see what he had to say on this question, we find that he quietly ignores it, and for a very good reason, which well illustrates the enormous progress of knowledge within the last eighty years. The Hebrew cosmogony was then generally received as the true one, according to which all this visible universe was created in six days : the earth being first formed ; afterwards, on the fourth day, the sun and the moon were made to light the earth by day and by night, and the stars were thrown in. The first pair of the human race, made in the very image of God, were placed in a lovely garden, in which God himself walked at the cool of the day. They were at once endowed with the divine gift of language, and instructed in theology, everything, so far, promising a golden age of happiness and peace. But evil crept into this paradise, in the form of a serpent, gifted with persuasive human speech. They listened to him, disobeyed their Maker, and thus

Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden.

Such was the history of the creation of the world, which was universally held at the beginning of this century. It was received as of divine authority, and the final arbiter on all

* *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, p. 675, and *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i, p. 411.

points related. Accordingly, all the innumerable systems and forms of religion, except that of the Jews, were considered as corruptions of the primitive revelation ; and this tremendous question, the origin of the religious idea, was supposed to be thus settled at once. Paley, indeed, puts admirably the old argument from the appearance of design in nature, as proving a great Designer and Artificer of all, which had been urged thousands of years before by the Hebrew psalmist and the Greek Socrates, but the first step towards a theology he never discusses. He was writing for an age that knew nothing of our doubts or our difficulties, for all has changed, such is the marvellous progress of knowledge in these latter days.

Thus we now know that this earth of ours is but a speck, an atom in the universe, altogether invisible from the nearest fixed star. It was probably thrown off from the sun myriads of ages ago, and after long circling round the sun in fiery brightness, at length cooled down sufficiently on the surface to become fit for the abode of life. That life has been built up in ever-increasing complexity and perfection of endowments, from the simplest form up to man, who seems to us the crown and end of creation. All living things have formed one continuous chain of being, and though many links here and there may be lost to us, sufficient living and fossil forms remain to establish that the higher forms have not been created independently, but that they have sprung from the lower by a natural process of gradual development. This great truth was first published by Darwin thirty years ago, who shewed that the main causes at work producing new species of plants and animals were these:—First, *the variableness of all living things*. We say, “as like as two peas,” but no two peas are exactly alike ; there is a constant tendency of the individuals even in the same species (take the human race, for instance) to vary within a certain con-

siderable range. Now, Malthus first pointed out that all living things tend to multiply much faster than their food. Many more individuals are born than can possibly survive,—so that a *struggle for existence* is taking place everywhere; the weak, the puny, the unfruitful, those deficient in cunning or in means of defence, or otherwise worse fitted for the battle of life, perish, are weeded out; whilst those possessing any favourable variation which fits them better for the complex and varying conditions of life, survive. This is called *natural selection*, or the survival of the fittest. And the *selected variations, hereditarily transmitted*, accumulating through many generations, have given rise to new species. The great difficulty in the way of the general reception of Darwin's theory as to the origin of species, arises from our natural repugnance to the idea of its applicability to the human race. But that it does so apply—that man was developed from some lower form—that there is no impassable gulf separating us from all other living beings, is shewn by innumerable facts. Each human being commences his independent life exactly like all plants and animals, as a microscopically minute cell or particle of protoplasm. He passes through stages in the embryonic form almost identical with those of the lower animals, at one time resembling that of the lizard, at another of the dog, and some traces of these transitional forms thus passed through remain permanent, though useless to us. A very remarkable instance of this has been discovered within the last four years. Near the centre of the base of every human brain is a remarkable body, about the size of a small hazel-nut, which—from its resembling in shape a fir-cone—is called the pineal gland. Its use was long a puzzle to physiologists. Descartes suggested that it was perhaps the seat of the soul. It has now been ascertained that from this part of the brain was supplied the optic nerve to a central eye. This eye appears

in a rudimentary form in some lizards and worms; but in the labyrinthodon and other fossil reptiles this central eye was fully developed. The pineal body is therefore all that remains in the higher animals, and in man, of that which, in long past ages, was developed into an important organ of vision. And thus man bears within him incontestable proofs of his descent from lower forms.

I need scarcely allude to the mass of evidence which has been accumulating for forty years, since Boucher de Perthes startled the world by publishing, in 1847, the results of his excavations at Amiens, which proves that the human race, though so recent in geological time, must have existed for tens, probably hundreds of thousands of years before the dawn of history, and that the earliest remains show him to have been for long ages a savage of the lowest type, using sticks and stones as his weapons, keeping his head above water as best he might, preying upon things weaker or less cunning than himself, like the animals around him, and thinking but little of whence or whither. Also, primitive man knew nothing of language, in our sense of the term, for, as Professor Sayce observes, all the languages that have come down to our time bear unmistakable evidence of their late origin.

Thus, then, the Hebrew cosmogony has been disproved, bit by bit, till nothing remains, and we have to account for the origin of the religious idea, without its aid, as best we may. Even the old argument from the evidences of design in the structure of animals, was considered by Darwin as completely set aside by his great discovery of the law of Natural Selection. Thus the human eye, the most perfect camera ever made, forming an exquisite picture of the outer world upon the nervous expanse of the sensitive retina, and thus transmitting it to the brain, is only the last and most elaborate of a long series. Beginning with living beings

which appear to us only animated masses of jelly, possessing no organs of special sense, we find in others one or more reddish spots, which are more sensitive to light than the general surface of the body. In others, where these organs are becoming differentiated, a lens is developed, and so on as we ascend the chain of being, until at length that complex organ, the vertebrate eye, appears. The steps are very gradual—each organ of vision at every stage being well adapted to the needs of the individual—the higher forms being evolved from the lower and simpler by that marvellous plastic power of adapting themselves to varying conditions of life which is characteristic of all living things, and which is one of the chief factors in “Natural Selection.”

It is plain, then, that the old explanations are more or less obsolete, and that we must seek for new ones in unison with the knowledge of our time. Let us look at the facts fairly in the face. One thing is certain to start with, that religion in some form must be amongst the primitive instincts of humanity; as much a part of ourselves, for instance, as the social instinct.* Almost as soon as we know anything of the thoughts and feelings of man, with the first dawn of literature and the arts, we find him in possession of religion, or rather possessed by religion. The oldest literary documents are almost everywhere religious. Our earth, as Herder says, owes the seeds of all higher culture to religious tradition. When the Spaniards first discovered the New World, they were amazed to find that the Mexicans and Peruvians had great temples dedicated to the worship of the sun, with priests and sacrifices, and an elaborate ritual.

* “Instinct is reflex action into which is imported the element of consciousness. It results in *conscious and adaptive action antecedent to individual experience*, without necessary knowledge of the relation between means employed and ends attained; but similarly performed under similar and frequently recurring circumstances by all the individuals of the same species.”—Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Animals*, p. 159.

And so it has been all the world over—no nation has ever yet been discovered without a religion. It must, therefore, be a perfectly natural idea, must meet a common instinct, and satisfy, more or less, an universal need.

What, then, is the essence of the religious idea, which is present in every form of faith, from the lowest idol worship to the highest and most spiritual adoration? Many have attempted to define it, and more have given up the attempt. Yet if the idea be incapable of definition we cannot reason upon it, any more than we can use a bank note for payment which has not its full value plainly stamped upon it. Schleiermacher defined religion to consist in our consciousness of absolute dependence upon something; and no doubt there is much truth in this. But the religious idea includes much more: it always implies worship, propitiation of one who is supposed at the time to rule the destiny of the worshipper.

I would venture to define religion simply as *the worship of a being who is regarded as wiser, higher, mightier than ourselves*. This, I think, would include every universally recognised form of religion.

Max Müller defines it thus*:—"Religion is a mental faculty which independent of, nay, in spite of, sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under varying disguises. Without that faculty, no religion, not even the lowest worship of idols and fetishes, would be possible; and if we will but listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God."

One cannot help being fascinated with everything written by so eloquent and learned a writer, but I am afraid this defi-

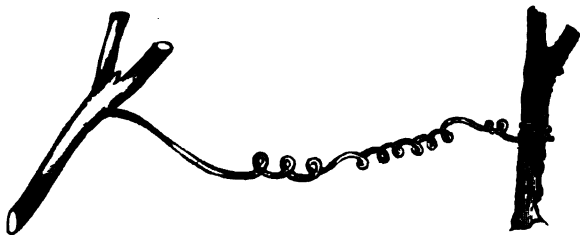
* *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 1873, p. 17. *Hibbert Lectures*, 1878, p. 28.

nition will help us little. It is utterly unscientific, for it supposes a new faculty—that of apprehending the Infinite—absolutely confined to man, and to which there is no analogy in animals; as indeed he strenuously maintains. But if the far reaching theory of Darwin be true—and it is now almost as universally received as Newton's theory of gravitation—then there has been no break in the chain of life, which begins in the lowliest living thing and ends in the highest; and something analogous to the religious idea must be traceable amongst animals, yes! even in plants.

Bearing this in mind, let us start from that which sets the entire world of the living in motion, the common struggle for existence. Every healthy living thing endeavours to make the best of life, to have his full share of Nature's feast. And if he fail—then comes the question of causation. If I haven't it, why not? This terrible question is continually coming to the front—often it is a question of life or death. It must be answered. And the inevitable result is *the endeavour to propitiate, to gain over to his side, every power that can help him or harm him*. Here, then, we have a natural instinct, not merely the result of education or experience; and as certain to be always exhibited as that the drowning man will cling to anything that looks stronger, stabler than himself. Here, then, at any rate, we are on firm ground, presupposing no new faculty, but starting from one of the most elementary instincts of all living things. And we will begin with the lowest.

But, indeed, the vegetable world is as prolific as the animal of ingenious devices for securing the preservation and happiness of the individual and for multiplying its kind. And here, at the bottom of the scale, we shall find some of those instincts showing themselves, which in the highest develop into religion—the consciousness of personal weakness, of the need for support, the search for and clinging to those

stronger, higher, mightier than themselves. This is well seen in all climbing and twining plants. According to Darwin, the power is inherent in the whole vegetable kingdom but is only developed by those which need it. These have contrived various devices for assisting them to climb and to cling; such as sensitive tendrils, hooks, suckers, sticky secretions, rootlets, by which they are enabled, as in dense forests, to mount to the tops of the highest trees in search of light and air; or in the open country, more humbly to steady themselves as they grow and increase. Darwin's most interesting book* is full of marvellous instances of intelligence in these climbing plants. Of the Bignonias, he says: "Each tendril or shoot ends in three highly sensitive toes, with claws, like those on a bird's foot, and the whole tendril slowly revolves in search of something to cling to." "Many things I offered they refused, but they clung readily to stout branches or posts bored by beetles or rough with bark." "The ends of the tendrils exhibit a singular habit, which in



an animal would be called an instinct; they continually search for any little crevice or hole into which to insert themselves," and thus get a hold. "The same tendril will frequently withdraw from one hole and insert its points into a second hole." Again, he says:—"I have more than once gone on purpose during a gale to watch a Bryony growing in

* *The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants.* By Charles Darwin.

an exposed hedge, moored by its elastic tendrils to the surrounding bushes; and as the branches were tossed to and fro by the wind, the tendrils, had they not been excessively elastic, would instantly have been torn off, and the plant thrown prostrate. As it was, the Bryony safely rode out the gale, like a ship with two anchors down, and with a long range of cable ahead, to serve as a spring, as she surges to the storm."

When we observe the higher forms of life, the same primitive instinct (of the weaker to attach itself to the stronger) is, of course, still more evident. It is, to some extent, the foundation of our success in subduing and domesticating animals. Man goes forth into the world, where life is a free fight, and he selects the best and brightest, those which attract him by their superior intelligence, or strength, or beauty, or by possessing some other quality or thing which he desires to make use of. These he endeavours to win over to his side, ensuring them in return shelter and protection, food, and all else that they need. And they appear to have concluded that, on the whole, it was a bargain for their advantage; they have learned to obey his commands, and to render him more or less willing service. By the association with a far superior intelligence, some of them have been lifted up to a higher mental state. They, who before acknowledged no will but that of the strongest, have become amenable to the will of a higher nature, and have thus imbibed some of our best qualities, love, reverence, obedience to law.

Here, then, we have a religion according to the usual meaning of the word—*worship and obedience rendered to a higher power*. Let us think of it as we see it every day in our dog or cat. The dog rests content with having discovered in his master the controller of his destiny, the visible ruler of all, and he worships him as his god. By

many an act of propitiation, by many a mark of love, he tries to gain his favour, even by laying some offering at his feet. He knows his voice and the sound of his footsteps. If his master be away he will cling to his shoes or his garments—relic-worship; or he will make long pilgrimages after him, if haply he may find him. If he be beaten, he receives it with humility; if he be caressed, his joy is unbounded. Surely the dog has a religion! And the reproach of the Hebrew prophet is at least natural:—"The ass knoweth his owner, and the ox his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

Another primitive instinct, possessed by all living beings in some degree, is here engaged—the *universal idea of causation*, that every event, every phenomenon, is due to something else, which is related to it, as the cause; and their lives, like ours, are one long lesson, a search into the causes of things. Thus a young dog, which at first flies at the stick that strikes him, soon discovers his error, and in future always flies at the person who directs it. So your dog and cat have put things together in their own minds, and have concluded that you are the ruler of their little world, and that they cannot do better than worship and obey you. A cynical friend of mine taught his dog to beg before an image when it wanted food. He might have spared himself the trouble, for the dog would always see the living master and lord behind the image.

And now we come to another chief source of the religious idea. *Every living thing must have its ideals*, to achieve which it works, more or less. We shall consider them, for brevity's sake, as two—the ideal of happiness and the ideal of perfection. The ideal of happiness may be only a better place and a bigger slice at Nature's feast, a little more sunshine and air, a snugger dwelling; but it is there all the same, or the individual would cease to work. The struggle

for existence is a struggle upwards. Retrogression indeed is frequent enough, and seems as likely as progression ; and the mere fact that the tendency has been on the whole slowly yet decidedly progressive, is surely proof of a higher purpose and end to which all are tending. Abundant illustrations might be given from the vegetable kingdom alone. Thus some of the higher plants have developed habits like those of animals. They snare and catch insects by many most ingenious devices and then digest them !

Or if we ascend higher, and turn to the more intelligent insect tribes, already we find that they have developed highly complex civilizations, and forms of government. Take the ants. Well might Darwin say :—" The brain of an ant is perhaps more marvellous than the brain of a man." They construct elaborate boarding-houses, each accommodating many hundreds, which are also factories and stores, provided with stables for the little green insects which they keep as milch cows ; and a number of these ant-hills are often grouped together, forming a great city. Each of them is provided with entrances guarded by sentries, and all the ants of the same community are well acquainted and friendly, but any strange ant they attack and kill. They form extra-mural cemeteries, in which they bury their dead with some ceremony, but never inter their foes with their friends. Their larvæ they hatch and nurse with great care, keep them clean, and educate them in domestic duties. Nineteen species of ants are known which gather grain, winnow it from the chaff, and lay it up in storehouses as food for the winter ; having first prepared it by some process unknown, which prevents it from germinating. These are only a few of the marvels to be told of those wondrous insects. Truly might Coleridge exclaim :—" Who that hath watched their ways with an understanding heart could contemplate the filial and loyal bee, the home-building, wedded, and divorceless

swallow, and, above all, the manifoldly intelligent ant-tribes, with their commonwealths and confederacies, their warriors and miners, and not say to himself—Behold the shadow of approaching humanity! the sun rising from behind in the kindling morn of creation! Thus all lower natures find their highest good in semblances and seekings of that which is higher and better.”

If we turn now to the other ideal, the feeling for beauty, for an ideal perfection of form and colour, is it not seen everywhere throughout the world of the living? To begin at the bottom of the scale. Why do the Diatomaceæ, which are but particles of animated jelly, build themselves houses which are miracles of beauty, yet were entirely unknown to man until the microscope revealed them? Has the flower no delight in its own beauty as it drinks in the glorious sunshine, and gives it back in gorgeous colours and sweet perfumes? Or the bird in its own music, as it warbles its song in the season of love? It cannot be, for instance, that male birds of paradise or peacocks should take such pains in erecting, spreading, and vibrating their beautiful plumes before the females for no purpose. For it has been observed that a female deprived of the mate whom she had chosen remained a widow for the rest of the year, refusing to pair with another bird. The female then was endowed with some feeling of delight for beauty in colour and form. Thus, some ideal of perfection is universally possessed which could not have been derived from mere utility, and which has resulted in filling the world with an infinite variety of colours and forms of surpassing beauty and grace.

Other primitive instincts, traceable through a large part of the world of the living, such as the parental instinct, and the social feeling which attaches us strongly to those of our own species, might here be dwelt upon, since they are all found attaining their highest development in Religion. Man

has no monopoly, he but shares in the common life, and his starting-point is the same as the rest. Even the beginning of morals might be traced indefinitely downwards. Involved in the primitive cell is the principle of choice, of affinity, of like and dislike, best and not best, right and wrong, of a code of ethics within the small round of its life. This choice involves an ideal, a little advance, however lowly, towards which it would tend, and an active search for the means of attaining it, including, as we have seen, some sense of beauty and perfection.

But we will now advance a step farther, and consider the origin of the Religious idea in man. Surely the fundamental idea that underlies all religions is the natural desire to propitiate, to gain over to our own side, every power that can help us or harm us, the mightier the better; and man looked abroad into the world ever in search of more powerful allies. It was bodily fear and hunger that made primitive man religious, rather than a yearning after the Infinite. A good illustration of this is given by Dr. Guppy (*The Solomon Islands*, 1887). Sharks abound in the seas off the Society and Solomon Islands, and occasionally commit fearful ravages amongst the natives. A new religion has sprung up; they worship the shark, propitiating its favour by offerings. Images of the shark god appear in their temples, or tambu houses, and small figures of it are worn as amulets. Almost every family has its particular shark as its tutelary deity, to which it bows and makes oblations; and if a sacred shark has attempted to seize a man, who has been able to escape from its jaws, they will throw him back into the sea to be devoured, as a sure means of securing the favour of their god.

To primitive peoples, as to children, everything that moves is alive, and everything is endowed with human intelligence. The child beats the chair against which he has

knocked his head, and afterwards kisses it in token of renewed friendship ; in the full belief that, like himself, it is a moral agent, amenable to rewards and punishments. We are told that in India the labourer sacrifices to his spade, the soldier to his sword ; even as in his day the Hebrew prophet Habakkuk, saw the Chaldean fishermen worshipping their nets for good success. " Therefore," says he, " they sacrifice to their nets, and burn incense to their great dragnets, because by them their portion is fat, and their food plenteous."

Thus all the great powers of nature, everything that seemed to rule their destinies, whether for good or evil, even diseases, became objects of worship and propitiation. Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*) tells us that in his time the Roman captains sacrificed to the waves before they embarked. But, above all other visible things, the glorious sun, the source of life and light to our earth, has been most universally adored. Mankind watched with rapture its rays gain strength daily in the spring, until the golden glories of midsummer had arrived, when the earth was bathed during the longest days in its beams, ripening the fruits which its returning course had started into life. When the sun once more began its course downwards to the winter solstice, they sorrowed ; for he seemed to sicken and grow paler at the advent of winter, when his rays scarcely reached the earth ; and all nature, benumbed and cold, sank into a death-like sleep. Hence feasts and fasts were instituted to mark the commencement of the various phases of the solar year, which have continued from the earliest known religions under various names to our own times. Sun-worship appears to have prevailed over all the ancient world. It mingled with other faiths, and assumed many forms. Thus the sacred day of the Christian is still Sunday and all the other Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas, have taken the place of solar festivals.

Our churches are still built due east and west, like the ancient temples of the sun ; and the revival by some of our clergy of the old custom of the priest turning to the east has almost rent asunder the English Church. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that of the religious emblems known one-half are more or less sun emblems.* The oldest Aryan word for God *dyaus*, (compare the Greek *Ζεύς*, *Θεός*, Latin *Deus*), meant the bright, the shining one, a fit name for the sun, or the luminous heaven. Besides the sun, the moon, and the earth have been among the chief objects of nature-worship.

Then came another stage in religion. That intense sympathy for their own kind which exists throughout the animal world—which we saw in the child transferring his own nature to everything that moved, soon changed the face of religion. Mankind conceived of the great powers of nature as human, thus reproducing themselves as a glorified humanity, in their attempts to rise to the ideal of a higher existence. And since they saw that to the sun's rays, and the showers from the sky, all the fruitfulness of the earth was due, they called the fertilizing power—the Heaven-Father, who is the starting-point of every theology ; whilst the earth, the bringer-forth, they called the Earth-Mother, $\Gamma\eta-\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho = \Delta\eta-\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$, the result of their union being all life, including its highest form, man. Thus the chief object of Egyptian worship was Osiris, the sun, the father. Isis, the earth-mother, bearing the crescent moon on her head. And between them, or in the arms of Isis, was represented Horus, the god-child. (Osiris represented the setting sun, the sun of winter, and of the under world. Horus, the rising sun, the sun of spring.) Here, then, was a reasonable theory of things. Nature to these worshippers was no

* For many illustrations see my paper on "The Armorial Bearings of the Isle of Man," in our *Transactions*, vol. xxxix.

longer a riddle, and the entire cycle of human life was reproduced in the final triad of gods.



I have much more to say on the Ancient Religions, and could show how naturally they all result from the primitive instincts which we have been considering; but this would require a volume instead of a paragraph in a brief essay. Sufficient, however, has been said to show how human they were; since, from our poor limited stand-point, we can best see God through humanity.

And this leads me to say that if religion spring from the consciousness of personal weakness, the need for support, the search for and clinging to those higher, mightier than ourselves, then children and women should be the most religious—which is exactly what occurs. Our first lesson in life is one of utter dependence. To young children, their mother is their Providence, their Deity, the representative to them of all tenderness and all authority. Our earliest lesson, therefore, is a religious one, and there is some truth in the

proverb that "an ounce of mother is worth a pound of parson." As to the fair sex, Pythagoras testified of old "that piety is the peculiar possession of women;" and Strabo that "all *δεισιδαιμονία* (fear of the gods) proceeds from the female sex." And for our own day, we may quote the emphatic words of M. Jules Simon, in this month's *Fortnightly Review*:—"Whatever faith, and whatever veneration we still have in France, we owe to our women." To the same qualities Mrs. Hemans alludes, when she says it is woman's lot

"To make idols, and to find them clay."

But it is so with us all. When we are most conscious of our own weakness, then are we most religious. Jacob, wandering in the desert of Padanaram and oppressed by a sense of his own helplessness, turned to the God of his fathers:—"If God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall Jehovah be my God."

Another instinct which man possesses only in common with animals, is *the idea of causation*, inducing him to search into the causes of things. And this has been one source of the religious idea. Many of us, no doubt, visited Maskelyne and Cook's exhibition. We saw the mystical lady, a figure on a stand, which played correctly at cards, and drew clever portraits. We puzzled our brains to understand how this was done, and failed, like every one else. Yet we were certain that there was a hand behind the veil, and that all this was somehow the result of a human will. And so, when we consider this wondrous world, so filled with proofs of order and design, our minds naturally image to themselves a great Designer and Lawgiver. The tendency of mankind would be not to conceive of Him as some vague, all-pervading force

but as a Being who could be adored and propitiated. As the Psalmist puts it:—"He who hath fashioned the ear shall he not hear? He who formed the eye, shall he not see?"

Darwin sometimes thought that the old argument from design for a personal God fails, because the exquisite instruments of our bodies, the human eye for example, are not new creations, but only the last of a long series, commencing in the simplest forms. Again he says, how can we assume an intelligent Designer when we find for instance wings in insects and birds that never fly, or the breasts of male animals? We might as well say there is no proof of design in some exquisite painting of Raffaele's because we possess most of the preliminary sketches for it, and some of these appear mere scrawls. What right have we to call anything an abortion, a failure, which is from the hand of a great artist? These were all further steps towards a finished picture, and the first stroke was evidence of design as complete as the last, if we could have had the wit to see it. Again, that is the highest art which accomplishes the most with the least labour. And this is the plan pursued throughout nature, no further changes being made on the archetype than are sufficient to fit the creature for his environment, for his place in the world. What can appear a greater waste than the burial of those vast forests, which remained for millions of years in the earth entombed and idle? Yet they now form the fuel which gladdens us with light and heat, and is the chief material element in our civilization.

Again, it is urged:—How can you harmonise your belief in a beneficent God with the presence of so much evil and suffering in the world? This difficulty has been felt in all ages. The ancient Persians attempted to meet it by supposing a spirit of darkness and evil—Ahriman, who was continually endeavouring to thwart the good god, the spirit of light—Ormuzd. The ancient Greeks, who worshipped

only beauty and perfection, and admitted nothing hideous into their religion, provided no devil. But they told how, by command of the gods, Prometheus and Epimetheus fashioned all living things out of earth and fire, water and air, and made many mistakes in the mixing. In our own times, the orthodox Paley, confronted with these difficulties, admitted that the supreme Creator having imposed his fixed laws and limits upon all things, may have left the carrying out of the details to subordinate agents. We cannot but recall the passionate cry of King Arthur in Tennyson's poem :—

Ah me ! for why is all around us here
As if some lesser god had made the world,
And had not force to shape it as he would.

And what shall we say to all this ? What can we do but be content to learn and wait. The empire of chance is growing less every day ; where our forefathers saw nothing but dire confusion, we have learned to see universal law ; to become a Providence to ourselves ; and to employ the forces of nature, once dreaded, as instruments to promote our health and happiness. Surely then, we may have faith to believe that

All nature is but art unknown to thee.
All chance—direction which thou canst not see.
All discord—harmony not understood.
All partial evil—universal good.

We have already dwelt on that ideal, which is a natural possession of every healthy living thing, and which is always before it. And man, too, has his destiny shaped by his ideals, without which progress is impossible. It is as the pillar of fire before the Israelites in their march through the desert, ever beckoning them onwards. Unhappy the animal, the man, the nation, that has lost its ideal ! Those which

have the most elevated ideal, and which strive to attain it, will get on best in the common struggle for existence, and thus the religious instincts will be "selected" and increased. The art of any age (as has been truly said) depends not upon its knowledge, but upon its ideals of faith and hope. Our ideas of heaven are attempts to depict a golden age of happiness and perfection which we yearn after but never see. To the Agnostic, to the Buddhist, there can be nothing to look forward to but a dreary Nirvana—mere annihilation. To early Judaism there seems to have come no vision of a brighter future than one "where the wicked would cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest:" to the later Jew, the shelter of "Abraham's bosom." This tranquil haven is in striking contrast to the heaven of the fiery Northman, where fierce battles were to be followed by feasts and revelry. To the Moslem came dreams of an immortal manhood, passed in a sensual paradise. Thus have men transferred to a future beyond the grave the ideal happiness never realized on earth. Every artist, painter, sculptor, musician, poet, is haunted by visions of perfection, which his highest efforts fall miserably short of. Whence came they, these haunting ideals of a perfection which we cannot reach?

There can be but one answer. They come from the invisible source of all perfection, the fulfilment of every ideal. "Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect."

This truth was clearly seen by Plato, 400 B.C., who represents Socrates as thus teaching:—"All other things are beautiful only through their participation in this—the supreme Beauty. For such as discipline themselves to ascend through these transitory objects which are beautiful, towards that which is beauty itself, proceeding as on steps from the love of one form to that of two, and from that of two to that of all forms which are beautiful, and from beautiful forms to beautiful habits and institutions, and from insti-

tutions to beautiful doctrines, until from the meditation of many doctrines they arrive at that which is nothing else than the doctrine of the Supreme Beauty itself; in the knowledge and contemplation of which, at length, they repose.' Let us add to this exquisite passage from the heathen Plato, that in which Newman, the Christian philosopher, traces the origin of music in his University Sermons. He says: "Is it possible that that inexhaustible variety of notes, so simple yet so majestic, should be a mere sound, which is gone and perishes? Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings, after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes and begins and ends in itself? It is not so! It cannot be! No! they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of Eternal Harmony, through the medium of created sounds; they are echoes from our home; they are the voice of angels; or the Magnificat of saints; or the living laws of Divine governance; or the Divine Attributes. Something are they besides themselves, which *we* cannot compass, which we cannot utter; though mortal man, and he perhaps not otherwise distinguished from his fellows, has the gift of producing them."

As Newman sees with Music, so of every good and perfect gift. It is chiefly given to us through human agencies, and through humanity we best realise God. Only by our experience of the incessant, unwearied, unselfish love of a mother, the tender providence of a father, the help of friends, can we realise the unceasing love and providence of our Heavenly Father, whom no mortal eye hath seen or can see.

Christianity reveals to us a personal God, with qualities that appeal to the noblest and tenderest susceptibilities

of our hearts. And the Christian idea, uniting in itself the noblest elements of all other religions, shews us divinity revealed through humanity as the most complete revelation of God man can receive.

Let us turn for a moment to consider the theory advocated by Herbert Spencer, "that ghost-propitiation is the origin of all religions" (*Ecclesiastical Institutions*, p. 675). It is obvious at once that, if this theory be true, then all religions, in all ages, have been founded upon a falsehood, and the sooner they are all swept away the better. Thus, until Spencer arose and shewed us our folly, we, like all mankind for countless ages, have been

Letting buckets down to empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up.

As to the religious history of the world, it is only a history of delusions, and man himself

A wandering shadow in a world of dreams.

To the Christian, these ancient faiths assume their place in the religious education of mankind. To Mr. Spencer, all alike are dust and ashes, the present age disjoined from the illimitable past, and both wandering on without aim or end. A melancholy conclusion, truly! Was it worth all this labour?

For we have seen that the religious feeling is founded upon the instincts that we share in common with animals, but a belief in ghosts—still more, ghost-propitiation—is unknown amongst animals. If he had maintained that religion was founded upon hero-worship, a much stronger case might have been made out. Every soul, greater and nobler than his fellows, helps them to a diviner ideal; and this is surely on the road to a religion. Hero-worship, as well as ghost-propitiation, is a consequence of those instincts

which develop into religion ; the feeling of personal weakness, the need for something mightier, stabler, wiser than ourselves to cling to, to follow ; with the natural desire to propitiate such an one, which becomes a true worship: Spencer has fallen into the error of taking a particular delusion, often found associated with religions, and has represented it as the foundation of the religious idea! Religion is many sided,—a mighty ocean, fed by many streams.

It is sad and yet there is something grotesque in it, to see how men try to be Atheists and cannot. The religious instinct is too strong for them. Thus the French nation, when they had cast off religion, made a goddess of Reason, erected a statue of the goddess, which was drawn through the streets of Paris, with incense and hymns and worship. . . . Comte, who invented Positivism, or the worship of Humanity, after deserting his wife formed a passionate attachment to the wife of a man sentenced to the galleys, and erected her, together with his mother and his cook, on a joint pedestal of fame, as forming a virtuous ensemble of three perfect feminine types. Not only so, but this contemner of the *Être Suprême* built to his divine Clotilde an altar in his room at which to offer prayer, he made pilgrimages to her tomb, and dedicated to her a commemorative anniversary. The high priest of Positivism in England, Dr. Congreve, officiates at regular religious services, for which he has compiled a liturgy, in which Humanity is addressed as “the Queen of our devotion, the Lady of our loving service, the one centre of all our being, the one bond of all ages, the one shelter for all families of mankind, to whom must be ascribed all honour and glory.—Amen.” . . . Of the three great lights of Positivism, Comte, Congreve, and Harrison, three persons and no God, the latter has lately been engaged in a fierce paper war with

Herbert Spencer in which the systems of both have fared badly. Spencer, the Agnostic, feels no reverence for Humanity. On the whole, mankind, he says, are a bad lot. And the creed which gives us an Ideal Humanity, formed of the whole human race, erects a *falsehood* to be believed in—sets up the non-existent to be worshipped. “Then,” replies Harrison, “bring out from your philosophy a God worthy to be worshipped.” To which Spencer rejoins:—“What I set forth is the scientific fact. I find behind all phenomena a Mystery, to which it is difficult to give even a name. *It is*; nothing is more certain than its existence; it is the Ultimate Reality, the Infinite Energy from which all things proceed. But *what* it is no man knoweth.” “This is not Religion,” says Mr. Harrison. “Religion is belief, worship, conduct. Your scientific belief in a sort of a something, inspires no worship, and can have no effect upon conduct. It suggests no consolation to the bereaved, offers no light to the perplexed, creates no hope, inspires no affection.” And Mr. Cotter Morison, in his melancholy book, *The Service of Man*, acknowledges that “a belief in the Unknowable kindles no enthusiasm.” Surely if these men realised their own utter failure they would turn to the Christian and say:—“Give us of your oil, for our lamps have gone out.” What is good in their systems for the improvement of man they would find in Christianity, which adds besides the supreme motive, that the service of man is at the same time the best service of God.

May I venture to summarise, by way of conclusion, the results to which we appear to have come. The religious idea is natural to man. It is founded upon his primitive instincts, which he shares in common with other living things—such as the idea of causation, and the desire to propitiate, to gain over to his side, every power that can help him or harm him; also his ideals of happiness and perfec-

tion. And these natural instincts, ever operating, have led mankind in all ages to seek after the Unseen Maker and Ruler of all, if haply they might find him, though he be not far from any one of us. For in Him we live and move and have our being.

ENGLISH: LITERARY AND VERNACULAR.

By REV. S. FLETCHER WILLIAMS.

ONE of the greatest philologists of modern times* has said of our English tongue that it possesses "a veritable power of expression such as perhaps never stood at the command of any other language of man." He attributes its "highly spiritual genius" and "wonderfully happy development" to its having been formed by the intimate union of the two noblest languages in modern Europe—the Teutonic and the Romanic,—the former supplying the ground-work, the latter the spiritual conceptions; and, conceding to it the merit of being a world-language, he predicts for it a sway still more extensive than it has yet exercised in every part of the globe.

A happy result this, so far as it has gone, of the struggle which has been maintained for ages in the English mind, and therefore in the English tongue, between these two great elements—the homely vigour of the north, and the refined idealism of the south. They met first not only as strangers, but as enemies, in the persons of the Saxon and Norman races, on the field of Hastings. The Norman conquered and took possession. Its language was forthwith installed in all the high places of the land: in the monarch's palace; in the baron's castle; in the halls of justice; in the records of state; even in the boys' grammar schools, where whoever was deemed fit to learn Latin was expected to construe it in Norman French. The rough, familiar Saxon, dear to the conquered people, was maintained among them as a means of their common intercourse, probably with less

* Grimm, *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, s. 50.

and less attention to grammatical accuracy; and thus the two proceeded, side by side, but sullen and apart, to fulfil their respective vocations.

In process of time, however, the Saxon, applying himself to the gainful arts of industry, rose to wealth and consideration. As he attained to a community of ideas with the lords of the soil, he gradually assimilated his speech to theirs; and not more certainly did he become acquainted with their superior culture, their elegant arts, and their refined pleasures, than he adopted words from their vocabulary to polish and enrich his own. The Norman, on the other hand, becoming more and more precluded from intercourse with France, came to feel that England was his permanent home. The gradual equalisation of civil condition and privilege led to the fusion of the races once so antagonistic; and, finally, the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, between England and France, inspiring the nobility with a chivalrous hatred of everything French, disposed them to adopt and cultivate the improving language of the English. The reign of Edward III, which witnessed the victories of Cressy and Poitiers, marks also the period in which the English language gained the day in its struggle for ascendancy over Norman French in this country. The following, from Robert of Gloucester, exemplifies the transition state:—

And the Normans ne couthe speke the bote her own speche
 And speke French as dude atom, and here chyl dren dude also teche.
 So that hey men of this lond, that of her blod come,
 Holdeth alle thueke speche that hii of hem nome.
 Vor bote a man couthe French, me tolth of hym wel lute,
 Ac lowe men holdeth to Englyss, and to her kunde speche ghute.
 Ich wene ther ne be man in world contreyes none,
 That ne holdeth to her kunde speech, bote Engclond one.
 Ac wel me wot vor to counne bothe wel yt ys,
 For the more that a man con, the more worth he ys.

This belongs to the following century :—

In Englis tonge I shal ghow telle,
 Ghyf ghe so long with me wyl dwelle ;
 Ne Latin wil y speke ne waste,
 Bot Englisch that men uses maste,
 For that ys ghoure kynde langage,
 That ghe hafe here most of usage ;
 That can ech man untherstonde
 That is born in Englonde ;
 For that langage ys most schewed,
 Als wel mowe leveth as lewed.
 Latyn also y trowe can nane,
 Bot tho that hath hit of schole tane ;
 Som can Frensch and no Latyne,
 That useth has court and duellt therinne,
 And som can of Latyn aparty,
 That can Frensch ful febylly ;
 And som untherstondith Englisch,
 That nother can Latyn ne Frensch.
 Bot lerde and lewde, old and ghong,
 Alle untherstondith Englisch tonge.
 Therfore y holde hit most siker thanne
 To schewe the langage that ech man can ;
 And for lewethe man namely,
 That can no more of clergy,
 Tho ken tham whare most nede,
 For clerkes can both se and rede
 In divers bokes of Holy Writt,
 How they schul lyve, yf thay loke hit :
 Tharfore y wylle me holly halde
 To that langage that Englisch ys calde.*

After the middle of the fourteenth century, the practice of construing Latin only through French was generally discontinued by the teachers of youth. In 1362 a statute was passed, by which it was decreed that all pleadings in courts of justice should be conducted in English ; and

* *MS. Bodl.*, 48, f. 48.

that the public records should be kept in the native language. About the same time, numerous translations of Norman tales and romances appeared; and after English had sustained the genius of Chaucer, no one could maintain that it was not fit for a gentleman to speak, or a poet to sing.

In the transformation which had passed on the language, which now emerged from its long obscurity, the influx of French words is the thing least remarkable. A much more important fact is, that almost all the inflexions of the Anglo-Saxon language, its declensions, moods, and tense formations, had appeared. It seems to be the tendency of all languages to diminish rather than increase their grammatical forms as they advance towards perfection; but the process seems to have been stimulated in English by the difficulty of adapting the Saxon forms of grammar to the French roots. The tacit arrangement seems to have been that the new comers should not bring their own grammatical forms with them, but neither should they be subject to the Saxon ones. The liberty thus granted to the foreign words extended through time to the native ones; and now there is not a language of modern Europe so free from grammatical inflexion as our own. This is the secret of its greatness, for there is nothing which it cannot adopt and assimilate on principles so simple. There are a few familiar Saxon nouns, such as *goose*, *geese*, *child*, *children*, that have persisted in retaining their old plurals; a few adjectives that are still compared with *er* and *est*; and a goodly number of verbs which, like *write*, *wrote*, *written*, keep the old past tense and participle; but we receive and naturalise any noun by merely giving it an *s* in the plural; we make a verb of anything, and put it through every mood and tense, without other change than the addition of *s*, *ing*, or *ed*. This is the sum total of all the grammatical inflexion that any word, not

being of the old Saxon stock, is obliged to submit to. We exhibit almost endless shapes of mood and tense by auxiliaries, which apply to all verbs alike ; we display the relations of case by prepositions which suit all nouns alike ; and we satisfy the exigencies of comparison by *more* and *most*, placed before every adjective of foreign extraction.

Such are the principles on which our language has proceeded to gather spoil from almost every nation under heaven. But to return.

The English language, having obtained a fair start towards the end of the fourteenth century, had completely superseded the Norman ere the close of the fifteenth. True, it was not deemed a fit vehicle for science, but neither was its aristocratic rival, or any other of the modern languages of Europe, whether Romanic or Teutonic. The most advanced of them were used for no higher literature than popular verse and short tales in prose, while cultivated thought and serious argument were embodied only in Latin. A new sphere of usefulness, however, was opened to the English language with the first dawns of the Reformation ; and it entered the lists with a superior rival for the occupancy of that sphere. Those who sought to deliver the people from Romanism believed that it was to be done by committing the Scriptures to the language "understood by the people" ; by causing the vernacular in which every man talked with his fellow to be also the language in which he spoke to his God, and believed he heard his God speak to him. The use of the Latin as the language of worship and instruction had been the great instrument by which a corrupt priesthood had held itself in the position of a necessary medium ; and to abolish this was the first care of the earliest Reformers. Wycliffe did not ask whether the English language had acquired grammatical fixity enough, and copiousness, and precision, and dignity to be the vehicle

of Divine revelation, but he used it as he found it, and our vernacular had the honour of being the first of modern languages that embodied a whole Bible. That Wycliffe's version was calculated to be thoroughly popular, that it was down to the ordinary level of the vulgar tongue of his day, may be gathered from the complaint of one of his enemies. "Christ delivered His Gospel," says Knyghton, "to the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they might administer to the laity, and to weaker persons, according to the states of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wycliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it out more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those who had the best understanding." By this extreme condescension to the mind of the masses it was felt that the dignity of religious truth had been compromised, as well as the privileges of the priesthood invaded. "That which was before precious, both to clergy and laity, is rendered as it were the common jest of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the people."

The English had now to compete with the Latin tongue for dominion in the provinces of religion and science, and this struggle also it had to maintain for ages ; but it triumphed, as before, by gradually adopting the vocabulary of the superior language, and increasing the precision of its own, till it came to pass that no subject was so deep, or high, or subtle, but it could be treated in our language as adequately as in any other.

It is not given us to trace the successive steps of this development with any degree of precision. During the ages which it occupied, there was no standard of language by which progress could be marked. No academy of *littérateurs* ascertained its rules, determined its boundaries, watched against innovations, and decided on the admission or rejection

tion of every word that offered itself to public attention. Every author did that which was right in his own eyes ; and every book was, in a philological point of view, an experiment as to what would prove an acceptable addition to the native tongue. Probably almost every writer used terms unknown before, or employed old ones in a new sense. Succeeding generations either adopted or rejected each innovation, not, as it would seem, according to any acknowledged rules of criticism, but guided by those instincts which, if trusted, seldom lead astray. Though we have no means of ascertaining, except incidentally in a few cases, at what date each novelty appeared, or what author introduced it to our literature, it is possible to mark some great stages of progress, and a few general results.

For about a hundred years after Chaucer and Wycliffe, there was a rush for Latin transplants. Numbers of these were badly chosen, and afterwards perished, in company with *facundious*, *tenebrous*, *satatious*, *pulchritude*, *consuetude*, *spelunc*, *jument*, *irreligiosity*, which may be considered as fair specimens from Lydgate, Hawes, and other versifiers of the fifteenth century. But a great many took root, and flourish to this day.

Another very important, but of course very gradual, work of the same age, was to settle the respective functions of Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon words, which originally were synonyms and rivals. For instance, to *receive* was the French word for to *take*, and Wycliffe uses them quite indifferently. Hence : —

Rom. v, 17 : "for if in the gilt of oon, deeth regned thoruz oon : myche more men that *takyng* plenty of grace and of zeuyng and of riztfulnesse schulen regne in liif bi oon ihesus crist."

Rom. xiv, 1-8 : "But *take* zé a sike man in bileue, not in demengis of thouztis, (2) for another man byueth that he mai ete alle thingis, but he that is sike : ete wortis, (3) he that eteth, dispise not hym that

etith not, and he that etith not deme not hym that etith, for god hath *take* hym to hym."

1 Cor. xv, 3: "for I bitook to zou at the bigynnyng that thing which also I have *resceyued* that crist was deed for our synnes, bi the scriptures."

2 Cor. vii, 2: "*take* ze us, we han hert no man, we han apeired no man, we han begiled no man."

In like manner, Wycliffe recognised the word *honour*, for he uses it; yet he employs worship, clearness, glory, honour, with very little distinction:—

John xii, 26: "if ony man *serue* me, sue he me, and where I am. there my mynystre schal be, if ony man *serue* me: my fadir schal *worschip* him."

John v, 23: "that alle men *onoure* the sone: as thei *onoure* the fadir. he that *onoureth* not the sone: *onourith* not the fadir that sente hym."

John v, 41: "I take not *clerensse* of men."

John v, 44: "how moun ze bileue that *resceyuen gloire* eche of other, and ze seken not the glorie that is of god alone?"

John viii, 49: "ihesus answerid and seide, I haue not a deuel, but I *honour* my fadir: and ze hau vn*honourid* me."

John viii, 54: "ihesus answerid, if I glorifie myself: my glorie is nouzt, my fadir is that glorifieth me: whom ze seien that he is *zoure* god."

These terms and many more had their respective functions determined before Tyndale's Bible appeared in 1534.

The next great start for new words was when the revival of ancient learning, which reached this country about the time of Henry VIII, rendered the masterpieces of antiquity comparatively familiar, and suggested necessities in our vocabulary never felt before, with the means of supplying them at hand. We learn from Pattenham that *method*, *methodical*, *function*, *politician*, *conduct*, *idiom*, *signification*, *numerous*, *penetrate*, *penetrable*, *indignity*, *savage*, *figurative*, *obscure*, *scientific*, *delineation*, *impression*, *dimension*, were

quite recent when he wrote, which was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Another writer somewhat earlier expresses his disapproval of *despicable, destruction, homicide, obsequious, ponderous, portentous, prodigious*, as "ink-horn terms smelling too much of the Latin." About the same time a translator of Pliny's *Natural History* deemed it needful to insert *acrimony, austere, bulb, consolidate, debility, dose, ingredient, opiate, propitious, symptom*, with a number more equally familiar to us, in a Glossary of "words of art," as he calls them, adding a careful explanation to each.

The rage for new words seems to have continued and even increased till after the middle of the seventeenth century; for we find Dr. Heylin saying, in 1658, "many think that they can never speak elegantly or write significantly except they do it in a language of their own devising; as if they were ashamed of their mother-tongue, and thought it not sufficiently curious to express their fancies. By means whereof more French and Latin words have gained ground upon us since the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign than were admitted by our ancestors not only since the Norman, but since the Roman, Conquest."

Meanwhile, the powers and influences evoked by the Reformation of religion, very shortly after the revival of classical learning, had supplied a counter operation, unfolding the popular side of the language, and developing the latent powers of the Saxon. The hope and strength of the Reformers lay in the Teutonic element of the national character. They appealed to the strong homely sense of the masses in the way of popular preaching and discussion; and in doing this were obliged to improve the resources of the vulgar tongue, and make it go as far as possible in explaining and enforcing religious truth. A single example may suffice to illustrate this. Our earlier divines were at a loss for a word to express that undue love of self which leads men to

sacrifice the interest of others to their own. Some had tried *philauty*, from *φίλος* and *αὐτός*, but it had not met with acceptance. Others had resorted to the Latin, and characterised the sin in question as *suism*, while they called the sinner a *suist*, many years before *suicide* was coined. But neither had this succeeded. Some Puritan writer, however, invented *selfish* and *selfishness*, which found favour immediately, and which even those on the other side in controversy did not disdain to use, though marking its origin as from the "new mint" of the Reformation.

Whether it was that the Restoration supplied a check to the needless multiplication of strange words by introducing us, through French literature, to rules of criticism and literary art, making us, as it were, a province of the great republic of European letters, instead of an independent and somewhat anomalous kingdom; or whether it was that the impulses which we have described had worked themselves out, and there succeeded a reaction of native instinct against what was unsuitable to the genius of the English language; certain it is that a host of vocables disappeared from and after the end of the seventeenth century, though they had borne the credentials of such illustrious authors as Shakespeare, Milton, Hooker, Fuller, Baxter, Drayton, Barrow, Jeremy Taylor, Beaumont, Hacket, and Bishop Hall. The following are some of the words alluded to, each found in one or more of the above authors:—*torve*, *tetric*, *cecily*, *immanity*, *insulse*, *insulsity*, *splendidious*, *pervicacy*, *lepid*, *sufflaminat*, *immorigerous*, *clancular*, *ferrity*, *ustulation*, *stultiloquy*, *pau-ciloquy*, *multiloquy*, *lipothymy*, *hyperaspist*, *immarcescible*, *exility*, *spinosity*, *incolumity*, *solertiousness*, *lucripetous*, *inopious*, *eluctate*, with hundreds more at least as strange and unpleasing to our ears.

The French tastes which were brought to England through the return of Charles II and his courtiers from exile

gave us a number of new words ; and probably to this period may be referred that pretty large class of French terms which we easily recognise as not belonging to the Old Norman, and yet not so recent as to be still printed in italics, and indulged with their native pronunciation. Such words are *repartee*, *embarrass*, *chagrin*, *grimace*, which we infer from Dryden's plays were novel and affected in his time. A stranger proceeding was, that we began to pick up a number of terms that had long gone out of use. A Glossary, published in A.D. 1667, explains a long list of "old and obscure words in Chaucer," and we are surprised to find among them *anthem*, *chaplet*, *carol*, *deluge*, *franchise*, *illusion*, *problem*, *sphere*, *transcend*, with many others no longer obsolete, and which must therefore have been restored to our literature since that date. In another list of "obsolete words," published in A.D. 1671, there are found *phantom*, *glare*, *masquerade*, *oriental*, *plumage*, and such like.

In the earlier ages, orthography and pronunciation were very unsettled. As they gradually became fixed, two or more words were often created by the different spelling or accentuation of one. *Gentle* and *genteél*, *custom* and *costume*, *human* and *humane*, are examples of mere difference of accent resulting in different words with a distinct meaning to each. So with abbreviation : as *spirit*, *sprite* ; *courtesy*, *curtsey* ; *ordinance*, *ordnance* ; *history*, *story*. Sometimes the difference depends on an internal vowel, which once would have been of no consequence ; as *float*, *fleet* ; *sweep*, *swoop* ; *snake*, *sneak* ; *neat*, *nett* ; *mister*, *master*. Often it depends on initial consonants once interchangeable : as *phial*, *vial* ; *thrice*, *trice* ; *chattel*, *cattle*. Or on a slight difference in the final consonant : as *poke*, *poach* ; *dyke*, *ditch* ; *clod*, *clot* ; *wake*, *watch*. Besides a difference in spelling only : as *draught*, *draft* ; *plain*, *plane* ; *check*, *cheque*. Archbishop Trench enumerates above two hundred terms added to our

vocabulary by these modes of splitting words which were originally the same in meaning, though liable to slight variations of form.

New words thus multiplied in the course of ages, as they were found needful either to embody ideas altogether new, or to express old ones with more precision or greater brevity. At the same time a great many ancient ones, besides the tentative words already alluded to, gradually perished from the way: good old Saxon words worthy to have lived. Is not *wanhope* a beautiful term for *despair*? And would not *afterthink* save half the explanations of many a sermon on *repentance*? These and thousands more of greater or less merit are now to be found only in the provincial dialects, and have come to be regarded as mere vulgarisms.

During the present century the progress of science has necessitated a multitude of new terms, chiefly from the Greek; but with respect to words not strictly technical, there has been considerable jealousy of fresh importation. Unless a really new thing, as a photograph, or telegram, or telephone, or phonograph appears, we look shyly at a word altogether novel. When Mr. Grote's *History of Greece* came out, it was severely criticised for embodying such terms as *hegemony*, *hoplite*, and about a dozen more hitherto unknown to our literature; unjustly reprehended, as I think, because the kind of headship which was conceded to one Greek state by the rest could not be precisely expressed by any other word than *hegemony*; nor could the panoplied citizen warrior whom he calls a *hoplite*, and to whom Greece owed its liberty and fame, have been otherwise distinguished from various other classes of fighting men in the same age: and so of the rest. The terms are strictly technical: they belong to no other subject, and therefore cannot properly be deemed innovations in the general literary language. On the other hand, the cultivation of precise thought, and the

study of intellectual, social, and political economy have led within a recent period to the formation of a large number of vocables from others previously in use. Let a man of sixty or seventy years of age glance over the pages of a first-class newspaper, and he will find in this sense a large number that he never saw or heard when he was a youth—unconscious as he may be of the fact till his attention is excited towards it. There is no change, perhaps, of which we are as little sensible as this ; because if a word appears obviously a legitimately formed one, useful to give effect to some shade of meaning, and withal perfectly intelligible, we scarcely challenge it as new ; everyone, unless he is very sure of his philological knowledge, takes it for granted that it existed before, though he never observed it. For instance : *educational* was deemed a dubious, if not offensive, novelty about fifty years ago ; but since it has held its ground, any writer adds *al* to any word in *tion*, and no one objects. So we have *inflexional*, *emotional*, *denominational*, *international*, and a host of others that Samuel Johnson never dreamed of. In like manner *ism* is freely and unobservedly employed to form new nouns from previous adjectives, and *ate* to make verbs—hence *socialism*, *differentiate*. In fact, the only required condition appears to be, that the formation be made in a manner sanctioned by usage, and from a word already well established.

While this practice is tending much to the precision of disquisitions on abstract subjects, there is, nevertheless, on the whole, a growing regard for the Teutonic side of the language ; a disposition in our most popular writers and speakers to prefer a Saxon word to a Latin or Greek one of similar meaning, as well as to revive the English idioms, eschewing stately periods and classically formed sentences. It is almost certain that Shakespeare, Spenser, and even Chaucer, are more intelligible to us than they were to the

contemporaries of Dryden ; our general literature resembles theirs much more than did that which prevailed one hundred and eighty or two hundred years ago.

Such are a few of the salient points in the history of our literary English. The changes it has undergone and is undergoing prove that the vital formative energy has been continually at work and is even yet in full vigour. "A living language," says Dr. Trench, "is one that is in the course of actual evolution ; which is appropriating and assimilating to itself all it anywhere finds congenial to its own life, multiplying its resources, increasing its wealth ; which at the same time is casting off useless and cumbersome forms, dismissing from its vocabulary words for which it finds no use, rejecting from itself by a reactive energy the foreign and heterogeneous which may for a while have been forced upon it. I would not assert that in the process of all this it does not make mistakes ; in the desire to simplify it may let go distinctions which were not useless, and which it would have been better to retain ; its acquisitions are not all gains ; it sometimes rejects words as worthless, or suffers words to die out which were most worthy to have lived. So far as it does this, its life is not perfectly healthy ; there are here signs, however remote, of decay and death approaching ; but still it lives, and even these misgrowths and malformations, these errors, are themselves the utterances and evidences of life." *

This is true chiefly of the life of a literary language ; it is continually moving on in one direction or other, sometimes in the way of healthy progress, sometimes in vicious paths which lead to deterioration ; its course being altered here or accelerated there by the fortune of political events, or the leadings of individual genius. Meanwhile, the true vulgar tongue, the *patois* of the uneducated, is transmitted

* *English, Past and Present.* 5th ed., p. 41, 42.

from generation to generation with comparatively little change. There are even to-day secluded valleys in England where most of the inhabitants now in occupation are the descendants of those who lived on the same spot in the days of Chaucer, and who, whether they have read English books or not, speak among themselves the lingo which they learned from their mothers, and repeat traditional tales which have been handed down from age to age in the same phraseology.

It is from a recognition of this truth that during the present century there has been among our most eminent philologists an earnest relenting towards the provincial dialects of England. It is agreed that they embody old, rather than bad, English; that they have not in the main corrupted the language so much as they have preserved its ancient remains. It is believed that in districts where the peasantry have been for ages devoted to husbandry, where they have enjoyed few facilities for intercourse with strangers, and have been tempted with few inducements to change their locality, there are to be found remnants of the Anglo-Saxon tongue in its least altered condition. Among those who most highly prize our literary English, there is a misgiving that our present polished phrase and fashionable pronunciation are in many cases false and corrupt innovations; and that the peasantry who disdain our refinements, and cleave with tenacious affection to their strong and expressive dialects, have been the true conservators of the purity of the ancient language. Philologists are now turning to these vulgar tongues as the storehouse in which are laid up many of the treasures which the literary English has cast away; and though there may be no serious desire of restoring them to their former functions, there is an anxiety to preserve them as antique curiosities, not only interesting in themselves, but serving to illustrate and explain much that is otherwise difficult in the matter and history of our

literary English. "Probably," says Mr. Forby, "no one dialect has issued from the Anglo-Saxon fountain in a full and uncontaminated stream; but in every province some streamlets flow down from the fountain head, retaining their original purity and flavour, though not now relished by fastidious palates. None can boast that they retain the whole language unimpaired, but all may prove that they possess strong traces of it." *

The varieties which are found in these dialects are probably coeval with the first establishment of the Teutones in Britain, and depend on differences which even then existed between the several sections of Jutes, Angles, Saxons, that successively obtained a settlement in the country.

It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, now to determine for each provincialism the bounds of its habitation, or to trace its origin in the history of those who employ it; but doubtless much more might be done than has yet been attempted in the way of settling the relations of each to the parent stock, either as true derivatives or mere corruptions. I do not presume to enter on this field of enquiry; but merely to glance in a very cursory way over the most striking features of our local dialects.

The section of immigrants called in our histories West Saxons were those which obtained the ascendancy over the whole country about the beginning of the ninth century; and though there is no reason to believe that their dialect was generally used beyond the district where they originally settled, yet it was doubtless that which was cultivated by Alfred the Great, and those other writers before the Conquest, from whom we have remains. It formed, in short, the basis of the literary Anglo-Saxon. It is for this reason that so much interest attaches to the dialect of Somersetshire and the adjacent counties, which, with all its

* *Vocabulary of East Anglia.* By the late Robert Forby. 1890.

uncouthness, is said to approach more nearly to the literary Anglo-Saxon than any other existing dialect in England. The leading peculiarities here are—the *a* is pronounced long as in *father*; the *e* like *a* in *pane*; *th* is sounded like *d*, so that *through* is pronounced *droo*. There is a tendency to invert the order of some of the consonants: thus—*thrush*, *brush*, *rush*, are pronounced *dirsh*, *birsh*, *hirsh*; and *clasp*, *hasp*, *asp*, are sounded *claps*, *haps*, *aps*. One syllable is often made two; as, *boath*, for both.* The soft sound of *z* is used for *s*, and *v* for *f*.

Mr. Jennings,† who is the chief conservator of this dialect, has collected and explained about one hundred and fifty Somerset words not found in our modern literary English. A considerable number of them, however, occur in Chaucer and other old writers. He gives the following dialogue as a specimen:—

“FARMER — ‘Jan! why dwon’t ye right my shoes?’

JAN.—‘Bin, maester, ’tíz zaw cawld, I can’t work wi’ tha tacker at all; I’ve a brawk it ten times, I’m shower ta dâ—da vreeze za hord. Why, Hester hanged out a kittle-smock ta drowy, an in dree minits a war a vraur as stiff as a pawker; an I can’t avoord ta keep a good vier—I wish I cood—I’d zoon right your shoes an withers too—I’d zoon yarn zum money, I warnt ye. Can’t ye vine zum work vor me, maester, theaze hord times? I’ll do any thing ta sar a penny. I can drash—I can cleave brans—I can make spars—I can thatchy—I can shear ditch, an I can gripy too, bit da vreeze za hord. I can winny—I can messy or milky nif ther be need o’t. I ood’n mine dreavin plough or any theng.’”

Somersetshire may be considered, in point of language, as the centre of a district including at least Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and Gloucestershire. The above

* See Mr. T. Spencer Baynes's *Somersetshire Dialect: Its Pronunciation*: e.g., Bee-ust = beast; Clee-an = clean; Mee-olk = Milk; Nee-ad = need; Shee-ape = sheep; Zee-ade = seed.

† *Observations on Some of the Dialects of the West of England*. By James Jennings. 1825.

specimen is from the eastern part of Somersetshire, the dialect of which graduates into that of Gloucester and Wilts, while west of the Parret river it displays some peculiarities in common with Devon and Cornwall. One of these is the uniform use of *th* in the verb, corresponding to the usage in our Authorised Version of the Bible—he *loveth*, not he loves. Here, as elsewhere, the pronouns are what, in a grammatical point of view, diverge most from our usage. *Ise* or *er* is used instead of *I*; *er* for *he*; *her* for *she*; the nominative and objective cases being interchangeable. “*Har'th a doo'd it;*” for “*she has done it.*” “*A zed a'd do it*”—“*I said I would do it.*” *I* is *yes*. Throughout the whole of the district the present tense of the Saxon verb “*to ben*” is regularly preserved; *I be*, *thou beest* or *bist*, *we be*, etc.; *I war*, etc.

The following notice, said to have been stuck up at the Market House of Taunton, exemplifies the dialect west of the Parret:—

“Lost, a hempty zack we anuther zack in un; a guse; a wet-stun; and a pekie ov taters, Eny boddy vinding the zame and oll bring un to Varmer Dussion at the Nag's Hid, shall ha drie shilling gied to un. and a heeep o' drink.”

The counties of Berks, Surrey, Sussex and Kent, are poor in dialectic characteristics, obviously from their proximity to the metropolis; and a similar condition throughout the Midland counties is explained, if, as Mr. Latham judges, the language of our standard authors originated from the Mercian or Midland English,* rather than from the literary Anglo-Saxon; which, as we have seen, approximates most to the dialects of the south-west. Mr. Latham considers Huntingdonshire as the centre of the Mercian dialect, and gives the following as a specimen:—

* *Handbook of the English Language*. 9th ed., p. 147.

Our Polly is a sad sloot, nor heeds what we hev taught her ;
 I wonder any man on eerth should ivver rare a daughter ;
 For she mun hev both hoods, and gowns, and hoops, to swell her pride,
 And scarves, and stays, and gloovs, and laece, and she'll hev men
 beside ;
 And when she's drest with carr and cost, so temptin, foyne, and gay,
 As men should sarve a cowcumber, she flings hersen away.

Passing from the Midland to the Eastern counties, we find a very peculiar dialect, most strongly marked, in Norfolk and Suffolk, somewhat less so in Essex, Cambridge, and Lincoln. We are much indebted to Mr. Forby for his description of it, to which he has added a vocabulary of 1,900 East Anglian words, not previously recorded either in Mr. Grose's Collection of 2,500 for all England * or Mr. Pegge's *Supplement* of 1,000 to Mr. Grose. †

Not content with describing the East Anglian peculiarities, Mr. Forby assiduously, and as it appears to me successfully, finds a parallel for almost every peculiarity in some of the oldest English authors. He maintains that it is an absurdity to imagine that the vulgar fabricate language for their own ordinary use, and asserts, concerning every vernacular tongue, that "its forms, be they as many and as various as they may, are all in substance remnants and derivatives of the language of past ages, which were at some time or other in common use ; though in long process of time they have become only locally used and understood."

The general and pervading characteristic of the East Anglian is narrowness and tenuity of enunciation, often accompanied with a shrill whining recitative. For this narrowness, he cites as precedents *wex* for *wax* in Spenser ; *hes, hest, heve*, for *has, hast, and have*, in Percy's *Ballads* ; *ketch* and *shet* in Chaucer, for *catch* and *shut*. Consonantal

* *Provincial Glossary*. By F. Grose, Esq., B.A.

† *Supplement to Grose's Provincial Glossary*

peculiarities are *f* for *v*, while *v* and *w* are commutable ; the *w* being used for *v* by the rustics, and *v* for *w* by those whose diction has been polished by town breeding. The *g* is always hard after *n*, so that they say *bring-ging-g-in*, *fling-ging-g-out*. *R* is invariably added between the vowels to prevent hiatus:—"Set the vinder open ;" "lawr and justice ;" "Annar is not at home." Some final syllables are uttered in a careless, slurring manner:—*Eshup*, *muckup*, *wuddus*, for ash-heap, muck-heap, wood-house. Some terminations, however, are accented and drawn out:—*Expensivé*, *lamentable*, *certainlie*, *possibúl*. Words are run together in a way most puzzling to a stranger:—*Tut*, *dut*, *wat*, *het*, *tebbin*, for to it, do it, with it, have it, it has been. So also *cup*, *gup*, *gout*, *gin*, *giz*, for come up, go up, go out, go in, give us. This abbreviation can be practised on a larger scale. A girl employed to keep cows called herself a *galcobaw* (girl-cow-boy). The East Anglians use *weak* where we have strong preterites, always saying *selled*, *telled*, *teached*, etc., for sold, told, etc. On the other hand, they have retained some of the old, strong preterites, as *rise*, *riz* ; *sit*, *sot* ; *give*, *guv* ; *bring*, *brung*.

In striking contrast with the dialects of the south and east, is the broad, sonorous, mouth-filling northern, which in England has many sub-divisions. Its extreme is found in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, where it differs very little from Lowland Scotch, which is admitted on all hands to be a Saxon dialect, and to have been cultivated by popular poets as early as the southern English. Its departures in pronunciation from standard English consist chiefly in broad vowel sounds. In such words as *man* the *a* is as long as we pronounce it in *father* ; the *e* in *men*, as ours in *these* ; the *o* in *rock*, like that in *rose* ; while contrariwise, a *rose* is a *rause* ; the short *i* is either *ee*, as *peen* for *pin*, or it sounds *u*, as *wuth* for *with*. The sound

of *oo* is much like the French *a* ; and *ow* is like *oo*. On the other hand, there is no confusion or interchange, as in almost every other part of Britain, between the sounds of *f* and *v* ; of *z* and *s* ; of *h* aspirate and *h* mute. *R* is always trilled or burred where it occurs, but it is never introduced gratuitously at the end of a word. And, in opposition to the south and east, the *g* after *n* never receives a hard sound ; it is lost in present principles, thinkin', for thinking ; and is a mere nasal in such words as *single*, pronounced *sing-l*, not *sing-gle*. So *gh* has always that Tentonic guttural sound which seems to have been utterly lost among all our southern dialects. The North British is a vast treasury of old Saxon words, long lost to our literary language. The poems of Burns and the novels of Sir Walter Scott brought the Scotch section of it into a degree of notice which has been enjoyed by no other dialect. The similarity of that of Cumberland can be judged from the following :—

WATTY.

"If ye ax whar I cum frae, I say the Fell-seyde,
 Whar fadder an mudder an honest fwok beyde ;
 An my sweetheart, O bless her ! she thowt nin like me,
 For whun we shuik hans, the tears gushed frae her e'e :
 Siz I, 'I mun e'en git a spot if I can,
 But whatever betyde me I'll think o' te, Nan !'

"Nan was a parfet beauty, wi' twee cheeks like codlin blossims ;
 t'varra seet on 'er meade my mooth aw watter. 'Farrs-tee-weel,
 Watty !' siz she ; 'too's a wag amang t'lasses, an I'll see te nae mair.'
 'Nay, dunnet gowl, Nan !' siz I."

* * * * *

"At Carl I stuid wi' a strea i' my mooth,
 An they tuik me, nae doot, for a promisin yooth.

"Tweyves cam roon me in clusters : 'What weage dus te ax,
 canny lad ?' sez yen.—'Wey, three pun an a croon ; wunnet beate a
 hair o' my beard.' 'What can te dui ?' sez anudder.—'Dui ! I can

prow, sow, mow, sheer, thresh, deyke, milk, kurn, muk a byre, sing a sam, men cargear, dance a whornpeype, nick a naig's tail, hunt a brok, or feight ivver a yen o' my weight in aw Croglin parish."

There are, however, numerous divisions and sub-divisions of the northern dialect. That of South Lancashire has become well known through "Tim Bobbin," which, however, is a caricature; that of North and North-East Lancashire, through Edwin Waugh, Ben Brierley, and "Ab o' th' Yate." Here is a notice said to be a genuine specimen from the North Riding of Yorkshire:—

"This is te gie noatice, Jamz Pickersgill yats his yune te morn t'morn, te morn t'nean, an te morn t'neet an ne'er langer, se lang as storm hoads, coz he caen't get eldin."

That is:—

'This is to give notice, James Pickersgill heats his oven to-morrow at morn, to-morrow at noon, and to-morrow at night, and not longer, so long as the bad weather lasts, because he can't get fuel."

Staffordshire is likewise reckoned a branch of the Northern.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN A STAFFORDSHIRE CANAL BOATMAN AND HIS WIFE.

'WOMAN.—'Dun yo know Solden mouth Summy?'

MAN.—'Eees: an' a 'neation good feller he is tew.'

WOMAN.—'A desput quoiert mon! but he loves a sup o' drink. Dau yo know his woif?'

MAN.—'Know her, ay, Hoo's the very devil when hoo's spirit's up.'

WOMAN.—'Hoo is. Hoo uses that mon shameful; hoo rags him every neet of hoo's loif.'

MAN.—'Hoo does. Oive known her come into the public and call him all the names hoo could lay her tongue tew afore all the company. Hoo oughts to stay till hoo's got him i' the boat, and then hoo mit say wha her'd a moind. But hoo taks aiter hoo's feyther.'

WOMAN.—'Hew was hoo's feyther?'

MAN.—'Whoy, singing Jemmy.'

WOMAN.—'Oi don't think as how oi ever know'd singing Jemmy. Was he ode Soaker's brother?'

MAN.—'Eees, he was. He lived a-top o' Hell Bouk. He was the wickedest, swearnist mon as ever I know'd. I should think as how he was the wickedest mon i' the wold, and they say he had the rheumatiz so bad.'"

Between Robert Burns and other poets for Scotland, Mr. Collier, Mr. Forby, Mr. Jennings, and the publications of the English Dialect Society, we have probably a pretty fair representation of the leading dialects which have descended in the vulgar line from the Anglo-Saxon stock. Not being all on the same subject, however, but, on the contrary, exhibiting almost as great a diversity of thought as of expression, they afford but imperfect means of comparison. But an illustrious foreigner, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, has travelled the length and breadth of the land, has inquired personally into the peculiarities of each representative district, and has procured in each a version of the same theme. He has been in Somersetshire, where the lingua which we reckon the most uncouth is deemed, as we have said, the nearest approach to the ancient literary Anglo-Saxon; he has been in Edinburgh, to obtain the standard lowland Scotch; he has been in the most northern of the Shetland Isles, where the Scandinavian element has been more abundant than in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions. He has obtained a translation of the "Song of Solomon" in each of the leading dialects, and of the "Parable of the Sower" in the subordinate ones. I am at a loss to account for this choice of themes, which, at first sight, does not seem particularly happy; because the Oriental turn of thought and imagery in the Canticles cannot easily be familiarised so as to appear at home in the Anglo-Saxon dialects; and the

"Parable of the Sower" includes very few of those words in which vernacular peculiarities appear most strongly. The reason of this selection probably is that there are some very ancient Anglo-Saxon, English, and other versions of the Canticles; and there has been a large collection made of translations of the "Sower" in the Teutonic and Scandinavian dialects of the Continent, both ancient and modern. Hence I conclude that the object chiefly in view is a comparison of our existing dialects with those of former ages and existing languages.*

Mr. Pegge devotes his services to vindicate the dialects in general, as he found them brought together among the lower classes of the metropolis, including, of course, the true Cockney, of which he says the most striking and offensive error in pronunciation lies in the transpositional use of the letters *w* and *v*. But his chief anxiety is to clear the grammar of the vulgar from the imputation of being a departure from good English, by showing that it is the educated classes who have departed from the ancient usages. He characteristically entitles his introduction: "An Address in behalf of some old unfortunate and discarded Words and Expressions turned out of the World at large by Persons of Education, and acknowledged only by the humble Orders of Mankind, who seem charitably to respect them as decayed Gentlefolks who have known better Days."

The double negatives, which we deem to be each other's destruction, he shows to have been a peculiarity of our language seven hundred years ago; witness a proclamation of Henry V: "Be it known as Sir John Oldcastle refuse nor will not receive nor sue to have none of the Graces," etc. Double negatives are common in Chaucer, frequent in Shakespeare, and in various authors between these. Double

* Mr. Latham gives the Buonapartean versions of the Canticale in the Northumbrian dialects south of the Tweed. *Handbook*, 9th ed., pp. 136-142.

comparisons, as *worser*, *lesser*, are found in Spenser, Shakespeare, Dryden, and Addison; *most highest*, *most straitest*, in our Bibles and Prayer Books; *most boldest*, *most unkindest*, in Shakespeare.

A countryman *axes* pardon. This form of *ask* is found from Chaucer till the middle of the sixteenth century. In Anglo-Saxon, the verb *learn* meant both to learn and to teach; the vulgar use it so still, and have a precedent in the fourth and fifth verses of the twenty-fifth Psalm (A. V.) Chaucer uses it thus, and so does Shakespeare: "You must not learn me to remember." The words *ourn*, *yourn*, *hien*, are Saxon pronouns corresponding with *mine* and *thine*; but the *n* of the genitive, like that of the plural, was softened into *s* as the Anglo-Saxon merged into the English. The *-en* which terminates the plural of verbs, especially in the past tense, not, indeed, in the Anglo-Saxon, but in the English from Chaucer's time to Spenser's, is still found in Derbyshire and other counties bordering on the northern. At a vestry meeting, in Derbyshire, a churchwarden asks, "What sayen you to this affair?" Answer: "Why, we tellen them that we thinken otherwise; and that they talken nonsense." These peculiarities might be pursued much further, but the above may suffice.

It has not been without an important practical object that I have thus invited attention to the progressive tendency of our literary language, and the stationary character of the vulgar tongues. It must be obvious, even from this extremely cursory glance, that our literary English, enriched with French, Latin, Greek, and other words, and formed into complicated sentences by rules of grammatical construction, is, notwithstanding the advance of education, an unknown tongue to the masses, especially in some districts. It is probably at least as unintelligible to them as the Latin of literature was to their ancestors in the Middle Ages. When

it is remembered that at one time the two great Universities each included about thirty thousand students, using Latin for their daily colloquial intercourse as well as in all their studies ; and when we have added to these all the priests, monks, and others already educated ; there must have been in proportion to the population a greater number of persons acquainted with Latin, such as it was, than there are now capable of using literary English. It is not merely the peasantry of rural districts that are thus ignorant. In spite of our elementary schools, the lower middle classes of our large towns are deplorably so, and many of higher position too ; but because they can express themselves tolerably in speaking or writing on the business of their every-day life, which requires no extensive vocabulary or complicated paragraphs, it is taken for granted that they understand all that can possibly be said to them in the language which we call English.

Our fathers did not make bricks without straw. When at the era of the Reformation the Homilies were set forth by authority, to be read in the churches, it is recorded that a great number, both of the clergy and the laity, could not understand them ; “and therefore sometimes, when they were read in church, there would be such talking and babbling that nothing could be heard.” It was not expected in those days that people would sit mute, and reverently listen to what they could not comprehend. But now it was felt necessary to raise them to a higher level ; and with this view, Grammar Schools were established in various parts of the country, to take up the work of education as soon as reading in the mother tongue had been acquired. The title reveals the intention,—Grammar, not Latin, schools. The object, doubtless, was not chiefly to make the pupils acquainted with Latin as such, but with language ; and with Latin only because the structure of language and the higher

materials of our own could be known through no other medium. Knowledge could in no other way be made accessible to the people, because it was embodied either in Latin or a Latinized English, quite distinct from the vulgar tongue, there being probably even very few religious books written in such plain language as the English Bible. As time rolled on, the Grammar Schools, through changing circumstances which need not be detailed, ceased to answer their original design. They became mere Latin schools, less and less intimately associated with the great end of opening the treasures of knowledge to the people. Their endowments came in many cases to be used for the maintenance of teachers of the higher classes of society; and Acts of Parliament were obtained for teaching the sciences, with writing, drawing, and modern languages, in these institutions which were originally founded for the purpose of familiarising literary language among the people. The subordination, if not the abolition, of this their function, has no doubt done much to produce a general impression that a thorough training in language is not necessary as preparatory to science. But it is one question whether schools should insist upon the children of the people learning the Latin and Greek classics; and quite another whether it is desirable that there should be cheap Grammar Schools, or a Grammar side in our elementary schools, in the sense which properly attaches to the term: that is, schools or sides devoted to the teaching of literary language, by which means alone the masses of the people can attain to an understanding of the books which contain our treasures of science, whether physical, moral, or social.

The masses in Scotland are confessedly superior to the English in general intelligence, and particularly in the power of comprehending what I may, for variety, call "book-learning." In the Scotch parochial system every school-

master is appointed to teach English and Latin ; and in the larger towns, till of late years, when English notions have become prevalent, the routine of education was uniformly this. All the children, except the very poor, were sent first to the reading or English school maintained by the town ; and here they learned nothing but to read the mother-tongue with a broader or finer pronunciation, according to the polish of the master, but generally somewhat at least above the colloquial usage. Having attained to this, the boys whose parents could afford it were transferred to the town grammar school, called the High School, where nothing but Greek and Latin were taught for four hours a day. The girls were at the same time sent to sewing schools, which were not maintained in perfect silence, but were enlivened by general conversation, story-telling, or light-reading ; chiefly the last. Books of knowledge would not have been listened to in a sewing school : nothing but an interesting narrative could command attention. The girls, who at this stage of life were learning no kind of lessons, were thus obtaining a practical acquaintance with general language, while the boys were gaining a theoretical one. The principle might not be adverted to, but the fact was there. Writing and arithmetic were learned at another school for an hour or two daily, contemporaneously with Latin and sewing ; but such matters as geography, history, English composition, or physical science, were never thought of till after this second period ; then the wealthier studied them at more advanced seminaries, or the poorer as they took bursaries, scholarships, at colleges and the universities ; while the rest were left to pick them up as they could from books that might fall in their way.

At the present day, the prevailing opinion is, that as soon as child or man can read at all, he may and ought to derive substantive knowledge through the medium of books :

and it is considered one of the great triumphs of modern methods of education that geography, history, and natural science are taught to the youngest children. As far as this can be done in words which they understand it is well. But it is sheer cruelty to oblige a peasant child to learn these things in the usual language of text-books.

I have made myself acquainted with a great number of the lesson books which now teem from the press, and I am compelled to say that many of them, the majority of those I know, are compiled with apparently little reference to the question whether they can be apprehended, and with little knowledge of the calibre of mind that has generally to apprehend them. Some of them might almost as well be in Latin, so far as their power of conveying ideas is concerned. This may not be experienced in large towns, where the human mind is quick ; but it is the case generally throughout the country. The result of using such books is that the children contract a habit, not easily broken in after life, of reading and repeating as a purely mechanical process, without attaching, or attempting to attach, a single idea to the words. It may, indeed, be doubted whether half of all the children in our elementary schools know that they ought to attach ideas to the words of books. In many cases they put letters together to make words, and words to make sentences, just as they cast up columns of units, tens, and hundreds, without dreaming of any obligation to settle in their minds whether these numbers represent apples or oranges, men or horses. Hence such scenes as the following may at almost any time be witnessed. A girl of thirteen is directed to "say her geography" to a visitor. After she has with great fluency repeated the boundaries of several countries, the visitor asks, "What is a boundary?" Anxious to acquit herself, she thinks a moment, and replies, "The wages for the year." The word "boundary" could suggest nothing to

her mind except the terms on which the workmen in that part of the country are usually *bound* to their respective employers for a twelvemonth. A class has read a lesson, of which the subject is Greenland. Visitor enquires if anyone knows what the whales are which are mentioned in this lesson. After a considerable pause, an earnest-looking boy cries out, "What goes on ca-arts!" Taking it as an isolated term the child is right. "Whales" (*Anglice*, wheels) are what go on carts in Dorsetshire. If the natives knew anything of the cetaceous monsters of the deep, they would call them *whauls*, as in the north, or something else that would not be confounded with cart-wheels.

In another school, a very smart little boy stands up and reads from the New Testament, Matthew ix, 1, "And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city." Visitor asks, "What did he enter into?" "Don't know, thank you, sir," replies the boy politely. "Read it again. Now, what did he come into?" "Don't know, thank you, sir." How should the child know? Not one of the three predicates, *entered*, *passed*, *came*, belong to his vernacular. If he had seen the transaction, he would have narrated it by means of *gaed* and *coomed*. Probably not more than half of the elementary schools in England, certainly in rural England, would be found to display greater intelligence than in these examples.

Of course, the teacher explains the words of the lesson. But such teaching is often as though one put a Latin geography into a child's hand, and made him understand it, so that he was acquiring Latin and geography at the same time, but each, of course, less perfectly than if it had been the sole object of study for the time being. The meaning of terms peculiar to any subject may and ought to be learned when the subject is entered upon; but if the general lan-

guage of the lesson in hand is not previously understood, there can be little progress.

It would be a great point gained if those who have the superintendence of popular education were fully alive to the necessity of teaching language as a matter apart from communicating other knowledge. There may be a difference of opinion about the mode. Some respectable authorities still discourage the system of initiating the children of the masses in Latin roots, and the formation of various words from them. On the other hand, the repetition of definitions or synonyms may become merely an exercise of memory without judgment. The humblest, however, may be trained in a partial way, as deaf-mutes are—made to put the same word into various sentences till its use is familiar, and to turn sentences upside down in the way of question and answer, till the mutual relations of the words are felt, though they cannot be technically described. It is to be regretted that, while there is a superabundance of books and cards progressive as to the art of reading mechanically, there seem to be none framed with the express view of introducing the pupil gradually and systematically to an acquaintance with the language of books. It might thus be readily acquired in childhood by mere usage, but it is otherwise in maturer years. If it is not learned in early youth it will probably never be learned at all; at least, it will never become a familiar and agreeable medium.

It is quite Utopian to imagine that the general spread of education will ever abolish the vulgar dialects, or to hope that if the present race of children were taught book-language it would not be necessary to teach the next generation the same thing. I could point to districts in England, to say nothing of Scotland, where education has been so long and so efficiently maintained, that the adult population, with scarcely an exception, understand any ordinary English book;

but where they still use the local dialect as their every-day medium, and it would be considered the height of affectation to do otherwise. Consequently, each generation of children finds the language of books for a time strange, though with the advantage of interpreters at hand. "Mither kent t' way an' gaid t' meenen" (mother knew the way and gave the meaning), said a well-educated boy in answer to a question about his own early difficulties in this respect. Montaigne, who was born during that rage for ancient classics which followed the Renaissance, tells us that when he was an infant his father engaged, not a nurse-maid, but an eminent scholar to carry him about and talk Latin to him, so that, as soon as he spoke at all, he used the language of Cicero, and knew no more of French than of Chinese. It is recorded also that Oberlin thought to get the low *patois* of Steintal suppressed by establishing an infant school in which not one word of it was permitted. Such processes, however, can never be carried on effectively on an extensive scale. We must accept it as a fact that every child learns its mother-tongue, and that this is seldom the English of literature. It is not so even as far as it goes, to say nothing of its deficiencies.

To what cause may be attributed the success which has always been deemed to attend Scotch education? In part, to the fact that the better classes in Scotland all understand the lingua of the people, and use it in their intercourse with them, without feeling it to be the slightest compromise of their own dignity. A Scottish parish schoolmaster employs an English text-book, just as, eighty years ago, Ruddiman's Grammar was committed to memory and repeated in Latin; but whenever he begins familiar explanation or extemporary teaching of any kind, he speaks as broad Scotch as is necessary for being understood. So does the minister in conversation with his parishioners, the landlord with his

tenants, counsel with his witness, the lady with her domestics, and every one with the poor whom he undertakes to befriend, always, with true delicacy, avoiding the use of any broader style than that used by the inferior party. Till within the last seventy or eighty years it was not unusual for parish ministers in rural districts to preach their whole sermons in lowland Scotch; that is, using not merely the broad pronunciation, which is still usually done, but the dialectic phraseology of the common people, and not because their hearers could not understand better language, but because the familiar dialect came home more closely to the heart. I have heard of a minister who some years ago was preaching to the Sunday-school children of a large town, and waxing earnest exclaimed, "Children, will none of you *gang* to heaven?" The children thought he had done preaching, and had descended to colloquy, whereupon one, and another, and another replied, "I'll *gang*!" and presently the church was in an uproar with eager volunteers, each anxious to make himself heard, while the preacher stood confounded at the effect of his own condescending eloquence. I have heard, too, of a good Rector in Dorsetshire, who described the conduct of Zaccheus by telling his rustic congregation that "er climmit up a tree to see un," but probably this is a rare instance in England. Much more usual is it to darken, in an attempt to dignify, the Scriptural narrative by Latinized vocables, as did the curate who, not long ago, preaching on the same passage, said that "Zacchæus ascended the branches of a sycamore to escape from external pressure."

It is a principle inherent in human nature, that nothing tends so much to alienation of feeling as difference of language; nothing comes home to the affections like the mother tongue; and in no way can a rich man so acceptably lessen the distance between himself and a poor one as by addressing him in his own dialect. With all his intended

kindness and condescension he seems proud if he talks fine.

I have sometimes thought that a labour of love would be the circulation of select portions of the Scriptures, such as short narratives, or parables from the Gospels, in provincial dialects, among, say, Norfolk farmers, or Durham colliers, or Dorsetshire graziers, without compromising the dignity of the Bible. I commend the suggestion to those whom it may concern. Only, of course, there should be no caricaturing of the dialect, no extreme that would render the Scriptures contemptible to the natives themselves. The style adopted should be that of the well-doing and intelligent lower middle class, which in any case would well bear comparison with the version of Wycliffe, which, uncouth and homely as it is, no one dares to despise. Did not the Bible Society, about sixty years ago, print a Negro-English Testament; a mixture of English, Dutch, and African, modified to the genius of Negro-slavedom, the leading characteristic of which is excessive childishness? Witness the beginning of John ii—

“Drie deh na bakka dem holi wan bruiloft na Cana na Galilea: en mamma va Jesus ben de dapeh. Ma dem ben kali Jesus manga hem disciple toe va kom na da bruiloft. En teh wieni kaba mamma va Jesus takki na hem; dem no habi wieni morro. Jesus takki na hem: mi mamma hoeworko mi habi nanga joe? Tem va mi no ben kom jette.”

That is to say:—

“Three days after back, them hold one marriage in Cana in Galilee, and mamma of Jesus been there. But them been call Jesus with him disciple too, for come to that marriage. And when wine end, mamma of Jesus talk to him: them no have wine more. Jesus talk to him: my mamma, how work me have with you? Time of me no been come yet.”

Our home dialects are nothing like this. They are homely remains of the old Saxon, making up in vigour much of what

they want in polish, and including nothing which can appear contemptible to the truly enlightened.

It might do ourselves good to improve our acquaintance with these dialects. The English we so highly value derives its strength from the Teutonic element; its variety and polish from the classic and romantic. Ever since we parted company with the German family, above a thousand years ago, we have scarcely ever deigned to replenish our vocabulary from that quarter; but continuing to draw from the south, we have been every now and then in danger of crowding our language with useless puerilities; of introducing so many foreigners that, as Dryden expresses it, they seemed as if intended not to assist but to conquer the natives. The best preservative against this tendency for the future is to maintain our acquaintance with the remains of the indigenous race still living obscurely among us; and if, now and then, we can raise a sturdy native from the degradation of ages, instead of enlisting a more elegant and effeminate foreigner, we shall do good service to the language which we proudly call our English.

THE ARABIAN NIGHTS.

BY ROBERT FREDERICK GREEN.

THE second Abbaside caliph, Al Mansur, who in the year 754 held his court at Bassowrah, would seem to have been a man considerably in advance of his age. In the first place, he contented himself (no small virtue in those days) with a policy of something like passive resistance; did not as did his predecessor and successor, apply himself to fomenting the fierce faction quarrels of his sect, but seemed disposed to let them die, if they would, a natural death, and to employ himself and his people in more useful and profitable work. He had, of course, the usual family feuds. An uncle and a nephew, both with a hankering after the throne, made themselves eminently disagreeable in the early part of his reign; but, after disposing of these worthies, he applied himself to the mental culture of his people and the improvement of his country. That he was successful in both, history leaves no room for doubt. He founded Bagdad, and made it the seat of his empire. He invited to his court students and men of science whose fame reached him, and he ordered translations to be made for his schools of such works as *Aristotle* and *Euclid*. Now at this time there was in existence a Persian collection of tales known as *Hazar Afsaneh* (thousand nights), said to have been written for—or by, we shall never know which—one Queen Humia, and which, from being exceedingly popular in Persia, had become known in Arabia and the adjacent countries. A translation of it into Arabic was made by order of the Caliph Al Mansur, and from this translation the history of the *Arabian Nights* may be

traced without any uncertainty whatever. Of the original Persian collection very little is known positively. It is mentioned by Mahommed ben Ishak, an Arabic bibliographer, who flourished at the close of the tenth century, and who states that he saw it complete several times. He gives the argument as follows :—

A certain king having killed an unfaithful wife, was wont to marry every day, and kill his bride next morning. Presently he wedded a damsel of the daughters of the kings; one gifted with great intellect, and named Scherazad, and when she was with him she began to tell him fanciful tales, breaking off in the morning at an interesting part of the story, and thus inducing the king to spare her life until he had heard the end. In this way she went on for a thousand nights. when, having borne her husband a son and heir, she confessed the device she had practised.

This evidence is of course conclusive as connecting the Persian work with our present collection. The former does not now exist; has never, in fact, been known in western Europe. It seems to have been a collection of fables, so mixed up with the folk-lore of their country and showing so many suspicious resemblances to the fables and folk-lore of other neighbouring countries, that the supposition of a single author is impossible, and we must look upon the work more as an embodiment of ancient myths or legends than as a distinct literary effort.

Once clothed in an Arab dress, the Persian tales were not long in losing the more prominent traces of their nationality. They became the property of the professional story tellers; were current in the bazaars and coffee-houses; were adapted, improved, and localised to suit their hearers, and according to the skill of their narrators. In process of time new tales were invented, became popular, and took their place in the collection; the old animal stories gave place as years went on, to fairy tales, which allowed more scope for

the teller's fancy, and which satisfied the popular craving after the supernatural. These again made way for historical romances, such as those of which the great Caliph Haroun Al Raschid is the hero, and where we have the Wezeer Jaafer and the Queen Zubaydah introduced to give reality to the picture. But though some of the tales were put into writing, there does not seem to have been any attempt made at a complete collection. Such a thing was hardly necessary; the stories had so adapted themselves to their Arab home that they had become a part, as it were, of Arab life. There was little need to collect what everybody knew, and an ignorance of *The Nights* would have been as remarkable as ignorance of the language. The tales simply grew and changed with the people who heard them—very slowly indeed. Left behind as a useless luxury when Islam began its aggressive march westward; isolated by the decadence and extinction of kindred literature in neighbouring countries, they remained with the race who had adopted them, an eddy in the tide of civilisation.

Ben Ishak, in his slighting reference to the Persian work (he calls it "a corrupted version of silly tales") tells us that it was a favourite with the Emperor Alexander of Macedon, who not only was amused by its tales, but who set great store by its precepts and inculcations. He did not, however, have any translation made of it into his own language, still less did he take the trouble to make it known abroad, and from his time until the end of the seventeenth century—a period of over six hundred years—a few Turks were the only readers of *The Nights* in Europe.

In 1670, however, a young Frenchman, Antoine Galland, who had already made himself conspicuous in Paris by his oriental studies, was appointed *attaché* to the French embassy at Constantinople. His special mission was a theological one. He was to study the dogmas and doctrines of the holy

orthodox (the Greek) church, then the subject of some attention among the more advanced Roman Catholics, but he found time also to fraternise with the Moslem folk, to frequent the cafés, and to learn their language thoroughly. After some four years in Constantinople, his chief, M. Nointel, started on a journey to the Levant and the Holy Land, taking Galland with him. Here, of course, *The Nights* were common property, everybody knew them, everybody believed them implicitly, and nearly everyone was satisfied to find in them a complete national literature. Galland himself was so much impressed that he then and there determined to translate them into his own language. The work, which he set about at once, was by no means easy or straightforward. In the first place no edition of the tales was to be had in Syria. Galland had to go about collecting, in the streets, in the bazaars and cafés, and had to write down what he heard. He never did get, and never could have got, anything like a complete series of the tales in this way, but he got some,—Alladin and Alibaba, for instance,—of the best that have yet come to light, and some of which no written copy is known to exist. He returned to Paris in 1676, but subsequently made two journeys to the East, each time adding materially to his collection of the tales, and to his knowledge of the people.

His work was published at Caen, in 1704, and at Paris a little later, under the title *Mille et une Nuits ; Contes Arabes traduits en Francois*, and at once became famous as "*The Arabian Nights Entertainments*."

"Abridged," says Burton) "to one-fourth, mutilated, fragmentary and paraphrastic though the tales were, the glamour of imagination, the marvel of the miracles, and the gorgeousness and magnificence of the scenery at once secured an exceptional success. It was a revelation in romance, and the public recognised that it stood in the presence of a monumental literary work. France was afire with delight at a

something so new, so unconventional, so entirely without purpose—religious, moral, or philosophical. The oriental wanderer in his stately robes was a startling surprise to the easy-going and utterly corrupt Europe of the ancient *régime*, with its indecently tight garments and perfectly loose morals."

As a translation, Galland's work has undoubtedly many and serious defects. It is first of all woefully incomplete, giving only about fifty of the two hundred and two tales now known. The argument, the slender thread of which is our only excuse for not treating the volume merely as a collection; is wrongly told, and is obviously finished according to the translator's own fancy; and the style is an awkward attempt to Gallicise eastern idiom. But these shortcomings are such as affect the reader very little. Galland knows his stories, there is no doubt about that; and he can tell them well. It is he alone, all later translators admit, who is to be thanked for their popularity in western Europe, and in the face of this success fault-finding is hypercritical. The work was published originally in twelve volumes, and ran quickly through four editions. All Paris read it, waiting eagerly for each new volume, and Galland suddenly found himself in the, for him, unusual and awkward position of a literary hero.

One very good story (I translate it from Michaud's *Universal Biography*), is told against him at this time :—

In the first two volumes he prefaced each tale with the following formula :—" My dear sister, if you are not sleepy, tell me one of those tales you know." Now some young men, becoming tired of this monotonous introduction, went one very cold night to the author's house, and energetically knocked at the door. Galland, awakened by the noise, appeared at the window in his nightshirt, and his visitors, after plying him with various frivolous questions until he was thoroughly starved, suddenly called out, " Oh ! Mr. Galland, if you are not sleepy, tell us one of those beautiful stories you know ! " Galland

went back to bed, and, profiting by the lesson, suppressed in future volumes the preamble which had called forth the joke."

The French work quickly found its way into this country, where it became almost as popular as in France. Burton relates an anecdote, which seems to be well founded, of the Lord Advocate for Scotland, Sir James Stewart—"a very grave gentleman." He found his daughters, one Saturday evening, reading the new book. He severely rebuked them for spending the eve of the Sabbath in such a worldly occupation, and he confiscated the volumes. They found him in his study next morning; he had taken a glance at the wicked work, and had sat up all night reading it.

The early translations of Galland's work were by no means satisfactory. They were improved in later editions,—one being published in Liverpool, in 1813,—and in their various guises constituted the only English version for more than a hundred years. Then the subject was again taken up by oriental scholars. A Mr. Torrens, a lawyer of Bengal, began a translation of the celebrated Calcutta Arabic edition. This promised to be fairly complete, but, unfortunately, nearly every copy of the first impression was lost at sea, and the work was abandoned after the publication of the first volume. The next year, in 1840, Lane's work appeared, and took, and has kept, its place as the best popular translation we have. It is nothing like complete, being simply a rendering of the celebrated Cairo MS., but the tales it gives are thoroughly representative, and they are told with a force and *verve* that must impress the most callous reader. Mr. Lane was well known as the most eminent oriental scholar of his day, and his notes show a knowledge of Arab folk and custom which is simply marvellous. Burton speaks somewhat contemptuously of "his Anglicised Latin, his sesquipedalian English words, and his stiff and stilted style,"

but this is, after all, a matter of taste, and to me Lane's style suits his subject perfectly. The grave iteration of Arab speech comes to us less strangely in the language of Johnson than it does in Burton's modern English, and, if Lane's characters are pompous, they are never like Burton's, who are frequently vulgar, and who talk slang.

The next English translator was John Payne, who, in 1882, produced, for the Villon Society, a most elaborate and complete work. Besides the classic manuscripts, he collected a large number of tales current in Egypt and Syria, and accepted generally as belonging to *The Nights*, and his translation of them is so accurate that even Burton, who is not given to praising liberally, admits it unimprovable. The Villon Society printed only five hundred copies of Payne's work, so that it is in the hands of members, and is practically unprocurable.

The latest translation, and we are not likely to have another, is that by Sir Richard Francis Burton, in sixteen volumes, of which the publication is only recently completed. This work, by far the most complete in existence in any language, may be said to have exhausted the subject. Its value as a translation may be gauged from the fact that it is the work of one who adds to a literary genius a more perfect knowledge of Arab life, and of Arab dialects, than probably any native of that country; who, in the performance of duty, in pursuit of knowledge, or out of sheer curiosity, has been in every city, palace, church, café, and brothel in the Arab speaking East; who has avowed his utter disregard of conventionalities, both in conduct and language, and who has set about his task with the determination to let nothing whatever stand in the way of a complete performance of it. Of the sixteen volumes, *The Nights* proper—the canonical works—occupy ten, the remainder being devoted to Arab tales, of which the connection with *The Nights*, though

probable, is not certain. Only one thousand copies of Burton's work were printed, but an expurgated edition, with a few phrases altered, and a few notes omitted, has since been issued by his wife, and, if less useful to students, is much pleasanter reading.

I have spoken of Burton's work as being the most complete in existence, and this leads me to say a word about the vagueness and uncertainty which have always surrounded the tales, not only as regards their number, but as to their style and arrangement. There is no such thing as a complete edition. There cannot be. The tales are constantly altering; old ones have been forgotten; new ones—the story of Ala al din and the magic couch for example—have been imported and become naturalized; and those that come down from the earliest times have been so much altered by local story-tellers as to be sometimes hardly recognizable.

The Arabic editions, of which some half-dozen are famous, are notoriously incomplete. That of Calcutta would have contained the most tales, but it was never completed. It was edited by Sir William H. Macnaghten from a Cairo manuscript. Lane says he translated from the same original, though Burton suspects him of having got hold of the less esteemed Bulaq manuscript. At Breslau, the text was published of a very voluminous manuscript found at Tunis, and a translation afterwards made into German. The work is, however, condemned by both Lane and Burton as hopelessly incorrect and misleading. Neither Payne nor Burton have followed any one Arabic edition, but (the latter especially) have collected many stories as Galland did, on the spot, from the professional story-tellers.

As we now have them, *The Nights* consist of about two hundred main stories, and about one hundred minor or incidental tales. These are generally agreed upon as authentic,

but there have been collected at least another hundred, all having claims to be included. No single edition or manuscript gives, however, anything like this number, and everyone has tales which are not found elsewhere. Burton, after a most exhaustive enquiry into the origin of the modern collections, comes to the following conclusions :—

1. The framework of the book is purely Persian perfunctorily Arabized ; the archetype being the *Hazah Afsanah* (a book, by the way, of which no copy is known to exist).

2. The oldest tales, such as *Sindebad* and *King Jiliad*, may date from the reign of *Al Mansur* (eighth century, A.D.)

3. The nucleus of the collection (some thirteen tales, with incidental stories, which are common to all known editions, and which include the tale of the three apples, the ebony horse, &c.), may be placed in the tenth century.

4. The most modern tales, those bearing internal evidence of their late appearance, such as *Maaruf the Cobbler*, are as late as the sixteenth century.

5. The work assumed its present form in the thirteenth century.

6. The author is unknown for the best reason—there never was one.

The tales are strung together without order—late histories, early fables, and mediæval fairy tales—the wish of the first collectors evidently being to give as much variety in style and subject as possible. The only ties that bind them together are *Scherazad's* opening phrase, and the obvious relationship of the characters.

This last is indeed an extraordinary and unique feature—no matter where the scene is laid, whether in Egypt or China, land or sea, up in the air or underneath the ground, the actors are Arabs, natives of Bagdad or Damascus, in the same picturesque dress, with the same formal speech, and showing the same predilections and antipathies. It is a

ridiculous anachronism no doubt, but it is just this that makes *The Nights* something more than a book of nursery tales, that brings them down from the region of fancy to the more solid ground of scientific enquiry, and renders them worthy of the most serious study. They are really a picture—true, because involuntary—of national life, and uncoloured by any national or religious prejudice. They are the unconscious autobiography of a race, and of a race which has never in the world's history been without its influence on art, commerce, and politics.

Reading them, then, with this certainty of their truth and candour, it becomes interesting to see what sort of men and women are portrayed, whether their actions and apparent motives are better or worse than ours are supposed to be now—whether human nature has changed much since the days of the great Caliph. We must remind ourselves to begin with, that the ideal morality of *The Nights*, like that of the *Koran*, is distinctly lower than that of our time and of our religion. It is the morality of revenge and reprisal rather than of good for evil—of just punishment rather than forgiveness. It recognises hate and anger as justifiable, and as sufficient excuse for many misdeeds, and looks upon opportunity as a permission to immorality. These are old ideas, as old no doubt as humanity itself, and who shall say they do not still obtain. *The Nights* show us nothing above an ordinary natural working day code of morals—making all sorts of allowance for circumstance, and such as anyone, despite a few lapses, may reasonably be expected to live up to. There are not wanting, however, indications of something higher and nobler. The merchant will not let his brothers be killed, though they have requited his kindness by trying to murder him: "Let them go," he says to his wife, "they are still my brothers—Satan made the deed seem fair in their sight." Then the envied not only forgives the

envier, but disarms his enmity at last by kindness and presents. It is true that the envied one could afford to be magnanimous, having escaped and profited by the danger his enemy had caused, but his generosity is none the less noticeable, and as it is applauded, we may feel sure that a higher morality was beginning to be recognised. The average character in *The Nights* does not forgive his enemies, and does not pretend to. "May Allah have no mercy upon him," says poor Sindebad, fervently, when he has battered the brains out of the little old man on the island.

Perhaps Nur al din's parting advice to his son may be quoted as fairly representing the average morality. As the old man is on his death-bed his counsel may be expected to be less tinged than usual with worldly-mindedness :—

"Be over intimate with none, for security lies in seclusion of thought."

"Deal harshly with none, lest fortune deal hardly with thee; for the fortune of this world is one day with, and another day against, thee, and all worldly goods are but a loan to be repaid."

"Learn to be silent; and let thine own faults distract thine attention from the faults of others; for it is said, In silence dwelleth safety."

"Beware of drunkenness, for wine is a fine solvent of human wits."

"Keep thy wealth and it will keep thee."

This is very good advice, but is essentially selfish. There is a noticeable absence of any reference to that duty to others which, at any rate in theory, becomes more prominent as men advance in civilisation. On the other hand, however, it is evident that if the ideal standard of morality be low, the practical one—the one which folk attain in their every day life—is high. The men of the tales invariably keep their promises, and trust others to do the same. The merchant who, throwing away the date stone, unknowingly kills the Ifreet's son, is about to be killed by the Ifreet in revenge.

He begs for a year to put his affairs in order, but returns at the proper time as he promised. Oaths are seldom taken. It never seems to enter into the head of the story-teller or his audience that a man can break his promise, and, except with the lowest classes, no precautions are taken to make him keep it. There is also a very high regard for family ties. A brother or sister will divide hard earned savings over and over again with a worthless or idle brother, knowing all the time that the money will be squandered. The appeal, "It is my brother," admitting of no denial. Then again, however a man may try to escape punishment for his misdeeds he will not let another suffer for them. Witness the story of the hunchback, where, one after another, the four people who have fallen across the body step forward and offer their own lives to save those whom they think innocent. That the people of *The Nights* are hospitable and charitable goes without saying; they have become a proverb for their kindness to strangers, and they willingly maintain armies of beggars, even when idleness and imposture are evident.

One great advantage *The Nights* possess, as a picture of human character, is that they never trouble us with motives. They tell us with most minute exactness what a man does, and with the greatest care what he says, but they never pretend to know what he thinks. Of course, the teller of the story, speaking in the first person, tells us his thoughts sometimes; this he is entitled to do since he knows them, but he lets the actions of everyone else speak for themselves. This I think shows a wisdom one could wish were possessed by later story-tellers. It must be an impertinence to suggest motives in others. They can only be inferred from actions, and if these are recorded properly, the reader is just as well able to draw conclusions from them as the writer, and is, moreover, in nine cases out of ten, less prejudiced. The

lessons in *The Nights* are clear enough, but the reader must find them out for himself; the moral of the story does not come in at the end, and is never printed in italics. As may be expected, the characters of men are drawn with much more completeness than those of women; the qualities of the latter, indeed, in so far as they do not affect their relationship with the opposite sex, are not thought worthy of the slightest notice. The men of *The Nights* are generally trustworthy, the women seldom are. Mr. Lane sums up the Arab estimate of women in the words of a learned Imam, Al Jarefee. This authority says—

“It is desirable for a man, before he enters upon any important undertaking, to consult ten intelligent persons among his particular friends. Or if he have not more than five such friends, let him consult each of them twice. Or if he have not more than one friend, he should consult him ten times at ten different visits. If he have no one to consult let him return to his wife and consult her, and whatever she adviseth him to do, let him do the contrary, so shall he proceed rightly in his affair and attain his object.”

Over and over again women are described as deceitful, as being able to assume a guise of love and virtue whilst plotting the greatest wickedness. Ugly old women seldom commit crimes, they are only stupid or mischief making. The wicked women are enchanting in feature and manner. In men, the face is an index to the character, in women it is a mask. “Go away, oh woman,” says the hermit when the angel visits him in his cave in the form of a beautiful woman, “thou art deceitful and perfidious. I want not thy company; he who coveteth the life to come, renounceth thee, for thou deceivest mankind, those of the past time and now. Thou devotest thyself to deceive others. Woe unto him who is cursed with thy company.” *The Nights* give us few good women, but they abound in stories of faithless wives, wicked enchantresses, jealous and cruel mistresses. Men are repre-

sented as their innocent victims, or falling an easy prey to their wiles. In fact the picture is altogether so one-sided that it is clear the story-tellers had experience only of one class, and that not by any means the best. Of course the men are not perfect; their virtues are made the most of, but there is no attempt to conceal their faults. If they will neglect their work and loaf about for days under a balcony, where they have seen a pair of bright eyes or a pretty face, it serves them right when they are enticed in and have a bad time of it with the lady's husband. If they will be curious,—as they generally are, despite the most elaborate cautions,—and meddle in affairs that do not concern them, they cannot expect much pity even when the loss of an eye or a couple of ears is the result. If they will entertain strange ladies,—and they always do when they have the chance,—they must expect difficulties with other members of the family. And if they will be jealous and suspicious of their wives for no earthly reason, they must expect to be deceived. One of their commonest weaknesses is talking of what they are going to do, or of what may be if certain things happen; and some of the best stories in *The Nights* are those which describe those aerial castles tumbling down about their ears. The story of the barber's fifth brother, Alnaschar, is one of these, and is well known throughout Europe, and there is another almost equally good, where the two brothers, not yet married, quarrel over the wedding portion of their children who are not yet born. For the rest the men are generally faithful and affectionate husbands, considerate and indulgent fathers, and good and true friends. When they do get into trouble a woman is at the bottom of it.

The style of *The Nights* is at worst fragmentary, and at best prolix, changing several times in the one tale from an hardly intelligible conciseness to the most wearisome discus-

siveness and tautology. Both Lane and Burton incline to the opinion that when the tales were written it has not been with the view of preserving them as literary works, but rather as a guide or set of notes for the professional storyteller, who was supposed to fill in his tale to suit his audience and his fancy. In no other way can the useless digressions, the senseless allusions, and the gratuitous indecencies be explained. They were the points, worked in to please some local official, to suit some popular fancy, or simply to cause a laugh, and have nothing to do with the story proper.

On the other hand, the tales, like Arab speech, always abound in the most beautiful similes and aphorisms. Of the former, there are a certain stock set, and Burton has somewhat spoilt their beauty by making out a list. A beautiful face is always like the full moon—somewhat too expansive a comparison for our tastes; the hero is as brave as a lion, the enemy craftier than the fox, and the counsellor more cautious than a crow. The mistress has a forehead of pearl, eyes like an ox,—the old classic comparison,—eyelashes like sharp swords; her glance is as an arrow shot from the bow of her eyebrows, and she walks as a ship at sea. No less invariable, and even more complete, are the aphorisms. I cannot imagine a more beautiful expression than the Arab has for death:—"Admitted to the mercy of God." "God wrote safety in my fate," is the expression when one describes the success of a long journey or voyage; and "the world grew black to me" well signifies deep sorrow or rage. One grants a request with the formula "to hear is to comply," and refuses it with "Allah open thee another door." Not less expressive, if more comic, is the Reeve's saying—it will be remembered he was shut up in a clothes-chest to be carried into the harem—and describing his sudden fright, when the chamberlain came up—and

demanded to see what the chest contained, he says: "I died in my skin."

The philosophy of *The Nights* is summed up in one word, fatalism—what is, was to be! One cannot help admiring the faith which really does enable men to meet their troubles so calmly, to receive the severest affliction and the greatest triumph with such self-abnegation. There are plenty of philosophies, and religions too, for that matter, which preach patience and resignation, but I am afraid they do not all work out so well in real life. The national temperament has something to do with this ready acceptance of the inevitable, no doubt; it may be apathy rather than resignation, but I do not think it is altogether. The second calender's tale is a case in point:—The king's daughter loses her life in the attempt to disenchant him; her death nearly causes the death of her father, but he says very little to the innocent cause of all the trouble. "I have lost my daughter," he says, "who was worth more to me than a hundred men, but I blame thee not, since it was out of thy power to prevent the affliction. The decree of God has been fulfilled upon us and thee, and praise be to God that my daughter restored thee, though she destroyed herself. Now, however, depart from my city. It is enough that has happened on thy account, but as it was decreed against us and thee, depart in peace."

One other fact in connection with *The Nights* is the belief in them which exists to this day among the lower classes. The tales are listened to as true sober statements of fact; the wildest flight of fancy, the speech of animals, the transformations and enchantments of the jinnée, are received by the Arab folk in sober earnest, and without the faintest question. Many travellers have remarked this, and it is perhaps one of the most significant proofs of the truth of the picture they present of Arab life. The audience

recognise themselves, their brothers and sisters, and their enemies, in the stories; the people act as they would act, possess their virtues, and have the vices of their neighbours, therefore, they must have lived, and the rest of their doings pass unquestioned. Burton himself tells us how—

“The Shaykhs and ‘white-beards’ of the tribe gravely take their places, sitting with outspread skirts like hillocks on the plain, as the Arabs say, around the camp-fire, whilst I reward their hospitality and secure its continuance by reading or reciting a few pages of their favourite tales. The women and children stand motionless as silhouettes outside the ring; and all are breathless with attention; they seem to drink in the words with eyes and mouth as well as with ears. The most fantastic flights of fancy, the wildest improbabilities, the most impossible of impossibilities appear to them utterly natural, mere matters of everyday occurrence. They enter thoroughly into each phase of feeling touched upon by the author; they take a personal pride in the chivalrous nature and knightly prowess of Taj Al-Mulúk; they are touched with tenderness by the self-sacrificing love of Azízah; their mouths water as they hear of heaps of untold gold given away in largesse like clay; they chuckle with delight every time a Káze or a Fakír—a judge or a reverend—is scurvily entreated by some Pantagruelist of the Wilderness; and, despite their normal solemnity and impassibility, all roar with laughter, sometimes rolling upon the ground till the reader’s gravity is sorely tried, at the tales of the garrulous Barber and of Ali and the Kurdish Sharper.

And this after an existence of more than one thousand years! *The Nights* indeed show no sign of losing their popularity, they have gained a new audience in the west, and will hold that, no doubt, as they have so long held their original one. Committed to no purpose but that of amusing, obtruding no moral but such as is shown us in our own everyday life, they disarm all criticism, and leave the reader free to revel in their wondrously beautiful fancy.

How the scene shifts!—Now we are on the banks of the Tigris and see the fisherman throwing in his net and bringing up the bottle; now in the palace of the great Caliph, and among the crowd pressing into the council chamber;

now in a cave in the desert, listening to the lion's boasting, and wondering at the old man coming on so quietly with his load of timber—and all without effort or surprise. We are being carried along far above the common ground—are in the clouds, surrounded by that oriental mist which is diffusing such gorgeous colours over everything, and through which we can see the life beneath changed and beautified as it is in dreams; we can see the city transformed to the lake in the mountains, and its people to fishes, at the word of the wicked queen; we can hear the rustle of the jinneyah's wings as she flies past us with Hasan in her arms; we can understand the song of the birds and the mingled cries of the animals, and we wonder—if we wonder at all—that such things should ever have surprised us. This is how we read *The Nights*, and that it is the right way we may be sure—for it is the way the children read.

THE CRADLE OF THE ARYANS.

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WHEN, in the closing years of the last century, Sir W. Jones discovered to the Western world the secret of Sanskrit and taught them that in the far East, the accepted cradle of the human race, there existed a language of immemorial antiquity, the germs of which showed unmistakable identity with European speech at large, it seemed for a moment as though the primitive, perhaps the universal, language of mankind had been unearthed, and India was its home. Study, analysis, and reflection soon dispelled the dream; and the true character of the great Indo-European unity, which Schlegel was perhaps the first to apprehend, was established by the genius and industry of Bopp, who mapped out for all time the broad general demarcations which define the separate groups of closely correlated families of speech. Students of language have ever since that time been busily engaged in cross-questioning the evidence of language, and trying to extort thence the secret of the prehistoric movements, culture, and dwelling-places of Indo-European man.

The first crude hypothesis of an Indian origin was soon found untenable. It was exchanged for the theory, propounded by Pott, and brilliantly elaborated by Pictet, that the true home of the stock was to be found in the Bactrian plains of Central Asia; and this general theory, in forms variously modified, may be said to have held the field without serious dispute until quite recent years. The theory had much to commend it. It gave a compact and simple scheme to philologists, already wedded on the strength of historical

and biblical prepossessions to the assumption of an Eastern descent; it brought the Eranian and Indian stocks, whose languages seemed to stand closest to the parent speech, locally nearest to the cradle of the race; it assumed the continuous migration westward, which, while admitting simple and intelligible diagrammatical presentment, tallied agreeably with accredited beliefs; it could be brought without much violence to explain the seeming ratio of divergence shown by the derivative languages from the parent stock; and it conveniently located the primitive Aryan in districts inaccessible and unknown. It is still maintained in general outline by such veteran authorities as Fick, Hehn, Kiepert, and Max Müller, as well as by a crowd of lesser lights; but within the last ten years the new heresy that advocates a European origin has everywhere gained ground, and now threatens to chase its adversary from the field. The somewhat random guess first hazarded by Latham in 1854, can no longer be set aside as the fancy of a hare-brained Englishman of "the land of curiosities," or the adopted whim of a Göttingen Professor. One may smile at eccentricities or extravagances of argument in Geiger or Cuno, or at Pösche's strange preference for the Rokitno swamps traversed by the Dnieper, the Beresina, and the Pripet; but it is impossible to set aside such names as Benfey, Spiegel, Schrader, or in our own language, Whitney, Sayce, and Taylor. Members of this Society may welcome a clear account of the controversy as it now stands.

Of the results established by the earliest enquirers, none have proved more permanent than their conclusion regarding climatic environment. They disposed finally of the Indian supposition. The one defined season perpetuated in the vocabularies of all branches of Indo-European folk is *winter* (*Sk. himá*), and this, moreover, used in Eastern tongues

to designate time, a winter season, not merely winter-cold. With it range the companion stems that designate snow and ice, shared by Eranian with European tongues. India has, indeed, lost names which lay outside her experience in things, but still exhibits the snow (*snih*) stem in the meaning 'shine.' For 'spring' also (*ver*) there is a common term, but alike for 'summer' and for 'autumn' the stems that can claim to be Indo-European shew far more vagueness of definition, and in the Eastern group denote year or season in a general rather than specific sense. The fact that winter dominates the yearly reckoning, and firmly holds its place, even in torrid India, of necessity relegates the founders of Indo-European speech to some climate familiar with ice and snow, and winter's binding grip. To this condition Northern Europe and Central Asia conform with equal ease.

Vocabulary next claims critical examination.

The term for 'sea' deserves preliminary handling. There is no common name. One word is European, endorsed by Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Teutonic stocks. The Eastern languages use different stems, and those distinct from one another, the Eranian *daraya* or *zaraya* only finding representation in India as denoting a flat plain. This may be mere accident; Greek has lost the word,* and turned to independent sources: and why not therefore Zend likewise and Sanskrit, just as no common term for 'river' is shared by East and West? Still the fact is striking. The sea is one of the phenomena likely to make a permanent impression on the mind, and win a name defying change or oblivion. And assuming some historic circumstance to underlie the divergence, what is the interpretation? The upholders of the Asiatic hypothesis set some store by the fact. The race, they say, was cradled

* But possibly preserved in 'Ἀμφιμαγος.

in the interior. One branch, moving southwards, first found the sea on coasts of Persia and of India, and there devised new names for the new wonder; and so likewise the westward migration for itself, on gaining Europe and the sea. But the fact that *all* the European brotherhood (the Greeks excepted) share the same word, implies that the term was framed in common, not independently therefore on European shores, and the further inference is drawn that it was the Caspian Sea that supplied the new experience and the new name. The argument savours of perilous precision, and the unanimity of the European races in conservation of the term, as they pursued their distant inland routes, tempts to semi-credulous surprise. The alternative interpretation, say on Penka's reading, teaches that the word is an heirloom of the stock, first taught on Baltic shores; that it survived in all the European tongues, but that, in the long pilgrimage and sojourn in the East, it was lost to the Eranian vocabulary, and a new term borrowed or devised by the Indians, and the first explorers of the Persian coast. In such a statement there is little forced or unnatural, though some small balance of plausibility rests with the former view. One solid inference remains, viz., that the language was not framed *in the interior of Europe*. The word must derive from some joint home upon some sea-board, whether of Europe, or peradventure of the Caspian or Aral seas.

The same may be said, though less forcibly, of the discrepancies in terms for fish. Teutonic, Celtic, Latin are at one; Sanskrit and Zend diverge in company. But here the argument is feeble, inasmuch as rivers breed fish equally with the sea. Oriental diet, or nomad pastoral life on the wide plains of Asia, may well have proved fatal to the word.

The names of *fauna* and *flora* next invite consideration. The subject has been thrashed almost *ad nauseam* without carrying conviction to disputants on either side, yet I cannot

hold with Schrader that it is doomed to sterility. It is true that with the disappearance of an animal or tree the name assigned to it drops spontaneously out of the vernacular, and that there is little likelihood of a common name surviving the removal of all occasion for its use; and the recognition of this fact will relieve us from much fruitless and prolonged discussion. But nevertheless the consideration of the vocabulary in this respect may yield general inferences of no small value, which it will be the object of this section to deduce.

To begin with quadrupeds. The domestic animals give no results of value. The dog, the cow, the sheep, the pig, the goat and the horse all bear Indo-European names, and were known therefore, and all probably domesticated, prior to the separation of tongues. Whether the species originated, or whether they were first domesticated, in Asia or in Europe, has no bearing on the present question.

Wild animals deserve closer attention. The *lion* opens a difficult controversy. The main facts are unquestioned—that no common term connects the Asiatic and the European groups; that Indian and Eranian are themselves out of accord; while the same name is preserved in every member of the western branch. Upon the actual root employed opinions differ; some regard it as a *loan-word from Semitic*, which in *laish* approaches closely to $\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. But it seems impossible, without violence, to explain all current forms from this original, so that high authorities are disposed to trace their origin to some Indo-European root, as *RAV* to roar, *LU* or *LEV* destroy, or *LIV* dun-coloured. The tangle is perplexing. The lion is certainly associated with the East (though valid evidence attests the existence of lions in Greece into historic times), and one would have expected that so picturesque and commanding a creature once named would not have lost its title; that Asiatic emigrants would

have preserved its memory, and by adaptation, if not otherwise, retained its title, even if they passed out of its range of habitation; still less would the Aryans proper have lost or changed the name. The difficulties do not end here. Assuming Semitic borrowing, it is hard to explain the uniformity of European terminology; assuming Indo-European identity acquired in Asia, it is strange that the name should have been conserved by all the stocks, except those to whom the lion himself remained familiar. The Tiger, whose range extends northwards beyond Bactria, is etymologically imported from India, and so too the panther, *πάρος* and *πάνθηρ* both coming of late borrowing. Camel is once again exotic, and *pilu* of Sanskrit, from the Persian *pil*, has no European congener. These are the great characteristic quadrupeds of the East, for size and make and mark more notable than any other in the animal kingdom. Being non-European all may have dropped into oblivion in western speech, but taken collectively they constitute a negative argument of some small weight against the Asiatic derivation of the Indo-European family. And the wild-ass, the jackal, and the ape reinforce the argument from silence.

Passing from negative to positive evidence, we will first group the quadrupeds with names of Indo-European pedigree. They are the *Bear* (*ursus*), *Beaver*, *Boar* (wild or tame), *Fox*, *Hare*, *Mouse*, *Otter*, *Squirrel* (*viverra*), *Wolf*. Though for the most part indecisive, the general complexion of the list is European rather than Asiatic, and two animals, the Beaver and the Otter, seem specifically European. In the latter case there is perfect correspondence of form, *Lit. udra* being absolutely identical with *Skt.* and *Zd. udra*, but in meaning, Greek, Sanskrit and Zend differ. It is possible, though the chance is rare, that distinct stocks fashioned independently words (identical in root and suffix) for distinct animals; it is more likely that in districts where the otter

was unknown, the designation was transferred to another animal of corresponding habitat. If so, assuredly the European otter was first owner of the superfluous name, not *vice versa*. The beaver stem shows like divergence of meaning. The beaver known to Teutonic, Lithuanian, and Latin vocabulary—though the animal seems now confined to Russia and Poland—appears in Zend as *bawri*, and in Sanskrit as *babhrū*, denoting an animal of the large ichneumon kind. Now this is precisely what might be expected, the transference of a superfluous name (for the beaver is strange to India) to an animal bearing a rough general resemblance to the original. Precisely in this way the jackal of the East supplies the modern Greek with his name for badger (τζακάλης). Those who reject this account content themselves with questioning the etymological identity.

Snakes (*anguis*), worms (κάμμη, *vermis*), ants (*Zd. maoiri*), flies (*musca*), and other Indo-European vermin afford no topographical clue; they are ubiquitous.

Before leaving the mammals, it will be well to consider the list common to the *European group*, recognised in the south by Greek or Latin, in the north by Teutonic, Slavonic, or Lithuanian. The following comply with these conditions :—

	Greek.	Latin.	Celtic.	Slavonic.	Lettic.	Germanic.
Badger		<i>taxus</i> (late, prob. borrowed)				O.G. <i>dahs</i>
Boar		<i>aper</i>		<i>v-epri</i>		<i>Eber</i>
	[καπρος <i>caper</i>]					O.N. <i>hafr</i>]
Hedgehog	ἐχῖνος			<i>jezi</i>	<i>ezys</i>	O.G. <i>igil</i>
Lynx	λύγξ				<i>luszis</i>	O.G. <i>luhs</i>
Marten		<i>martes</i>				O.G. <i>marder</i>
Rabbit (coney)	κόνικλος	<i>cuniculus</i>	<i>coinin</i>			<i>Caninchen</i>
Seal	σέλαχος					O.G. <i>selah</i>
Stag	ἐλαφος		Cym. <i>eilon</i>	<i>jel-eni el-nis</i>		
	κεραός *	<i>cervus</i>	Cam. <i>karw</i>	<i>kravu karve</i>		<i>Hirsch</i>

* The 'horned,' and the specification is not complete, as in both Slav. and Lit. the word signifies 'cow.'

In this branch of the discussion the importance of *European consensus* has been strangely underrated and ignored. These animals are known to *all* the West, though possibly unknown as well as unpreserved by languages of the East. Now the upholders of an original Asiatic home are virtually at one in assuming the separation of stock dialects in the Asiatic period, in the regions east or south of the Caspian. Thus in the case of names common to the whole of *Europe* it is inferred that the animals were known to the Aryans named on the far side of the Caspian, and the names have been faithfully preserved in after years by the various emigrant stocks. There is nothing in the present list to refute or support a hypothesis, for the seal is a denizen of the Caspian as well as the Northern Seas, but it combines with the previous group to strengthen the impression of a European rather than Asiatic cradle of experience, and it is highly significant that *every noticeable European quadruped*, tame or wild, is included either in the Indo-European or the European group.

Birds teach little. Besides the duck (*anas*) and goose (*anser*) which were perhaps domesticated, and omitted for onomatopoeic names (such as cuckoo) which are valuable as evidence, the crane, crow, owl, pigeon (*columba*), the quail, and probably vulture (*glede*) and falcon (*ixtivos* perhaps φήνη) are Indo-European, a few species, though singled out by size or cry or plumage or flight in the past, before birds were much available for food. If there were proof that the duck and goose were not domesticated, the prominence of *water-fowl* would be worthy of remark, for in this category belongs *Sk. marala* (*merulus*), while both in Sanskrit and Greek the *κολυμβός* designates the grey diving duck.

For the group of water animals is more fertile in suggestions. The discrepancy between the generic European term for fish (*piscis* and ἰχθύς) and the Eastern *matsya* has been paraded with some satisfaction by the advocates of Bac-

"People starting from that central home in Asia," writes Max Müller, "ought to have little knowledge of fishes." The inference is flimsy. Wherever the Indo-Europeans were cradled, by river, lake, or sea, fish must have been known to them, and the discrepancy must be reckoned among the thousand casualties that have befallen speech. More valid inferences await us in this sphere, of which the name for eel yields the most vivid illustration. *Anguilla*, ἄγγελος, Lit. *ungurys*, Sl. *agulja*, show a common term for an animal that appears not to exist in the Black Sea or Caspian or their tributary streams. Here then, at last, we are driven to a corner, and must accept the inference that the European unity was maintained at a point clear of the watersheds of the Euxine and the Caspian, that the ancestors of Greeks and Italians were in touch with ancestors of Slavs and Lithuanians at some point in Central or Western Europe which the evidence forbids us to place far east of Russia's western frontier. This, if tenable, will prove decisive to the whole controversy.

Among water animals attesting an Indo-European unity is the crab (Sk. *karka*, κάρχα, *krebs*, Sl. (*krakŭ*); while European unity appears in the lobster (κάμαρος, [*homarus*], *Hummer*), the seal (σίλαχος, O.N. *sel-r*), perhaps the mus-sel* (*musculus*), and the oyster. The latter (ὄστρεον, *ostrea*, Cel. *oestren*, Sl. *ostrei*), Max Müller imputes to borrowing, claiming Greek for the original: but of the rest it is difficult to credit that they were carried from the Caspian as a common heritage by stocks so widely divergent as the Teutonic and the Greek. On the opposite assumption, that of European origin, their disappearance (except the crab, which has land representatives) was inevitable in the Eastern tongues. In so far they corroborate the evidence supplied by the eel.

* Sk. *ḡankha*, κήγχος, *congius* is of precarious meaning.

Passing from *fauna* to *flora*, we find the beech giving rise to vehement and frequently mistaken controversy. A common name (φηγός, *fagus*, *buocha*, *beech*, and the unproved pers. *būk*) appears throughout the Western group, and is in many of them applied to the beech. The Eastern limit of the tree in Europe appears to be marked by a line drawn roughly from Königsberg past the East Polish frontier to the Crimea. Thus the community of name, assuming its primary association with the beech, becomes of great importance to the secondary issue in showing that the united Aryans, *if of European origin*, came not from Rokitno marshes or Russian steppes, but from some more Westerly district: but seeing that it reappears in Asia Minor, and skirts the South shores of the Caspian, it can contribute nothing to the main issue of European or Asiatic origin. The birch and probably the pine (πίτυς) are genuinely Indo-European, but grow equally in Asia and Europe. The evidence is quite insufficient to show that either the oak (δρῦς, Sk. *dru* = wood, Zd. *dru* = shaft, *tree*), ash (*ornus*, Sk. *arna*) or fir attained (or retained) identification in the Asiatic group, while the common name for withy (*vitis*), and probably too *populus*, by Sk. *pippala*, is descriptive rather than generic. Common to widely severed European stocks, Northern and Southern, are names for the alder (*alnus*), apple, ash, elm (*ulmus*), fir (ἐλάτη), hazel (*corulus*), maple, pine (πύκη), willow (*salix*), yew (*taxus*), and other trees. As with the quadrupeds, so here, the list goes far towards exhausting the common and conspicuous trees, truly indigenous to Europe. Once more is it likely, is it credible, that the unity is due to a hypothetical period of common speech to South or East of the Caspian? It has all the marks of North or Central European derivation. One of the number, πύκη, is of special interest; for while in Greek, Lithuanian, and Old German (*fiuh-ta*, whence *Fichte*), it

represents fir, it is applied in Sanskrit to the betel-nut palm. How naturally this transference of name would come about upon the theory of European origination is obvious.

As for cereals, rye and barley, **Sk.** and **Zd.** *yava* by ζεῖά, **Lit.** *java*, **Celt.** *corna*, and again **Zd.** *gurtak* by κριθή, *hordeum*, *gersta*, are the only Indo-European terms, and the latter is unspecialised to barley in the East. Those who are content with Geiger * to build on the evidence of silence, argue that for the cradle of the speech we must select an area suitable for barley and rye, but not for wheat, and urge North Europe upon this ground. But the conclusion cannot stand upon its own merits, and is more than usually precarious in making no allowance for agricultural as well as climatic conditions. That it accords with this hypothesis is all that may be said. To extend the argument further to the vetch (*ervum* and *cicer*), κάμπος, *malva*, and other Indo-European or European plants would add nothing to our main results. The term for hemp (**A.S.** *hænep*, κάμβαβις) shows complete Indo-European equivalence, but structure and form of correspondence indicate borrowing rather than primitive identity, and its origin is probably exotic.

The evidence of vocabulary taken as a whole declares then for an European origin. Other converging lines of evidence, partly phonological, partly genealogical, strongly support the same theory, and raise it to a high degree of probability. Is it possible to define still more closely the cunabula of the original stock? The hope of doing so depends upon the possibility of co-ordinating the results of linguistic study with the conclusions reached by independent lines of research, pursued by the ethnologist or palæontologist. For any such combination Max Müller emphatically holds that the time is not yet ripe; that for the

* *Development of Human Race*, p. 145-6.

present philologist and anthropologist must work on in isolation, following and determining their separate clues, trusting that at last their separate strands may converge in one. Yet that an eventual synthesis exists between philology and ethnology is certain; that it is discoverable is at least possible; and the time seems to have come to attempt constructive co-ordination. Even a false synthesis has its advantages, for its demolition will pave the way for some better substitute. A working hypothesis serves as a useful criterion, though it can only command assent by the cumulative support of collateral proofs.

There is much to encourage the attempt. On the one hand, there is the established unity of the European brotherhood of languages. Familiarity alone has dulled the sense of wonder at that marvellous phenomenon which a century ago would have been dismissed with incredulous derision. On the other hand, anthropologists and archæologists have been steadily reducing the number of racial varieties, which finally underlie the inextricable medley of European stocks. Few prominent anthropologists of the present day accept more than four or five at the most, and from that small total would subtract one or more as sporadic or obviously imported into some isolated corner, that for the present question may be fairly left out of account. The evidence tends to bring us back at no very distant antiquity to a Europe sparsely peopled by a very few well-differentiated types. This being so, it seems a scarcely insoluble problem to identify with approximate certainty the founders of Indo-European speech — if once a European origin can be established from the internal evidence of language—with one out of the few alternatives open for choice.

In dealing with Penka's theory, to which I now turn, it will be most convenient to adopt his own terminology, and understand by Aryan that blond dolichocephalic North-

European race with whom he endeavours to associate the origination of Indo-European speech. Penka's two principal works, the *Origines Ariacae* and *Die Herkunft der Arier*, offer the most coherent and comprehensive synthesis of racial and linguistic descent yet propounded, and English readers may welcome a compendious statement of conclusions that have not yet been summarised in English books.

Recognising the full intricacy of the anthropological problem, and assuming it certain that somewhere amid Aryan-speaking peoples exists the racial type, which developed the language now common to all—assuming, that is, that Aryan is not Negroid, or Chinese, or Dravidian, or Mongolian by derivation—Penka first asks, What are the existent types? They are seven in all—Indian, Iranian, S. European, Slavic, two Celtic, and the Teutonic, or more specifically, Germano-Scandinavian. The Indian and Iranian do not come in question where *European* ancestry is under consideration, and in no case could they be regarded as the racial progenitors of the Aryan-speaking populations of Europe. The south European type may be ignored, for there is conclusive evidence that the aborigines of Greece and Italy, from whom this type indubitably derives, Etruscans, Iapygians, Pelasgians or otherwise, were not of Aryan speech, but succumbed before the Italic and Hellenic immigrants. Of the two Celtic stocks, one (styled sometimes Milesian) seems associated with Cro-Magnon pedigree, and thus may be discarded. The second, in skull-index, in skin colour, and in general build, shows such marked affinities with the Slavic, that the two may be grouped together. Thus the choice practically narrows itself to the full blond dolichocephalic Teutonic on the one hand, and the shorter darker brachycephalic man of Celto-Slavonic type on the other. Of these two, one, and one only, exhibits traces of itself *everywhere* among the various populations for which philo-

logy or archæology attest Aryan antecedents. It is the last-named, the blue-eyed, fair-haired men of the Germano-Scandinavian family. Everywhere, and throughout all history, it confronts us, and challenges explanation. It appears pictorially on Egyptian monuments two thousand years before Christ. In the pages of the Rig Veda the white skins of the invading and triumphant Aryans are expressly contrasted with the black-skinned vanquished Dasyu. The earliest European historians, from Strabo to Jordanes, one after another describe the type in their portraits of Cimbrians and Teutons, Gauls and Franks, Goths and Visigoths. To-day we find it not only throughout all northern and central Europe and the British Isles, but it arrests the observer's eye among the northern ranges of the Iberian peninsula, in Italian Piedmont, in the mountains of the Peloponnese, in remarkable purity among the Sphakiots of Crete, and, passing to Africa, reveals itself in the hill-country of Algiers* and Morocco, as well as upon the flanks of the Aures and the Atlas range. It crops out freely in the Ossets and other tribes on either side the great Caucasian range; it has its offshoots among the Tartars of the Kirghiz steppes. It reappears among the (Iranian) Galtshas of Persia, in the hill folk of Afghanistan, in the Siah Posch or Kaffirs of the Hindu-Koosh. No other stock can claim the same ubiquity, or *ubiquity of like sporadic kind*.

This then as a first presumption might be regarded as the Aryan stock. It is the one stock which gives unity upon the *physiological* side to Aryan speaking people: is there not a likelihood that from it too derived the philological unity? With a view to determining this it is important to trace its pedigree, history and fortunes, and see how far they favour such a hypothesis.

* On the racial identity of the Algerian Kabyles with the red Celt, see Sayce's emphatic testimony at British Association, 1887.

Alone among races it can claim continuity of European development. The cranial index, which is the chief court of appeal for the identification of prehistoric European races, is dolichocephalic. This carries us back to the quaternary period. Already in the glacial epoch, when all north-eastern Europe, from Mecklenburg to Russia, lay an uninhabitable wilderness of ice, palæolithic man makes his appearance in central Europe, and his cranial index, as attested by the Engis skull,—and, indeed, all skulls securely attributable to the quaternary period—is dolichocephalic. It is to the stern environment of palæolithic man throughout these immemorial ages that Penka would attribute the original differentiation of the blond type. That primitive man was not blond is certain; that he was produced by racial differentiation, not by independent creation, men of science are now agreed; that the long-headed type may be dated back to palæolithic times, and precedes the short-headed in Europe, is the verdict of the evidence as it now stands. That it arose out of the conditions of the quaternary epoch is the natural inference. It is the outcome of the long struggle with an ice-bound world, by which European man was slowly inured to the strength of frame and the hardy resourcefulness of mind which, late in time, has secured to him the leadership of the race.

At the close of the glacial epoch, man, it would seem, like the flora which helped him to eke out subsistence, and the reindeer which was his one animal friend, moved northwards. Such at least is the general inference drawn from the difficult problem known as the Hiatus. Between palæolithic man and neolithic lies a gulf. Man of the quaternary stage, the so-called epoch of Madeleine, is the hunter and the fisherman, without domestic animals, without agriculture, without utensils or the rudest architectural device, as yet unable to grind or polish the split stones with which he

waged his precarious struggle with the mammoth, the ice-bear, and the larger felines, which still ranged the plains and woods of Europe. With man of the neolithic period, the epoch so-called of Robenhausen, all this is changed. There is an advance that means a gap of centuries. In some localities, in parts of France for instance, in much, if not all, of Germany and Switzerland, in Austria, and as some too will have it, in Britain, the gap seems absolute; in others it is imperfectly bridged, as for instance by the Cro-Magnon men. When neolithic man appears, not only his acquisitions and his habits, but he too himself is of a different type. The long-headed skull of the quaternary drift is replaced by the short-headed of neolithic times. Avoiding long discussion on this head, and leaving on one side the Cro-Magnon men, who, whether an original or immigrant stock, seem to have advanced from the south-west to the occupation of France, Belgium, and the British Isles, we discern two new invading types; first, the Iberian, or Ibero-Semitic, moving upwards by way of Spain; and—of far more import for language and for anthropology—the Turanian stock, advancing from Asia and the East, bringing with them the products and arts of Eastern civilisation, and peopling eastern and central Europe with the dark-skinned short-headed type, known as the Melanochroic, which to-day still retains the numerical superiority in Europe.

In one region of Europe, and one alone, there is evidence of a continuous development—in Scandinavia. This country presents the archæologist with problems to which different solutions have been given. From grey antiquity we find there an intermixture of skulls, partly of brachycephalic, partly of dolichocephalic formation. There was a mixed population—the one a small minority, corresponding to the Mongolian type of the modern Ugro-Finnish tribes, the other in all essential characteristics to that of the modern

Swede. The older interpretation assumed that the brachycephalic remains belonged to the first occupants, progenitors of the modern Lapps or Finns. But sounder research concludes that the dolichocephalic population can claim equal antiquity: that looking backward, they are of the same order as the dolichocephalic skulls that belong to the palæolithic age; looking forward, the indubitable representatives of the mediæval Frank and the modern Swede. The theory that a population of earlier Lapps was pushed northward by the advance of the fair whites has not been confirmed; on the contrary, it appears that the Lapps eventually entered Scandinavia from the north, and that between them and southern Scandinavia lay, in these prehistoric times, an impassable frozen barrier of hill, morass, and plain, which yields no evidence of having been occupied or traversed by man at this primitive stage. The second brachycephalic order of skulls (in percentage not exceeding ten per cent.) must represent then a pristine population that died out, or a Mongolian infusion that, as serfs or associates, formed a part of the blond Aryan community. This dolichocephalic race then shows here, through the stone age into the bronze age and the iron, a unique instance of continuous development. The famous kitchen middens found on the south-eastern coasts of the Scandinavian peninsula are the imperishable record of their slow advance. Steenstrup assigns for these massed accumulations of bones and shells and other refuse, periods amounting to 10,000 or 12,000 years, through which advance is barely, if at all, perceptible. Then, whether from impulse communicated from without, or as others (Steenstrup, Engelhardt, Evans, Torrell, Montelius), prefer to think, by self-development resulting from improved conditions, advance begins. The ruder implements mingle with others of superior form and finish, bearing however the stamp of a self-developing transition,

not of mere importation, as elsewhere in Europe, at the hands of a more gifted invading race. The mesolithic passes to the neolithic. The kitchen-midden men become the Dolmen-builders, and the period of advance begins.

This gradual and unbroken continuity of development, nowhere else traceable or admissible, carries with it an important inference. Had there been a great subjugation, or some overwhelming inroad of a superior race capable of supplanting and exterminating every trace of the older language, it is almost certain that here, as elsewhere, it would reveal its traces to the archæologist. But if these were Aryan-speaking men, or if development of language shared the continuity of development in civilisation and the arts, then it is certain that the direction of Aryan migration was not from Russia northwards, but in the converse direction; for language and archæology combine to prove that a higher stage than that of the kitchen-midden period had been attained *before* the great migration and separation of the Aryan stocks.*

Next comes, untraceable in detail whatever theory be adopted, the period of the great expansion, with its development into distinct Aryan stocks and languages. Archæology traces the Dolmen-builders of the North passing southward through France and Spain to Africa, and extending the milestones of their march even to the borders of Egypt, while in language the story of their expansion survives in the distribution of the Aryan tongues. Everywhere it was carried by the blond dolichocephalic race that was cradled on the Baltic shores; everywhere, as we have seen,

* *H. A.*, pp. 34-6. As a side issue, the argument rebuts Pöschke's hasty hypothesis of origination near the Rokitno swamps, between the Dnieper and the Bug. Anthropologically, it is quite untenable to attribute the persistent blond type of the North to local depigmentation observed over so small a district. And the theory finds no independent corroboration from either language or early remains.

in Europe, Africa, or Asia, he has left representatives perpetuating his physical characteristics. The key is found to the sporadic appearance of the type in all regions that betray Aryan influence. The hypothesis of so prolific and exuberant an expansion of a single race from this centre seems startling. Yet there is much to support it. Always, from the very dawn of history, we are faced by the same phenomena of countless hordes of northern men streaming eastward, southward, westward, first vanquishing and then by gradual absorption coalescing with the indigenous population. The multitudinous irruptions of the Cimbrians and Teutons are but historic repetitions of the great prehistoric movements which spread the Aryan tongue and features over the European world. The records of Egypt vouch for the invasion of the country by a great European coalition, with contingents, as it would appear, from Sicily, Italy, and Greece, in the reign of Menephtah I, which falls probably into the fourteenth century B.C. The Galatai of Asia Minor are but one less evanescent sample of myriad precursors, and themselves anticipate the Crusaders of later date. Always the early chroniclers, from Strabo and Tacitus to Ammian, Procopius and Jordanes, trace German or Celt, Lombard or Vandal, Franks or Juts, back to Scandinavia as the hive from which they swarmed. It was the *vagina et officina gentium*, the sheath and factory of nations. Movements are from the North, southward and westward, not *vice versa*. The process still continues. Since the days of Gustavus Adolphus, peaceable forms of expansion have indeed superseded the periodical inundations of armed warriors. But in new channels the incessant stream of emigration still runs on, crossing the Atlantic instead of flooding populous Europe. Always too, as a long chain of evidence shows, it is the Aryan's fate to succumb even in conquering. Only in the Scandinavian north does he retain his pristine

vigour. In Norway, at this present day, the blond type remains universal, corresponding to the Germans and Franks of the earlier Christian centuries. To-day the Norwegians not only retain the old physical characteristics, but exhibit the highest average stature, the most prolific productiveness, the lowest rate of child mortality, the highest average longevity of any European race. The further we recede from Baltic shores, the less stable it becomes. In Denmark, North Germany, and the British Isles, it best maintains itself. Elsewhere it succumbs before the Turanian black-haired, short-headed type of European man. The isolated districts where it survives are habitually high table lands or exposed sea-coasts, which most nearly approximate in climatic condition to that of the Scandinavian peninsula. High altitudes do not *produce*, but can *conserve* the blond type that has found its way there. Its capacity for successful acclimatisation is small; immeasurably inferior, for instance, to that of the Jewish stock. The hundreds of thousands of Northern barbarians who poured into Spain and Italy like a deluge, from the days of the Roman Empire to the close of the Middle Ages, have left there scarcely a trace. In France, the old Frank type is fast yielding to the Melanochroic, and is practically confined to the north. The pictures of old masters shew how far more common, alike in Italy and Germany, was the blond type only four or five centuries ago than it now is. And still the process of retrogression is visibly continuing.

In the light of these impressive facts, a theory, which novelty puts at a disadvantage, grows more credible.

To the alternative hypothesis, namely, that the Aryan language was the property of the Slavo-Celtic stock, the objections are far more formidable; they seem, indeed, insuperable. This melanochroic type appears in Central

Europe in the neolithic, not the quaternary period. It represents a wave of Asiatic immigration comparable to that of the Huns in the fifth century, or the Mongols in the thirteenth. The proof of this rests not only on the evidence of physical conformation, but on the unassailable testimony of Nephrit axes and other implements which Asia only could have furnished. These immigrants brought with them a higher civilisation than that as yet attained by the Northern whites, and in all probability introduced into Europe the various orders of domesticated animals, of which the dog alone appears to have been known to early kitchen-midden men. But it is almost impossible to suppose that they likewise imposed upon them their language. Not only because their racial affinities, so far as that is a trustworthy clue, imply some form of Turanian speech, but for the far more solid reason that this brachycephalic invasion never effected a lodgement in the northern regions occupied by the blond Aryans. On the contrary, whenever and wherever the two types do eventually intermingle, the long skulls appear to denote the conquering, the short, broad skull the subjugated race. Such is the evidence gleaned from the graves, where, as a rule, the remains of chiefs are of the long-headed type. As another significant fact, strongholds become most numerous where the two types are most evenly matched, in Gaul, for instance, in Britain, and in the Dnieper district, plainly attesting the defensive struggle of an indigenous race against a dreaded invader. In the seats of the blond Aryan, and throughout North Germany, cities, strongholds or walled defences were (as Tacitus, in later times, bears witness) unknown. In the Middle Ages it still remained true, far more markedly than is now the case, that throughout Germany and Switzerland and other European countries the blond type was proportionately far more prevalent among the aristocracy,

while the serfs remained predominantly brachycephalic. That a prolific aristocracy of immigrant warriors should have gradually established their own language in vanquished territory is conceivable; that a race of serfs should have linguistically annexed regions to which they never penetrated is an impossibility.

Such then, mainly from the racial side, is the case in favour of Scandinavia and North Germany as the cradle of Aryan speech. It finds speaking corroborations from the linguistic side. The northern cast of the common Indo-European and European vocabulary in respect to *fauna* and *flora*, and the somewhat large infusion of marine names become intelligible. It is said that every single animal, bird, or tree that belongs to the common speech is a native of the Scandinavian peninsula. The bone accumulations show remains of the *Bear, Beaver, Boar, Deer, Dog, Duck, Fox, Goose, Lynx, Mouse, Otter, and Wolf*, to which with some force may be added the *Eagle* and the *Swan*. The cow, goat, horse, and sheep all appear in the neolithic period, to which the development of the mother speech (*Ursprache*) must be assigned, and the civilisation of which is in striking accord with the demands of Indo-European lexicography.

And passing from vocabulary to language-structure, certain phenomena find new and suggestive elucidation. It is well known that Ugro-Finnish dialects, though of the agglutinative order, and classed with the other agglutinative forms of Mongolian speech, show remarkable approximations to the inflectional methods of Aryan in their treatment of declensional and conjugational suffixes. The problem has been a puzzle to philologists, some of whom have actually regarded Finnish as attaining the inflectional stage. As we pass eastwards to the allied Ural-Altaic, Samoyedic, or Turko-Tataric populations these peculiarities disappear.

Alongside of this morphological approximation, there are arresting resemblances in vocabulary, which lie deeper than mere borrowing, and affect pronominal stems, numerals, and primary verb roots. Now anthropology shows an exact coincidence to this state of things. From very early times there must have been a strong infusion of men of the blond type among the Ugro-Finnish population, that extends eastward from Scandinavia. In Finland, the blond type appears side by side with the dark brachycephalic almost as freely as is seen for instance in Scotland or in Wales. As we move eastward the blond strain dwindles, and ere Asia is reached wholly disappears. The testimony of language and of anthropology combine to prove an early and a large infusion of the Scandinavian blonds amid the neighbouring tribes, imprinting a lasting stamp upon the physiognomy alike of feature and of speech. And the contact seems fairly traceable to a period earlier than that of the Aryan dispersion.

The reversed direction of linguistic movement involves an entire reconsideration of established views upon phonology. Within the last ten or fifteen years the phonetic assumptions of Schleicher, Curtius, and inquirers of the same school, have been revolutionised on *internal* evidence of unanswerable force, by the completer researches of Osthoff, Brugmann, Verner, and other workers in the same field. The false views were in many cases due to the assumption, then practically unquestioned, that Sanskrit and Zend represented the primitive phonology more faithfully than the Western languages. Penka claims that the hypothesis of an opposite movement explains much that has hitherto seemed dark. In Zend, and in Sanskrit still more completely, the primitive vowel-gradations have been more irrevocably confused and obliterated than in any of the European languages; *a e o* have been merged into a uniform *a*. The consonantal groups

offer more perplexing problems, and interesting coincidences of treatment. In the guttural series sibilisation of an original *k* and *g* (palatal explosives) to *s* and *z* is found alike in the Letto-Slavonic and the Indo-Iranian groups. Penka sees in this an evidence of these two groups maintaining relation, or else being exposed to like conditions subsequently to the differentiation of groups. It finds a natural explanation in the adoption of Aryan speech by a population, whose phonetic idiosyncrasies naturally produced this modification. It is parallel to the French representation of Latin *c* by the soft *c* or *ç*; and the asserted sibilisation of *k* in loan-words by the Ugro-Finnic tribes is a speaking analogy, which suggests that the change is due throughout to Turanian proclivities. Similarly, in the phenomena known as labialisation of the gutturals, as may be seen in Brugmann's careful classification, the Eastern languages again form with Armenian, Albanian, Lithuanian and Slavonic, a distinct group contrasted with the European orders, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic. The assumption of eastward progress renders natural and intelligible a community of treatment which otherwise baffles explanation.

In the complicated question of the Aspirates, Penka upholds a similar explanation. Philologists know that Greek, Sanskrit, and Iranian constantly exhibit the aspirated tenuis, where the tenuis simple appears in Celtic, Latin, Lithuanian, and Slavic. Curtius and others maintained that the aspirate was a later development imported into the Eastern group. Penka casts in his lot with those who hold that the original language knew only aspirated mutes, and observes that to this day all North-German dialects retain in articulation the aspirated tenuis, which in the current spelling appears as tenuis simple.* He attributes the disappearance

* Saying for instance, *Khind*, *Khunst*. Ujfalvy's contradiction of this, *Berçeau des Aryas*, p. 30, arises from phonological ignorance.

of the aspirate in the Western group to the phonetic habit of the populations Aryanised over the European area. The controversy is far too complicated for examination in these pages, and Brugmann decisively vindicates the unaspirated *tenuis* for the original speech, but upon any showing there remains the salient fact that Greek here groups itself with the Eastern division, a phenomenon which it is extremely hard to reconcile with any theory of Asiatic origin, which inevitably associates Greek with Italic, and exposes it to similar environment long after its separation from Indian and Iranian.

Finally, the series of sound-shiftings comprehended under "Grimm's law," the explanation of which involves such grave difficulties, is thus re-read by light of the new theory. In the Ugro-Finnic tongues neither the aspirated *tenuis* (*ph, kh, th*) nor the aspirated *mediæ* (*bh, gh, dh*) find a place, while the simple *mediæ*, though existent, appear to have been difficult and alien sounds, in origin derivative from their corresponding *tenuis*. This being so, it is intelligible enough that in adopting Aryan speech Turanian populations (like modern Hungarians in borrowing German terms) should have represented Aryan *mediæ* by the corresponding *tenuis*, while the unfamiliar aspirates, *gh, bh, dh*, naturally enough fell to *g, b, d*. The predominance of the Turanian strain supplies the true explanation of the phonetic habitudes of the South-German dialects. The second great sound-shifting, affecting the High German dialects, commenced during the earlier Christian centuries, and passed from the south northwards, representing the ground gradually gained by the Turanian element on the pure German (or Aryan) stock. It was achieved through monastic and other civilising influences, by which the darker white has gradually inoculated and superseded the blond, and in point of sound-change the supersession never became complete, taking most effect

among the Bavarians and the Southern tribes most strongly permeated with a Turanian element, and least where the primitive blond stock experienced least of allophylic infusion.

Lastly, Penka appeals to mythology and legend in support of his hypothesis. In Greek literature he finds clear traces of the pristine northern home, not merely in the *Odyssey* at large, the structure of which Müllenhoff identifies with the German tale of *Orendel*, the historic hero of the Northern Sea, but more specifically still in the conception and legend of *Oceanus*, and in the notice of *Cimmerian* folk—etymologically “the men of darkness,” and in history appearing as the *Cimbri*—“beside the bounds of swift-flowing ocean, shrouded in mist and cloud, and never does the shining sun look down upon them with his rays, neither when he climbs the vault of starry heaven, nor when he turns again from heaven’s height towards earth, but deathly night is spread o’er miserable mortals*”; while the tall long-locked progenitors of the race are reproduced in the doughty *Laistrygones*, “a host past number, like to the giants, not men,” † of whom is written the strange record:—“There shepherd cries to shepherd as he drives home the flock, and he that drives afield answers the call: there, sleep foregone, might a man earn double wage, one for herding the cows, the other for pasturing white-fleeced flocks, so near are the outgoings of the night and of the day.” ‡ Other unconscious obligations of Homer to Northern lore, to the phenomena of icebergs in his description of the isle of *Aeolus*, and to the northern legend of the ferrymen of the dead in his account of the *Phæacians*, would similarly be explained as confused reminiscences rather than as garbled reports gained from Phœnician mariners.

A similar origin may underlie the Persian description of the *Aryas’* land in the first chapter of the *Vendidad*, where

* *Od.* xi. 14–19. † *Od.* x. 119. ‡ *Od.* x. 81–6.

'the winter months are ten, and the months of summer two, and these cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees; and winter falls there, with the worst of its plagues.'

In the essay in which Van den Gheyn undertakes to traverse the arguments of Penka, apart from partial demurrers upon the anthropological side, which Penka himself considers and overrules, there is little to invalidate the cumulative strength of the case which he has made out, and which at present offers the most complete and satisfactory synthesis that exists of problems which are scarcely likely to attain complete historic certitude.

GLIMPSES OF THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE BY THE AID OF PHOTOGRAPHY.

By ISAAC ROBERTS, F.R.A.S., F.G.S.

THE Universe about which I shall endeavour to address you this evening is in the boundless space which surrounds the earth, and consists, as far as our present knowledge extends, of a sun, planets, satellites, comets, stars, and nebulæ. The two latter, the stars and nebulæ, will occupy chiefly our attention this evening, and, in order to justify the title of this address, I shall first briefly glance at the celestial objects which have already been seen, though seen only by a limited number of persons, and then show some of the latest extensions of human vision by the aid of photography.

Let us for a moment look back in time 280 years (1610), when the most learned men were content to know that the earth was the centre of the universe, and the sun and stars subsidiary to it, and, having no optical aids, their eyes would enable them to count some 8000 of the stars, and these, together with the earth, would be to them the extent of the universe as then known; but a change was at hand, for Galileo had invented a telescope, a marvellous instrument, that showed vastly greater numbers of stars, and also, that some of them presented strange appearances. The telescope was only a little one, about the size of this (*shown*), but much inferior in quality. With it he saw the lunar craters, the satellites of Jupiter, the ring of Saturn, the phases of Venus, the spots on the sun, and many other marvels of the sky, which, up to that time, had formed parts of the unseen universe, and were quite unknown previously to mankind. During the centuries that have passed away between the

time when Galileo lived and the present, the developments of the telescope in perfection and in power and size have, as we all know, been very great, and since the time of Sir William Herschell (1780), the improvements have proceeded by leaps and bounds; but as it is not a part of my subject this evening to trace the history of astronomical instruments, I shall limit my references to a few of the very large telescopes which are of recent construction, and then place before you delineated records of some of the revelations concerning the unseen universe which by their aid have been made manifest.

Sir William Herschell was the first to construct a reflecting telescope of the large aperture of four feet, and forty feet focal length. It was completed just one hundred years ago—in 1789, and by skilful and untiring energy in using it till he was upwards of four score years of age, he brought to the knowledge of mankind a vast number of the secrets of the unseen universe. The great Herschell telescope was followed by one still larger, made by the Earl of Rosse between the years 1822 and 1845. The speculum is six feet in diameter and fifty-four feet focal length. (*Shown on the screen and described.*)

Our illustrious townsman, the late William Lassell, constructed a reflecting telescope of four feet aperture and took it to Malta, where he observed with it close double stars, nebulae, planets, and their satellites. (*Photo shown on the screen and described.*) A drawing of it is published in the *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society*, vol. xxxvi.

Mr. Newall at Gateshead has a refracting telescope of twenty-five inches aperture, made by Cooke of York, and it was the first large one of this class that was made up to the year 1870. (*Photo shown on the screen and described.*)

Since 1870 the large telescopes, both of the reflecting and refracting class, have been rapidly multiplied in several

countries; one is erected at Melbourne, another at Nice, and another in Vienna. In America there are several large refractors, the latest and by far the largest of them is at Mount Hamilton in California, and was presented to the nation by the late James Lick. The object glass is thirty-six inches in diameter and forty-six feet focal length. (*Photo shown on the screen and described.*)

All the telescopes to which I have so far referred are constructed for observing celestial objects with the eye directly applied to them, but during the past five years another form of telescope has been constructed for exclusively photographic application. At present, or rather until the end of last year, only two such telescopes of comparatively large size were in existence. One of them, a 18-inch refractor, was made by the Brothers Henry for the Paris observatory, and the other, a 20-inch reflector was made for me by Sir Howard Grubb of Dublin. (*Photo shown on the screen and described.*)

We have now considered with sufficient detail for the present the gigantic and costly instruments that have with utmost ingenuity and perfection been constructed with the object of wresting some of the hidden secrets of the unseen universe, so as to reveal them to us, and thereby increase our knowledge. We will now pass on to examine some of the records concerning the secrets themselves, as they have with the greatest care and labour been presented to us by the several eminent astronomers, who have spent most of their lives in using the instruments for this purpose. The evidence which they have left for us, will best be appreciated and understood if I show you on the screen drawings of some of the objects as they were made by eye observations with the large telescopes, and simultaneously show the same objects as they are now revealed to us by the aid of photography.

Catalogues of stars and nebulae have been made by many

astronomers, both ancient and modern, and the largest modern catalogue was made by Argelander, the great German astronomer, at Bonn, between the years 1852 and 1862. The telescope he used for the work was only about three inches aperture, and by its aid he charted 324,000 stars in the northern hemisphere of the sky, and, as an illustration, we will now project upon the left-hand screen that portion of the sky comprised within a circle of one degree radius with the North Pole as the centre. Within this circle Argelander has, with much labour, charted 38 stars; and upon the right-hand screen we project, for simultaneous comparison, a photograph of the same sky space, showing 1,270 stars which were accurately charted in one and a half hour's time. As another illustration, we will project upon the left-hand screen a portion of the sky in the constellation Cygnus, where Argelander has charted 94 stars, and, for comparison, throw upon the right-hand screen a photograph of the same region, taken with an exposure of only one hour, which shows more than 16,000 stars. It will be apparent to you, even on casual inspection, that the power of registering the positions, numbers, and magnitudes of the stars with accuracy is now in our hands, and we may further assert that it is so for the first time in the history of our race; but great as the advance is in the method of charting the stars by photography, there is another of as great importance in the delineation of nebulae, a class of celestial objects that has hitherto remained a puzzle to all astronomers, notwithstanding the closest scrutiny and study by the aid of the great instruments that have been made to examine them. The nebulae have, by spectrum analysis, been proved to be gaseous—to consist of various gases in a hot glowing state—or else, as Mr. Lockyer has recently suggested, of solid particles of matter colliding against each other in space, with such force that they are pulverized and converted



THE DUMBBELL NEBULA IN VULPECULA.

**From a Photograph taken at Maghull on the 3rd October, 1898,
By ISAAC ROBERTS.**

into a glowing gas, with the result that we are enabled to see them, and to analyse them by the aid of the spectroscope. Laplace (1799) long ago speculated that of such stuff the sun, the stars, and all worlds are made, and the evidence obtained by photography is rapidly accumulating during the past two or three years, which tends to show, like spectrum analysis, that the nebular hypothesis will probably soon be capable of demonstration ; but I am anticipating a little, and must now draw your attention to the nebula that appears on the photograph thrown upon the left-hand screen. It is known as the Dumbbell nebula, in Vulpecula, and for comparison with it, we show upon the right-hand screen a photograph of a drawing of it by the eminent astronomer, Trouvelot, and also a drawing by Lassell. Both drawings have been most carefully made, and are the best delineations of the object that we have, but you can see, by comparing them with the photograph, that important details which are essential to enable us to understand the character of the nebula are not shown. The photograph shows a globular nebula surrounded by a nebulous rounded ring, which gives the globular mass somewhat the appearance of a dumbbell, or an hour glass. Annexed is a copy of the photograph.

Another nebula that has been closely studied by astronomers is the great Orion nebula. Several drawings have been made of it, but the most elaborate is that by Lord Rosse, with the six-foot reflector, which occupied in its preparation "every available hour during seven seasons." On the left hand screen is a photo-copy of Lord Rosse's drawing, and on the right-hand screen a photograph of the nebula, which I took on the 4th February, 1889. There are several points of resemblance between the drawing and the photograph, and our sympathy is strongly drawn to the patient delineators who, during seven seasons of the winter months, stood on exposed platforms, without cover or shelter, to watch and

draw again and again the multitudinous and difficult details and fine shadings that are shown on the drawing, but when the result is compared with the photograph, which was taken with an exposure of only three and a half hours, we are compelled to call the work of the delineators crude and unsatisfactory, not through want of skill on their part, but on account of the great difficulties of seeing and drawing such faint misty matter.

Annexed is a copy of the photograph.

The group of stars known as the Pleiades has been scrutinised by all the astronomers possessing large telescopes, but only in a vague, disputable manner, has it been by some asserted, and denied by others, that they saw some nebulosity amongst the group, though the Merope nebula is easily seen. Prof. Weiss, of Vienna, who observes with the 27-in. Grubb refractor, prepared a drawing of what he saw, or thought he saw, as *nebulæ*, and on the left-hand screen is shown a photo-copy of his drawing. On the right-hand screen is also shown a photograph of the Pleiades, which I took on the 8th December, 1888, with an exposure of four hours, and it shows the same extent of nebulosity as that which my photograph taken in December, 1886, proved for the first time to be in this group of stars. There is no resemblance traceable between the drawing and the photograph, though Prof. Weiss is one of the most competent and careful of observers.

Annexed is a copy of the photograph.

One of the best known of the *nebulæ* is the Great Nebula in Andromeda, which on a clear night appears to the naked eye as a small patch of diffused faint light. Many drawings of it have been made, but that by Trouvelot is the best of them, a photo-copy of which is shown on the left hand screen, and, for comparison with it, a photograph of the nebula which I took on the 29th December, 1888, with



THE GREAT NEBULA IN ORION.

**From a Photograph taken at Maghull on the 4th February, 1889, .
By ISAAC ROBERTS.**



NEBULÆ IN THE PLEIADES.

**From a Photograph taken at Maghull on the 8th December, 1888,
By ISAAC ROBERTS.**





THE GREAT NEBULA IN ANDROMEDA.

**From a Photograph taken at Maghull on the 29th December, 1888,
By ISAAC ROBERTS.**

an exposure of four hours. The drawing shows an irregular extension of nebulosity, with a condensation in the middle, and two dark streaks pointing in a direction nearly parallel with the greatest elongation, both streaks beginning and ending abruptly. The photograph, on the contrary, gives a very different interpretation, for it shows the nebula to be a symmetrical oval one, having rings somewhat resembling those of Saturn, and with a dense central condensation. The dark streaks are seen to be divisions between the rings, which are on a scale so vast that the mind is unable to realise either their size or the distance of the nebula from the earth.

Annexed is a photograph of the nebula.

You can now, I trust, form some idea, though it may be vague, of the stellar universe, and probably the widening out of our conception of its vastness will have impressed you most powerfully. Three centuries ago men believed the universe to consist of some three thousand small bodies called stars, and that they were subsidiary to the earth. One century ago, nay, even thirty years ago, few astronomers would have ventured to teach that there were more than twenty millions of stars in existence, and the most eminent astronomers of the present day would, so recently as four years ago, not feel themselves justified in asserting that the great telescopes could show more than fifty millions; but now that the photographs, some of which you have just seen, show more than sixteen thousand stars on the small space of four square degrees of sky, a space that would be covered by a sixpenny piece held out at arm's length from the eye, it is easy to calculate and then to infer with considerable confidence that there are at least one hundred and seventy millions of stars, and when we have brought ourselves to realise this probability, fortified as it is by photography, that the longer we expose a prepared plate to a clear sky, even

where not one star is visible to eyesight, the greater is the number of stars imprinted upon it, then, what is more natural than the inference that the stars are strewn over the infinite space as thickly crowded as if we were looking at a cloud of dust, of which the particles are innumerable. We know there is a limit to the number of particles in the dust cloud, but who shall say that there is a limit to the stellar universe?

What are the myriads of stars we now know to exist? They are not worlds, for they are intensely hot masses, like the sun, and are at distances so great that the nearest to us yet found amongst them is 225,000 times greater than the distance of the earth from the sun. Each one of them may be larger than the sun, and each one may be the centre and governor of a system of planets or worlds, and each world may be the colony of some forms of life, but these are, at present, speculations, and man may never be able to demonstrate the truth of them; but with our ever-increasing powers of observation, and ability to obtain and preserve for future correlation, accurate records of the positions and magnitudes of some millions of the stars, our successors in the near future will be able to deduce from them the laws that govern the movements of the sun and the stars, for they are alike, every one of them, in rapid motion, so as ultimately to reduce what now appears to us like chaos to such order that the course in space of the star-suns, as well as our solar system, will be known, and the astronomers of the future will watch each star-sun, leading his train of planets round about their gigantic orbits, where one revolution may occupy thousands, or even millions, of years in its accomplishment, with the clearness that we can now watch the revolution of the microscopic speck of dust man proudly calls the Earth in 365 days. The nebulae also may be watched from the gaseous state to the state of solidification, and new worlds

be seen to be evolved from material air. All these and more are now conceived to be possibilities of the future, though countless years may elapse before man can demonstrate them; but, if Hipparcus, in the year 128 B.C., had been able to photograph the sky as we now can do, what marvels and mysteries should we now be able to unravel; but vain is regret, our work is to make the records in the present, so that our successors, on or before the year A.D. 3889, will be in possession of some of the grand secrets which we are only permitted to enjoy in anticipation and in hope.

**THE CHANGES OF DYNASTY, AND OF NATIONAL,
POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT IN
FRANCE, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FRENCH
COINAGE FROM 500 B.C. TO THE PRESENT
TIME.**

By J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D., LOND.

THE numerous, rapid, and important changes that have been made in the French coinage, both in its designs and its legends, during the last hundred years (1789 to 1889) first suggested the idea embodied in the title of the following paper—a theme which has not apparently been developed by other numismatists. This circumstance is not surprising, for in looking at the French coinage previous to 1789, one of its most striking, if not actually the most striking, of its features is its intense conservatism—the same legends and the same devices having been preserved for hundreds of years in succession almost without change.

In looking backward, however, through the whole period of French coinage, changes of interest may be traced in connection with the various changes of dynasty in that country, dating back from the time of the Greek colonies on the Mediterranean coast 500 years B.C.; and by the study of these ancient changes the interest and importance of the modern ones can be more fully appreciated. It will be necessary therefore to take a brief survey of the ancient as well as of the modern coinages, though the earlier ones exhibit nothing of the striking features which succeed each other so rapidly during the last hundred years.

GREEK COLONIAL OR GAULISH PERIOD, 500 B.C. TO 50

The first French coins—termed Gaulish—are those which have been found in the old Greek colonies at Marseilles, and on the Mediterranean. These are stamped by the usual characteristics of Greek coins, viz., the effigy or the emblem of a Greek divinity, and the Greek letters in which the name of the city is inscribed—as ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΗΤΩΝ for Marseilles. But as Gaul gradually came under the dominion of the Romans, the Greek divine emblem disappeared, and the head of a Roman emperor takes its place, while the Greek are replaced by Roman letters—NEM. COL. (colony of Nismes), or by IMP. CAESAR, etc. The Greek coinage lasted from about 500 B.C. to 50 B.C., after which the Roman coinage prevailed until its power was eventually superseded by Clovis and his Franks about A.D. 500.

MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY, 500 TO 741 A.D.

The early Frankish dynasty, founded by Clovis under the title of the “Merovingian Kings,” continued for about three hundred and fifty years, and their coinage has many interesting characteristics. It is distinguished by being almost entirely golden,* even in that semi-barbarous period, and in almost every instance the obverse is stamped with the effigy of the sovereign, whose name is generally indicated by Roman letters encircling it, but it *never contains the title of King*. The characterising kingly feature present upon most

* The probable explanation of this almost exclusively golden money is that the Merovingians immediately followed the Romans, who left abundant silver and bronze money, and a moderate amount of gold was, therefore, that was required in addition. But during the 250 years of the Merovingian Dynasty the country had become impoverished by continual warfare and diminished trade, and by the time of Charlemagne (800) it could no longer support a golden currency, and silver was exclusively used until the time of Louis IX (1226), who again introduced a golden coinage.

of the coins is the long curling hair hanging down the neck, which gave to the kings of this dynasty the name of "Rois



SIGVCTIOFI.

Chevelures," or the "long haired kings," the privilege of wearing the hair long being at that time limited to the royal race.

CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY, 741-987 A.D.

The Merovingian dynasty terminated in 741 by the accession of Pepin, the founder of the Carlovingian race, and the coinage then underwent a remarkable change. Gold almost entirely disappeared, and was succeeded by a silver coinage; and while nearly every Merovingian coin exhibited the bust of the king, scarcely one of the Carlovingian coins has such an effigy upon it.

The king's head is replaced by a cross of such dimensions as to be the most striking feature, and the name of the king is given in strongly defined and easily legible Roman letters, or in monograms of a curious and complicated character which were almost universal favourites, of which the following example is a good illustration.



For explanation see p. 308.

These changes in the features of the coinage are eminently characteristic of Charlemagne himself, for in addition to, and in the midst of his unceasing wars, he was devoted to the spread of the Christian faith, and to the pro-

motion of education and mental culture. He is described as having an unusually fine personal appearance, but as being indifferent about his dress and outward adornments. His first important war after his accession was undertaken against the Pagan Saxons, not only for the purpose of subduing them, but also of compelling them to adopt Christianity. He surrounded himself with learned men, and established various seats of education, and his biographer Eginhart relates that he made persevering endeavours to learn to write, though with very limited success.

It is interesting to observe how each of these features of his character is impressed upon his coinage. His Father, Pepin "the Little" (*le Bref*), who had nothing to be proud of in his personal appearance, was a warrior pure and simple, and his coinage reflected his character. It is extremely scarce, and is of the rudest description, bearing upon its face



no effigy, but simply R.P., Rex Pepinus—*King Pepin*. His prowess and dominions, so well known at the time, were his sufficient monument. Charlemagne, like his father, impressed his individuality upon his coinage. His absence of personal vanity and indifference about outward adornment finds its expression in the absence of his effigy on his coins.* His zeal for the spread of Christianity, such as he and his times knew it, is shown by the cross and other Christian emblems which are such a marked feature of the coinage of his dynasty, and his persevering but ineffectual endeavours to master continuous writing, probably originated the monogram as his form of signature, K.R.L.S., "Charles—

* There is no known French coin bearing Charlemagne's effigy, but there are a few *extremely rare* Italian ones which have it.

his mark," which the art and literature he so encouraged gradually rendered more and more elaborate, until some of these monograms are indeed complicated artistic designs.

After having thus, according to his lights, advanced religion, softened the roughness and lawlessness of his time by combining into one law-pervading kingdom so many contending people and elements, promoted art and learning to the utmost of his power, and stamped his character upon the coinage for nearly five hundred years to come, this great monarch closed his life with the words "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*" (*Into thy hands I commend my spirit*), leaving a noble example that may be followed with advantage in many respects even in these more "enlightened" days of which we are so wont to make our boast.

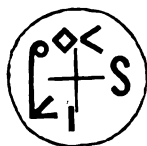
In nearly every instance this dynasty inscribed Rex upon the coins, and CARLVS REX + on one of Charlemagne's coins is merely the representation of all that succeeded him. In addition, however, to the prominent Christian symbol of the cross, we meet very early in this dynasty with the letters D. N. Rex, Domini Nomine Rex, In the name of the Lord, king; and a little later on we meet with D. G., or more fully still, with Gratia Di Rex on the coins of Charles the Bold, A.D. 868—an ascription of the throne to Divine Providence which thus appears on the French coinage five hundred years before this religious expression is to be found on the English money. One form of this ascription occurs in the French coinage of this period which is never present on the English coins. The mediæval period of French history was far more turbulent, and the reign of the kings, even after their accession, was cut short much more frequently than in our own history, and of the many troubled periods of*

* It was not until the reign of Edward III, 1340, that D.G. was placed on the English coins.

the time, that of Louis le Begue, or the Stammerer, A.D. 877, was one of the most troubled.



Monogram



explained.

LOV(U)IS.

The inscription on his coinage is *MISERICORDIA D'I REX*, *King by the Mercy or Pity of God*, which sounds sadly in accordance with his troubled accession to the throne. His reign was short, only two years, and more than usually troubled, even in those stormy times, for before he occupied the throne of France he had lost Italy, Lorraine, Brittany, and Gascony, which had belonged to his father, and he was obliged, apparently in an exceptionally marked manner, to acknowledge before the prelates and nobles of France that he only held the throne by election:—"I, Louis, appointed king by the mercy of the Lord our God, and by the election of the people, do promise the people that I will keep the laws and statutes" (*Michelet's History of France*, vol. i, p. 102), and in accordance with this declaration he inscribed upon his coinage, "King by the Mercy of God," not like his forefathers as being unquestionably king "by the Grace of God."

THE CAPETAN DYNASTY, 987-1848.

The Carolingian dynasty terminated A.D. 987, by the accession of Hugh Capêt, but the change of dynasty is marked by no immediate striking change in the coinage. Scarcely one of the Carolingian kings placed his effigy on his coins, and Hugh Capêt himself did not stamp either his name or his face upon his; and his successors for about a hundred and twenty years simply recorded their names, and

retained the emblem of the Cross, as in the previous dynasty.*

At this date the English coinage differs materially from the French in the title ascribed to the king. The Saxon kings, without exception, styled themselves Anglorum Rex—King of the Angles—the people—not Angliæ Rex, King of England; and William the Conqueror, although conqueror in the fullest sense, and thereby the Feudal monarch of the country, still adopted the title of Anglorum Rex, perhaps to humour the people by retaining the title to which they had been accustomed in their Saxon kings. None, however, of his successors followed his example, and Angliæ Rex—King of England—has been the unchanging title ever since. But in France, although the Feudal system was even more rigorously imposed than in England, even Louis XI styled himself only Francorum Rex, and Francis I, one of the most brilliant and noted of the French Sovereigns, still only assumed the title of Francorum Rex, which continued upon the coinage until the time of Henry IV of Navarre. He was Lord of Bearn and King of Navarre by inheritance and when he came to the throne of France, although his title was partly hereditary and partly elective, it was still in some degree due to conquest; yet even he inscribed upon his coinage Francorum et Navarræ Rex—King of the French people, and of the country of Navarre.

So the title continued until the reign of Louis XIV, who styled himself upon his 5-sol. piece, in 1705, "Ludovicus Magnus Rex," *Louis*, "*the great king*," which title he was,

* Louis IX, Saint Louis (1226-1270) introduced a gold coinage into France for the first time for about five hundred years, and Louis XI (1498-1515) placed his effigy upon his coins, an emblem of royalty which had been absent from the French coinage for nearly seven hundred years. The coins were therefore called "*testons*" (from *teste*, *tête*, head). Henry VII of England, about the same time, placed his *portraits* upon his coins, but there had been a conventional king's head upon all the English coinage from the time of the Saxons, long before the Norman Conquest.

however, apparently willing to fortify by the addition on the reverse of "Domine adjuva nos," and in 1710 he inscribed upon his 6-denier piece "Roy de France et de Nav.," this being the first time in which the kingship of the *country* was claimed by a French monarch, and then apparently upon his own authority alone. But who would venture to dispute with "the great king" any claim that he chose to make? And so the title became established.

Louis XV made no changes except the number XV for XIV, and Louis XVI adopted the coinage of his predecessors without alteration until 1789. But in that year he became practically the prisoner of the National Convention, which dictated a new coinage with the *title* changed in a significant manner. Although his name and effigy still remained, "By the Grace of God," as his title to the throne, was removed,* and he was reduced from the rank of "Rex Franciæ" to that of "Roi des Francois," and subsequent events, both in France and elsewhere, show how much importance was attached to the change. It was accompanied by the further change of legend around the edge of the coins from "God save the King" to "the Nation, Law, and the King." When Napoleon came to the Imperial power, he never described himself as "Empereur de la France," but only as "Napoleon, Empereur," nor did he ever claim on his coins to be Emperor D.G., or "by the grace of God." His nephew, however, in one single instance, viz., in a 5-franc pattern coinage in 1858, as soon as possible after his elevation to the position of Emperor, did lay claim to this title derived

* It will be in the recollection of some persons still living that the omission of the letters D.G. from the first florin of Queen Victoria, nicknamed in consequence "the Godless florin," produced such a storm of indignation against the ministry of the day which had issued it, as seriously impaired its credit with the nation, and contributed not a little to its downfall, which occurred shortly afterwards.—See Paper on "Some Curiosities of English Coinage," *Proceed. Liverpool Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, 1887-8, pp. 333, 334.

from God (for he always appeared to consider himself the child of Destiny in a peculiar degree), and upon this 5-franc piece was inscribed "Napoleon III, par la grace de Dieu et la Volonté Nationale, Empereur des Francais," but the coin was never issued as currency, and the inscription has therefore no official authority.

Both Napoleons did adopt one of the strictly monarchical forms of title, for while both of them placed their family name of Bonaparte upon their first coinages, viz., "Bonaparte, Premier Consul," 1799, and "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte" while simply President of the French Republic in 1852, they both discarded the surname on becoming Emperor, and by adopting only the Christian name, "Napoleon, Empereur," and "Napoleon III, Empereur," endeavoured so far to associate themselves with the order of kings as to imitate in this respect the Louis-s, and Henrys, and Philips of France, and the Williams, and Edwards, and Georges of England, etc.

On Napoleon's final deposition in 1815, and the restoration of the old Bourbon dynasty, Louis XVIII immediately restored the title of Roi de France, and Charles X, also a Bourbon, who succeeded him retained the title. But when he lost the throne in the revolution of 1830, Louis Philippe, an Orleanist, was elected to succeed him, and his title was again limited to Roi des Francais. Louis Napoleon, in the period of his Empire in 1858, was "Napoleon III, Empereur des Francais," but in his later issues he dropped the "des Francais" and styled himself simply "Napoleon III, Empereur."

To Englishmen, accustomed to the unchallenged title of King of England throughout the whole period of about eight hundred years since the Norman Conquest, the difference between the two titles does not, at first sight, appear very important, but the controversy connected with the

title of "*Deutscher Kaiser*," "*German Emperor*," not "Emperor of Germany," bestowed upon the late Kaiser William, shows that the difference was held to be one of important principle, not only in France, but in Germany also. The Russian title of "Emperor of all the Russias," is in accordance with the difference in national thought respecting the Czar of *Russia* and the *German Kaiser*, who has never either possessed or claimed the despotic authority of the Muscovite rulers. The title "Emperor of Germany" is not unfrequently employed, not only in popular conversation, but even in newspapers and works of leading rank,* but it has never been possessed by even the greatest of the German emperors, and Charles the Fifth, who takes rank as one of the greatest, if not the greatest of their emperors since the time of Charlemagne, was never styled Emperor of Germany upon his coinage. On one of them he is inscribed—*Carolus V Romanorum Imperator Semper Augustus*—and in another, in abbreviated form, *Carolus D. G. Rom. Imp. Hisp. Rex—Dux. Burg. Z (et) Brab.* But the title *German Emperor*, not *Germaniæ* *Imperator*, Emperor of Germany, is unmistakably shown in a thaler of 1546, which is inscribed "*Victoria Invictiss: CAROLI V Imperatoris Germanici Semper Aug:*

Whilst the position of German Emperor was still regarded as belonging by hereditary right to the Hapsburg dynasty, the title of the reigning monarch was "Emperor of the Romans—always Augustus," but never Emperor of Germany. On the coinage of 1788 is inscribed *Josephus II*,

* By an Article of the Imperial Constitution "The King of Prussia shall *ex-officio* be President of the Confederation, and bear the title of German Emperor" (*Deutscher Kaiser*). This title was adopted to meet the hereditary rights of the other German Sovereigns. The King of Prussia was invested by his Brother Kings with certain executive functions, and especially with the command of all the German forces, not as their superior, but as *primus inter pares*, and his title, as inscribed upon his first coinage as Emperor, in 1870 is "*Wilhelm—Deutscher Kaiser—König von Preussen.*" *William—German Emperor—King of Prussia.*

D.G.R.I.S.A. Germ. Hung. Bo. Rex.—Arch. Austriæ, D. Burg. Loth., M.D., Het. 1788—which means “Joseph II,” D.G. Romanorum Imperator Semper Augustus,—Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Rex.—Archdux Austriæ—Dux Burgundiae—Lotharingiæ (Lorraine) Magnus Dux Hereditarius. (*Rex but not Imperator Germaniæ.*)

BRAZIL.

There is no more singular form of an Emperor's title than that of the Emperor of Brazil. PETRUS II., D.G., CONST. IMP. ET PERP. BRAS. DEF. (*Peter II., D.G., Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil*), and its history is interesting.

Terrified by the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon in 1807, Dom John VI, “Lord of Brazil” (*Dominus Brasilæ*), who was at that time Regent of Portugal in consequence of the queen's mental imbecility, left Lisbon in an English man-of-war, and sailed to Brazil for safety. He was warmly welcomed there, and in 1815 promulgated a decree changing the title from “*Dominus*” to “*Rex Brasilæ*.” His mother died the following year, and he became “*Rex Portugallæ Algarbiæ et Brasilæ*.” But his subsequent conduct alienated the Brazilians, and Napoleon being no longer a power, he returned to Lisbon in 1821, leaving his son, Dom Pedro, as Viceroy in Brazil.

It soon became evident that Brazil would no longer remain a mere dependency of Portugal, and Pedro was urged on all hands—by the Provincial Governments and by the soldiery—to head the movement for independence, and allow himself to be proclaimed sovereign. He decided at last (apparently with the approbation of his father from Lisbon) to assume the headship himself, which he did on the 7th September, 1822, the Town Council of the capital having already declared him “Defender of the Empire” during his

absence in another part of the country. On the 24th March, 1824, he took the oath to the Constitution, and on the 29th of August, 1825, he was acknowledged by Portugal as "Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil," and the independence of the country was complete.

His affection for the country, and his realization of the requirements of the times, induced him, *proprio motu*, to propose a Constitution which was framed with singular wisdom, and has resulted in almost unexampled tranquillity and prosperity in that country. In the selection of the title of "Emperor" of Brazil instead of "King," he was influenced by the magnitude of the country over which he would rule. Europe is estimated to contain about three million square miles, and Brazil contains about two millions and a half. It seemed, therefore, that the title of "kingdom" was inapplicable to such an extent of country, and that "empire" was the only appropriate designation. Dom Pedro therefore became "Emperor," and as he had himself proposed the Constitution, he became "Constitutional Emperor." The title already bestowed by the Capital of "Defender of the Empire" was retained; and as by the Constitution the throne was made hereditary, he became "Perpetual Defender," on the ancient principle that—"The king is dead, long live the king."

Thus this remarkable title grew up, and long may the Empire of Brazil flourish under such wise rule as that of the present monarch—Petrus II. D.G. Const. Imp. et Perp. Bras. Def.

But to return to the changes in the French coinage during the lifetime of Louis XVI. Not only was his title changed by the Convention, but the monarchical emblem of the *Fleur-de-Lys*, surmounted by the crown, was removed, and also the encircling legend *Benedictum Sit Nomen Domini*. Both of these had been present without interrup-

tion upon the French coinage from the time of Saint Louis (Louis IX A.D. 1226), and so pre-eminently high did the *Fleur-de-Lys* stand in the monarchical estimation, that Louis XIV inscribed upon one of his coins (a Lit d'argent) the legend to surround the flowers "*Domine Elegisti Liliū Tibi,*" (*O Lord thou hast chosen the lily for thyself*). Napoleon made no claim to be a descendant of the past kingly race or a representative of the kingly traditions, and the *Fleur-de-Lys* never appears on his coinage, but it was again assumed on the accession of Louis XVIII, and by his successor Charles X. When, however, Louis Philippe became king by election, the national sentiment would no longer sanction its retention, and the *Fleur-de-Lys* finally disappeared from the French coinage, after having held its place there for above 550 years.

Not only, however, was the royal emblem removed from the coinage before the execution of Louis XVI, but it was replaced by a revolutionary emblem of a most pronounced character. A winged figure—to symbolize it is hard to say what principle or belief still entertained at that time—is introduced inscribing upon a large tablet the word "*Constitution,*" encircled by the legend "*Regne de Loi.*" In another coin "*Les hommes sont Egaux devant la Loi*" is the inscription upon the tablet, and "*Liberté—Egalité*" is inscribed above it. In the year of the king's execution a new coin was issued, upon the obverse of which is inscribed "*Republique Francaise*" and the reverse has a pair of balanced scales with the same motto, indicative of this new principle in French national life, "*Liberté—Egalité,*" and the Gallic Cock also is introduced for the first time upon the coinage.*

* "*The Cock was introduced on the assumption, since then disputed, that it was the symbol of the ancient Gauls, who, however, are never recorded as having carried it on their banners, but the most positive documents tend to establish that it was the Franks—thirteen centuries after—*

But now (1793) the king is dead, and the Revolutionary Republic is symbolized for the first time upon some of the money by a figure of Minerva crowned, if we may so express



it, with the Cap of Liberty. The inscription is "Republique Francaise," and upon the obverse of the large silver coins then issued was placed another of the emblematical designs of Dupre's,* consisting of three figures grouped together—one female figure indicating Liberty by her Cap of Liberty; another female figure indicating "Equality" by the equilateral triangle in her hand; and both sustained by the emblem of "Strength," in the form of Hercules, between them, clothed with his Nemœan lion's skin.

The origin of the Cap of Liberty is ancient and interesting. We have no information as to the material of which the so-called hats worn by Shadrach and his princely companions in Babylon were made, but about that time the art of making felt was known among the nations around the Mediterranean, and it was employed so habitually for making head-coverings in Phrygia, in which Troy was situated, that the name "Phrygian Cap" (or "Pileus" as it was afterwards called by the Romans) has become permanently associated

wards,—who originated the Gallic Cock."—Barthelemy, *Nouveau Man. Numis., du Moyen Age*, p. 68. When Napoleon changed "Republique Francaise" into "Empire Francais" on the 5-franc piece, he removed the Cock as well as the name of "Republic," but it has appeared again upon the Republican gold 20-franc piece of 1887, so that it is evidently still in favour as a Republican emblem rather than the Imperial Eagle which Napoleon III introduced upon his coinage.

* Dupré was an eminent designer and medallist at that time.

with them. There are numerous ancient sculptures in which these caps are represented of various shapes. Some were closely fitting skull caps, but others are of a conical form, almost identical with the conical caps worn by the clowns at a circus. The felt was so soft that the cap did not retain its conical figure when upon the head, but the summit generally fell forward. In those days slaves were not provided with any such luxury as a head-covering, and it was the custom among the Romans, when about to free a slave, to shave his head, and then place upon it the ordinary cap of the period, which was this "Phrygian cap." It thus became so completely the badge of freedom that the phrase "*servos ad pileum vocare*" to call the slaves to the *Pileus* (or cap) was in common use as meaning to call the slaves to take up arms when wanted, the promise of future liberty as the reward being conveyed in the allusion to the cap. About the time of the Revolution the French ran wild in favour of classical or Roman costumes and manners, and the caricatures of the day exhibit French men and matrons wearing the toga and other garments permitted by the fashion, but which would scarcely have passed muster as decent or respectable at another time. At that period it was that the Revolution broke out, and the Roman *Pileus*—the Phrygian cap—was very naturally adopted as the emblem of the coming freedom under the name of the Cap of Liberty.

Soon, however, after the death of the king, France was beset by enemies on every side, while it was also torn by internal dissension, and now the "Directory" Government issued a new 5-franc piece, bearing the inscription "*Union et Force*" (*Union and Strength*), as a call to the nation to lay aside its differences whatever they were, old remaining monarchical principles or increasing revolutionary divergencies, and to unite to drive back the enemies of the nation. To this call the nation responded—the man arose who was

to carry out the national desires—and the next coinage shows the face of Napoleon, surrounded by the inscription “Napoleon Bonaparte—Premier Consul” on the obverse; with “Republique Francaise” on the reverse. Events, however, marched very rapidly, and we next find the title “Napoleon Empereur” on the face of the coin. But the Republican sentiment was not yet dead in the nation, and “Napoleon Empereur” on the obverse is associated with the strange accompaniment of “Republique Francaise” on the reverse. This companionship, however, did not last long, and in the succeeding coinage “Napoleon Empereur” and “Empire Francais” form the natural complement one of the other.

On the fall of Napoleon, Louis XVIII, as already mentioned, restored the title “King of France,” and the other monarchical characteristics upon the coinage. And the next change in the coinage came with the Revolution of 1830, when Louis Philippe was elected King of the *French*—*Roi des Francais*,—and the *Fleur-de-Lys* was again expunged. He reigned until 1848, when France again became a Republic. During its short republican life—from 1848 to 1851—“Republique Francaise,”—the name of the money value of the coin—and “Louis Napoleon Bonaparte—President” were the only noticeable features of the coinage, except one which is striking as an artistic design, as well as an indication of the change in national feeling from the severity of the first Revolution to the luxury and display of the one under notice. Dupre’s old emblematic representation of the Republic as a grave and dignified Minerva, crowned with the cap of Liberty, was replaced by a new head, of which Oudine was the designer. The emblem of Liberty—the cap—has totally disappeared,* and a female head, the characteristics of

* By an Act of the French Legislature, this emblem was condemned and forbidden. Barthelemy, *Nou. Man. Numis.*, p. 68.

which are beautiful and sensuous rather than classically severe, has superseded the Minerva. The original of the new symbolical representation of the Republic was said to be a popular *prima donna* of the period, and it is difficult from the characteristics of the head and face not to believe that this story is the true one.*

Since the fall of Napoleon in 1870, there have been no changes beyond the substitution again of "*Republique Francaise*" for "*Empire Francais*," and of the head of this new Republican symbol for that of Louis Napoleon, thus indicating the termination of the Napoleonic dynasty. The coinage since 1870 has been devoid of all interest except the retention of the legend "*Dieu protège la France*" around the edge, and such as may be connected with it simply as a commercial medium of exchange.

THE LEGENDS ON THE FRENCH COINAGE.

One portion of the French coinage which bears in an especial degree upon the subject of this Paper, as "*illustrating the changes of dynasty, or of religious or national sentiment in France*," consists of the Legends, when that term is employed in the sense of an inscription, conveying some sentiment. The very early presence of the religious expressions, *Domini Nomine*, *Gratia Dei*, or *Misericordia Dei Rex*, has been already dwelt upon, but with the accession of Saint Louis (Louis IX, A.D. 1226) a new feature appears in the coinage by the introduction of lengthy legends of a deeply religious character, some of which continued upon the coinage for above five hundred

* The Britannia upon the English copper money is a faithful copy of the copper coin issued by Antoninus Pius, when Roman commander in Britain, except that the goddess Minerva is the Britannia in his coin, and it is said that Lady Frances Stuart, a noted beauty at the time of Charles II, by whom the copper coinage of England was first issued, was the original from whom Charles's Britannia was designed.

years, until the Revolution swept them away along with so many other of the old national landmarks. "BENEDICTUM SIT NOMEN DOMINI NOSTRI DEI IHV XPI," "*Blessed be the name of the Lord our God, Jesus Christ,*" was introduced by Saint Louis, and retained its place, in a more or less abbreviated form, to the era of Louis XVI, in 1785, a period of above five hundred and sixty years. "XPC (CHRISTUS) VINCIT, XPC REGNAT, XPC IMPERAT," "*Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands,*" was another of his legends* which also remained until the time of Louis XVI, and both were adopted by our own Edward III, and by the Black Prince, when coining money as sovereigns of Aquitaine. The third of his legends, "AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI MISERERE NOBIS," "*O Lamb of God, which takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,*" was also adopted by Edward III, in 1346, in his Aquitaine coinage, and by the Black Prince; but beyond that date it does not appear in the French or Anglo-French coinage.

These legends, originated upon the French coinage by Saint Louis, are very naturally associated with his character and his history. He was of an eminently religious disposition, and having made a vow to go on a crusade if he should recover from a dangerous illness, he left France for the Holy Land when about twenty-two years of age. Full of reverence, and hopeful as to the future of his pious expedition, he inscribed on his coinage, "Benedictum sit nomen Domini," etc., and, in accordance with all that we know of his character, he ascribed his anticipated victories to Divine help, and placed upon other of his coins "Christ conquers—Christ reigns—Christ commands." But disappointment and sorrow dogged his steps. His nobles were

* This legend was first adopted, not as a legend but as a battle cry, by the soldiers of Philippe Augustus, Louis's grandfather, in a battle against the Saracens, in 1190.

licentious and disobedient; sickness thinned his troops and prostrated himself; the Turks gained the advantage and took him prisoner; and after six years he returned to France unsuccessful and disappointed. What more natural memento to be inscribed upon his coins by such a man, after such trials, than "*Agnus Dei—miserere nobis*" (*O Lamb of God—have mercy upon us.*)

The next legend that I have been able to discover does not occur until after the long interval of above two hundred and fifty years, when Louis XII, surnamed "*the father of his people*," "*LE PERE DU PEUPLE*" (1498–1515), introduced the new inscription, "*DEUS IN ADJUTOREM MEUM INTENDE*,"* "*O God, hasten to my help*," which was repeated by his son, Francis I in a single coinage, and then disappeared.

It is again interesting to trace the connection between this legend, new to the French coinage, and the circumstances of the king's accession to the throne. He had been brought up as a youth having some prospect of succession to the throne by his jealous and suspicious uncle, Louis XI, in a galling condition of espionage and subjection, and he had also been looked upon with disfavour by Charles VIII, who succeeded Louis. France was barely recovering from the wars which had ended in the expulsion of the English by Joan of Arc, and Louis's earnest desire was to promote the happiness of his people. He had seen the condition of the country under the oppressive rule of Louis XI, and under the loveable but feeble character of Charles VIII, and his prayer for help inscribed upon his coinage after his accession "*Deus in adiutorem meum intende*" (*O God make haste to help me*), expressed the heartfelt desire of the king, who in response to it earned for himself the title of "*Le Père du Peuple*," by which he is still commemorated in French history.

* Ps. lxx. Vulgate heading.

Francis I introduced another legend, which would not at first sight be looked for from a king of the character usually ascribed to him: "NON NOBIS DOMINE SED NOMINI TUO DA GLORIAM," *"Not unto us, O Lord, but to Thy Name give the glory."* Under what special circumstances this ascription of praise to the Almighty was called forth I have not been able to discover, but it was not repeated upon his subsequent coinage, nor upon that of any of his successors.

Henry II, in 1552, inscribed "*Dum totum compleat orbem,*" *Until he may (or can) complete the whole circuit (or world).* The employment of the word "*orbem*" (world or globe) introduces a difficulty in explaining this legend, for Henry II was not a colonising king, nor were his victories on a world-wide scale. But in 1552 he gained possession of Lorraine and of Metz, Toulon, and Verdun, and had then only to regain Calais for France, and the whole of France, as then understood, would have come under the power of the king, whose "*circuit*" of the kingdom would be complete. For this end he had to wait six years, until, in 1558, he recovered Calais, and then all foreign possessors of French territory had been expelled or overcome, and the "*circuit,*" *orbs,* was complete.

The coinage of Francis II, who reigned only a single year, has an interest for Scotchmen and Englishmen in the record that it contains of his marriage with the beautiful and unhappy Mary Queen of Scots, which is commemorated in two of the legends upon his coins, the first being "*FECIT UTRAQUE UNUM,*" *He made them both one;* and the second, "*FRANCIS AND MARY,*" "*JAM NON SUNT DUO SED UNA CARO,*" *They are now not two but one flesh.*

The next legend is upon a pattern demi-teston of 1573, of Charles IX, of St. Bartholomew massacre memory, which however was never issued as currency. He inscribed upon

it "*VERÆ RELIGIONIS ASSERTORI*," *To the assertor of the true religion*. This we may pass by without further notice, and turn from it to the inscription on a pattern franc of 1577, of Henry III, who was king of Poland before he became king of France. "*PACI, QUIETI AC FELICITATI PUBLICÆ*," *To Peace, Tranquility and Public Happiness*—an aspiration unhappily very far from being fulfilled, for his reign was a series of civil and religious conflicts and of disastrous foreign wars, and his own life was terminated by the hand of an assassin.

With the accession of Henry IV, of Navarre, we meet with an inscription new to the French coinage, "*GRATIA DEI SUM ID QUOD SUM*," *By the Grace of God I am what I am*, and we may well believe that this legend expressed the true sentiment of the king when he looked back upon his early orphanage, upon the temptations to a corrupt life placed purposely in his way in order to ruin him when invited to the Court of France by Catharine de Medicis, upon the dangers he had encountered arising from his being a Huguenot, and upon the armed forces of the League which he had to vanquish before he became finally King of the French and of Navarre; and it is not without interest to compare his motto on his accession to the throne under such circumstances, "*By the Grace of God I am what I am*," with that of our own Queen Mary, in her first coinage on her accession to the throne on the death of Edward VI, when she also, looking back upon her own past life, recorded her feelings in the inscription, "*A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET MIRABILE EST IN OCULIS NOSTRIS*," *This is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes*.* Henry IV's motto was followed in a single instance afterwards by Louis XIV, in 1650, during his *minority*, but when he had had a short experience of reigning he changed it for "*Ludovicus Magnus*

* See "*Curiosities of English Coinage*," *Proc. Liverpool Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, 1887-8, pp. 317, 318.

Rex," and it would seem that this was his real view of himself, which he simply emphasised in his famous mot, "L'Etat c'est moi."

From this date the changes indicative of sentiment in the legends upon the French coinage have been already dwelt upon, but they may be briefly summarised to complete the subject. At the beginning of the Revolution the king's title was lowered, and "Blessed be the name of the Lord" was removed, to be replaced by the revolutionary principle, "Reign of Law." This was soon superseded by "Liberty and Equality," and this again quickly disappeared before "Union and Strength" when the nation became surrounded by enemies. The regime which was to exhibit these two features, "Unity and Strength" in their perfection removed the words, but substituted the reality in the Napoleonic empire, until he fell. The Bourbon Restoration brought back for fifteen years the kingly inscriptions and the ancient legend of St. Louis, but their expulsion ushered in the Orleanist with his enfeebled monarchical title, to be succeeded again in a few years by "Republique Francaise," which again in a short four years was replaced the second time by "Empire Francais," which in less than twenty years again gave place, for the fourth time, to the "Republique Francaise," which still characterises the French coinage.

NATIONAL CHANGES OF SENTIMENT INDICATED BY THE INSCRIPTIONS AROUND THE EDGE OF THE COINS.

The first time that any inscription was placed in that part of a French current coin was at the beginning of Louis XIV's reign, who placed upon his Ecu, in 1685, "*Domine Salvum fac Regem Christianissimum*" (*God make the most Christian king safe*), but the superlative was omitted in the next coinage, 1690, and "*Domine*

Salvum fac Regem " only was continued throughout his reign and that of Louis XV and Louis XVI, until 1789. In that year—the first of the Revolution—the National Assembly became substantially the ruling power, and, although Louis still remained upon the throne, and continued nominally to be king, he was practically a prisoner in the power of the Assembly, which issued a new Ecu, in 1792, with the following significant alteration in this inscription, "*La Nation, La Loi, et Le Roi.*" It is no longer "God make the king safe," but "The Nation, Law, and the King." The king's title is still retained, but he takes the last place instead of the only one. "The Nation" takes precedence of all. "Law," as the ruling spirit, comes next, and "the King" comes last, instead of being the first of all as heretofore.

In January, 1793, the king was beheaded, and the Convention then issued a new coin of "six livres" instead of "a crown." The king, of course, disappears from the inscription around the *edge*, which expresses the new Revolutionary principles instead, and "*Liberté, Egalité,*" is now the legend, while "Law" is removed to a more prominent position on the obverse of the coin. It will be noticed in examining this inscription that "*Fraternité*" is not there, nor is it upon any coins of the first Revolution. The thoughts of the nation at that period appear to have been so fully occupied by the new idea of "Liberty"—of release from feudal bondage, from the despotic power of the monarchy, and from thralldom under the privileged classes—and with the first realization of the further idea of the equality of men as men, that these two conceptions were all they thought of commemorating upon the coinage. These grand principles, practically so new to the nation, were stamped in various other forms upon the money, but it was not until a much later period that the conception of "fraternity" in addi-

tion had so far become impressed upon the French national mind as to be embodied in the now universally familiar legend "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," which was first adopted at the Revolution of 1848, but has now become so familiar that we are apt to fancy that it was the national creed from the time of the first Revolution. At that date, however, France was torn to such an extent by civil dissensions that the idea of Brotherhood in France itself can scarcely have existed, and certainly not in any marked degree; while the idea of Brotherhood with other nations was impossible, for her hand was against every one, and every surrounding nation's hand was against her. But during the period which passed under the Empire of Napoleon every Frenchman became a brother with his fellow-soldiers, and every Frenchwoman a sister with her neighbours in the sorrows resulting from war. In the succeeding years, under the restored monarchy, the ideas connected with trades' unionism were spreading rapidly, both in this country and in France; and later still, the teachings of Louis Blanc, and others, familiarised Europe with the idea of Universal Brotherhood.

In the third Revolution therefore of 1848 "Fraternity" was embodied as part of the Frenchman's creed, along with "Liberty and Equality," and the three have now been so long before our eyes in public inscriptions of every kind that we often forget that "Fraternité" was not always there.

But to return to the changes in the first Revolution—old things were rapidly supplanted by new ones in every direction. The "crown" (Ecu) and the livre soon disappeared, and the totally new five-franc piece took their place, and in "l'An 8" (1799) the Executive Consular Commission proclaimed itself instead of the king, as being the guarantee for the value of this new coin, by the words, "Garantie Nationale," around the *edge* in place of "Liberty,"

"Equality," and "Law," which disappear, as the king had previously done. But very soon after this a remarkable change makes its appearance in an apparent return to former lines of thought and of national religious feeling.

The revolutionary government had not only destroyed the monarchy, but so far as lay in its power it had also destroyed religion in the country. The clergy had been expelled from the country or removed from their churches, and the property of the church in France had been seized by the government. But these violent courses had alienated the feelings of those who cherished religious sentiment, and they were still numerous and strong in the country, even if they could not make their voices heard in Paris and the great cities which were the centres of the revolutionary spirit.

When, then, Napoleon became first consul in 1799, and had to take thought for the entire nation, which was beset with enemies from without and had need of its utmost united strength, he saw the dangerous element of weakness arising from the alienation of the religious sentiment of the people, and he took early steps to remove it by entering into negotiation with the Pope (Pius VII), and he engaged to make payments to the clergy from the state funds and to restore them to their churches. The Pope in return promised him his assistance, and three years after concluding the Concordat of 1801, crowned him Emperor of France in 1804 (1st An 12). In the early part of that year Napoleon, previous to his coronation, and while still Premier Consul, whether influenced solely by policy or by some real religious sentiment, issued a new 5-franc piece, and placed upon its *edge*, in lieu of any of the monarchical or revolutionary mottoes, the totally new inscription "Dieu protège la France," which remained there through all his coinages to the close of his power.

With his first fall, and his banishment to Elba in 1814,

the old monarchy returned to France for a few months, but there is no coinage recording it.

At Napoleon's final downfall, in 1815, Louis XVIII returned to occupy the throne, and so far as the coinage was concerned he removed every sign of the revolutionary, constitutional, or Napoleonic period, and immediately replaced all the old monarchical characteristics, both in his own title, in the monarchical designs upon the obverse and the reverse of the money, and also in the restoration upon the *edge* of the old motto, "Domine salvum fac Regem. All these Bourbon characteristics continued unchanged throughout his reign and that of his brother, Charles X, who succeeded him, until the second revolution of 1830, when Charles was obliged to escape for his life, and that branch of the Bourbon dynasty came to an end.

His cousin, Louis Philippe, was then elected to the throne, but this time under very different national conditions from those which existed when Louis XVIII was recalled by the Senate on the fall of Napoleon. Louis Philippe had not only to swear to the Constitution, but to prove his *bona fides* in many ways, and his coinage bears not a few proofs of the pressure put upon him. He was no longer permitted to inscribe himself "King of *France*" upon the face of his coins, nor to retain the ancient monarchical *fleur-de-lys* upon the reverse, while the Bourbon inscription of "Domine salvum fac Regem" was again removed from the *edge* of the coin, and the national—what? prayer? hope? belief? assurance?—"God protects France," was again substituted for "God save the King." Throughout the subsequent changes through which France has passed since the Revolution of 1848, when Louis Philippe was expelled; through the Republican Presidentship of Louis Napoleon; through the *Coup-d'etat* and his period of empire; through the military and social glories

of the beginning and greater portion of his reign, and through the disasters which terminated it; and so far through the Republic which succeeded it, "God protects France" has still found its place upon the 5-franc coinage of that nation. But the country has passed for the last twenty years through many sore trials. Its political and religious storms and controversies have been legion, and lately every effort that a ministry in modern times could make to displace religion from a country was made by M. Bert, late Minister of Public Instruction, though without success, for "Dieu protège la France" still holds its place upon the edge of the 20-franc gold coinage (the large silver coin not having been issued for several years),—and that the legend may remain true for ever will be the heartfelt desire, not only of the French themselves who have so steadily adopted it, but of everyone who can appreciate the noble qualities of a people who have raised their country from such a condition as that in which the Franks first found it, to the position it has so long occupied both in Art and Science, and in those graceful qualities which have long made France a centre of attraction, and the admiration of the civilised world.

The changes now passed in review, some of them being of stupendous importance, have taken place within a period of a hundred years, and the French coinage faithfully records them for future historians or moralists; while our own (English) coinage does not record a single circumstance during the last nearly two hundred and fifty years (since the Protectorate), beyond the succession of one sovereign after another, from the time of Charles II to the Jubilee of our gracious Queen. The future historian will search in vain in the British coinage for any indication of national events, or of religious sentiment, either in the sovereign or the nation, with the solitary exception of the insertion of F.D. in the

coinage of George I,* and the dropping of the title of King of France in the last coinage of George III; but whether it might not yet be possible to have some record of interest relating to the Queen's reign is a point upon which those in high places must be left to decide.

What changes of dynasty or of national or religious sentiment may yet be in store for France, to be recorded upon future coinages, it is not for us to prophecy, but those indicated in the past have been neither few nor unimportant and the author of this record would fain hope that the illustrations pointed out from the past and present coinages may not have been without interest.

LEGENDS UPON THE EDGES OF COINS IN OTHER NATIONS BESIDE FRANCE.

Although the title of the present paper relates only to France, it may not be without interest to review the legends upon the *edge* of other national coins, as their existence in that situation is of comparatively recent introduction.

The earliest instance of such an inscription upon the edge of a coin is on a "pattern" coin of Charles IX, of France (1560-1574), which was inscribed "*Veræ religionis assertori*," but it was not issued as current coin—and Henry III of France also inscribed a "pattern" Ecu, in 1577, with "*Paci, Quieti ac Felicitati publicæ*," and again another, in 1578, with "*Constitutæ rei nummarie exemplum*" (*a pattern for current coin*) neither of which, however, became current.

ENGLAND—OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR, 1658.

The earliest piece that has been issued with its edge inscribed was the crown piece of Oliver Cromwell, while

* For the explanation of this see "Some Curiosities of English Coinage," *Proc. Liverpool Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, 1887-8, pp. 825, 826.

Protector in 1658. "*Has nisi periturus mihi adimat nemo.*" *Let no one remove these (letters) from me except on pain of death.* The object was apparently to protect the coin from damage by clipping or filing, the penalty for which, in the case of silver or gold coins, was death in England from Henry V to William IV,* when it was reduced to penal servitude. In the Isle of Man, the penalty for mutilating even the copper coins, which were the only native Manx coinage, was death, by an Act of the House of Keys, passed while James, Fifth Earl of Derby, was practically king, the Earls of Derby, although only officially "Lords of Man," having the power of life and death if supported by the House of Keys.

Edward III made "coining," and some other offences relating to coins, treason, punishable by death; but his Act does not actually name "clipping," and as Criminal Acts have to be interpreted literally, the omission of the words "clipping or filing" left it uncertain whether these offences came under his Act. An Act was therefore passed by Henry V (3 Henry, v., c. 6) mentioning this uncertainty, and specifying the words for the future. By the time of Elizabeth, other means of lightening coins (by means of chemicals, etc.), which were unknown in Henry's time, had been discovered, and accordingly she passed two Acts, (5 Eliz., c. ii, and 18 Eliz., c. i) specifying these offences also, and making them capital.

* The death penalty was repealed by Mary (Tudor) in the first year of her reign. As the Act of Parliament expresses it, "of her clemency and mercy" she wished to lighten the penalties for sundry offences punishable by death, and accordingly repealed former Acts inflicting it. But Elizabeth restored the silver coinage from its debased condition in the three previous reigns to its present purity, and the offence of clipping the new good coins became so common that she was obliged to re-enact the old penalty of death, which she did in the fifth year of her reign.

CHARLES II, ENGLAND, 1662.

The next inscription upon the *edge* of a coin was upon the first crown piece of Charles II, in 1662, after his restoration to the throne. The legend is "Decus et Tutamen" (*Glory and Protection*), which has been continued upon the English crowns until the reign of Queen Victoria in 1845. Since that time the milled edge has replaced the smooth one, and the inscription has disappeared. The words have no reference to any such sentiment as the restored king being the glory and protection of the state, but they were introduced on the suggestion of Evelyn, as he himself tells in his memoirs, as an *ornament* to the crown piece, and a *protection* against clippers or filers. This object is *expressed* upon one single coinage of William III in 1697, in which the words "Protegit et Ornat" are substituted for "Decus et Tutamen."

FRANCE, 1690.

The fashion of an inscription upon the edge having been once set, was followed in other countries, and in 1690, Louis XIV placed the sentimental legend "Domine Salvum fac Regem Christianissimum" upon his Ecu, but the French coinage requires no further notice in this place.

POLAND, 1683.

At this date Poland was still a kingdom, and its king, John Sobieski, who was illustrious for his prowess, had gained great victories over the Turks at the siege of Vienna in 1683, in which year the edge of his thaler is inscribed for the first time "Ingentibus ausis quo vis monstrat iter." *Daring great things where strength shows the way.* This legend is so far incomplete as to leave much to be filled up by the reader's imagination. Judging from the character

of the king, and the circumstances above-mentioned under which it was issued, it would seem to mean that *it is by great and successful daring that a really strong man manifests his character.*

HANOVER, 1698.

HANOVER (formerly Brunswick and Lunenburg), in 1698 adopted on the edge "*Das land die fruchte bringt, im Hartz dur thaler klinget.*" *The land produces fruit—in the Hartz mine the thaler tinkles.** In 1717, when the Duke of Brunswick had become King of England, this was changed to "*Spes Dorothea novas, nova premia largius affert.*" *Dorothea brings new hopes and still larger new prizes.* This curious legend, and the Danish ones speaking of Norway and its mines, are upon coins that belong to a considerable class known to numismatists as "*Ausbeut,*" thalers, which means "*profitable*" thalers. This term was applied to the money coined, often at the mine, from silver obtained from the various mines as soon as *their working became profitable.* In many of these the king or reigning duke had a direct interest, and the thaler which thus bears Dorothea's name was made from silver obtained from a silver mine called "*Dorothea,*" after the Queen Sophia Dorothea, which was situated near Clausthal, at the foot of the Hartz Mountains.

The legends were changed in the time of George II into "*Nec aspera terrent,*" *rough places do not frighten, or nor do difficulties frighten,* which the coinage retained to its

* The coins bearing this Legend were made from silver obtained from a mine named after Duke Ernest Augustus of Brunswick, and the legend is to record the mine becoming profitable. A similar explanation applies to the Danish coins, which have similar legends. In our own country, the coins made from gold and silver obtained from Wales in the reign of Charles I are all stamped with the Prince of Wales's plume of feathers, to indicate the source from which the metal came.

final issue in 1848. I have not been able to find what special trouble harrassed Hanover to occasion the change of legend at this time. George II was always engaged in turmoil on the Continent or in England, and he had a long contest with the other electors about his right to retain the title of Arch Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire, which possessed no treasures for a treasurer to keep, but I cannot learn any special trouble at the date of changing the legend.

HOLLAND has the inscription "God sy met ons," *God is with us.*

BELGIUM has "Dieu protège la Belgique."

SWEDEN, 1670.

In 1670 the king, Charles XI, inscribed "*Circumeundo servat et ornat,*" *by surrounding (me) it protects and adorns (me)*, and in 1693 he represents the coin as expressing this object still more definitely by "*Manibus ne Lœdar Avaris*" (*that I may not suffer from greedy hands*). This inscription was continued for sixty years, with a single exception in 1721, in which Frederic I substituted the religious sentiment "*Gloria in excelsis Deo.*" The motto in the coinage of King Oscar in 1845 has become simply a record of the value of the coin (75, 100 dolar fin silfver).

DENMARK, 1670.

Christian V, the first hereditary king of Denmark, for the first time inscribed upon the *edge* of the coinage, and the legend was "*Si vigilant alii et me vigilare decet,*" *If others are on the look-out it behoves me also to keep watch*, and a little later, but still in the year of his accession, "*Pietate et Justitia,*" as if to indicate the principles that would guide his rule, which he would appear to have carried out consistently, for he lived beloved and honoured, and "died with

the reputation of one of the greatest monarchs in Europe, having given remarkable proofs of his wisdom in council, of his courage in the field, and of his affability and affection for his people. The Danes recite his virtues to the present day" (*Univ. Hist.* V, 82). In subsequent coinages, 1692-9, the language of the inscription was changed from Latin into Danish, and the following singular inscriptions, of rare occurrence elsewhere, were placed on the edge. It is curious to observe the apparent delight with which the Danish coins dwell upon the mineral riches of the Norwegian mountains, Norway being at that time part of the united kingdom of Denmark and Norway, and it is also interesting to catch glimpses of the confident and loving relations between the king and his people which the inscriptions seem to afford, and which, happily, still subsist.

1687—Hœc Boreas Cymbro fert ornamenta laborum. *These ornaments of our labour the north wind brings from Cymbro (a mine near Konsbiarg, a mountain village in Norway).*

1692—Det Klipperne yder vor Bergman dud bryder hvad Hytten da gyder af mynten vi nyder. *What the rock contains the miner quarries, and in what the smelting-house produces do we rejoice as coined money.*

1694—Saadan Nordens skat Gud giemte til Kong Christian dend femte. *Such a treasure the North kept for the King Christian the Fifth.*

1698—I dette ansigt Dannemark og Norge skuer sin monark. *Denmark and Norway look their monarch in the face.*

1822—Held Kongen Folkets Fader. *Glad the king, the people's father.*

1822—Folkets velfærd, Kongens glæde. *The people's welfare is the king's delight.*

1822—Kongens helbred folkets glæde. *The health of the king is the people's (folks) gladness (delight).*

SPAIN, 1700.

Charles II was the last of the Austrian line of kings of Spain, and he left the kingdom to Phillip V, of the House of Bourbon, who succeeded him in 1700, and gave rise to the long War of Succession. It is strange to contrast the reality with the forecasts of men; for Charles, in his coinage of 1700, the year of his death, inscribed this legend upon the edge of the coinage; "*Sic tuta et tota manebo*"—so safe and whole shall I remain—in allusion apparently to the Hispania of which he had been king—which, so far from remaining "whole and safe," became the immediate subject of a civil war of eleven years' duration.

1851—Isabella II, who became Queen of Spain by the abolition of the Salic Law in 1830 by her father, Ferdinand VII, and the Cortes, inscribed on her large coins, in 1851, "Isabella 2^a por gracia de Dios y la *constitucion* Reina de las Hispanias," and on the edge, "*Ley. Patria, Rey.*"—the first record of "constitutional" monarchy in Spain, and of Law and the Country coming there before the King.

In 1870 she was deposed for misgovernment—a strange satire on her professions—and Spain passed through an interregnum of a few months until Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, was elected king. During this interval, the *de facto* government for the time issued a coin commemorating the event by the inscription upon its edge, "*Soberania Nacional,*" the *National Sovereignty*. Amadeus abdicated in 1873, and was followed, in 1875, by King Alfonso XII, with his legend on the edge, "*Justitia y Libertad,*" *Justice and Liberty*, and after his death a coin was issued, in 1888, in the name of his son, Alfonso XIII, at that time only a few months old, which bears his baby effigy on the obverse, and "*Constitutional King of Spain*" on the reverse, but no legend

whatever on the edge, only a ring of stars. He was too young to have opinions, or to have laid down in his own mind the principles upon which he intends to rule.

PRUSSIA, 1701.

The first legend on the edge was "*Principium seculi et Regni sors prima coronat*" *The first year crowns the beginning of the century and of the kingdom.* It was in 1701 that Frederick III, Duke of Prussia, placed the crown upon his own head and assumed the title of Frederick I, King of Prussia, or of Borussia as it was called upon the coinage until 1741, and this coin was struck from mines which then became profitable.

The modern Prussian legend is "*Gott mit uns.*"

THE MODERN GERMAN EMPIRE, 1870.

The German Emperor's coins of the present dynasty bear simply "*Gott mit uns,*" *God with us.**

SAXONY.—"*Sachsen Gott segne,*" *God bless Saxony.*

AUSTRIA, 1707.

The legend of Joseph, 1707, was "*Amore et Timore,*" *by love and fear,* by which he ruled; and the next was by Charles VI, 1719, "*Constantior continet orbem,*" commented upon below.

"*Recta Tueri,*" *To have regard for what is right.* This legend was adopted by the Emperor Ferdinand, 1835, a man

* During the First Napoleon wars, when the German troops gained a battle, a bronze medal was cast from the captured cannon, on which was inscribed "*Gott was mit uns—Ihm bei die ehre,*" *God was with us, to Him be the Glory.* Such a medal, supplied to every soldier engaged in the last Franco-German war, is the only medal issued to commemorate that momentous struggle and its results. When Prussia, after the fall of Napoleon I, placed a legend on the edge of her money, she adopted the three words of the above inscription, and still retains them.

of no great power, but of a just and estimable character. In the revolutionary year of 1848 he resigned the throne both of Austria and Hungary, and retired into Hungary, where he lived to a very advanced age, universally loved and respected.

The modern legend around the edge relates to the dual sovereignty of the Austrian monarch, "*Viribus Unitis*," *with united strength (of Austria and Hungary)*.

HUNGARY, 1740.

The next country to follow suit was Hungary in 1740, when Charles VI, who possessed titles innumerable,* inscribed "*Constanter continet orbem*," *He always embraces the globe*, but the following year, 1741, six feet of earth embraced himself, for he died in that year.

1741—Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, inscribed "*Justitia et Clementia*," which was in accord with the character of her reign, and justified the sympathy and confidence of the Hungarian Diet, when it exclaimed, in response to her appeal for help, "*Moriamur pro Rege nostrâ Maria Theresa*."†

* Charles VI (Emperor of the Romans—King of Spain and the Spanish Provinces in America—King of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia—Archduke of Austria—Duke of Burgundy, Styria, and Silesia—Marchio of Moravia, Count of Tyrol.)

† A story was current at the time of the accession of Queen Victoria, which turned upon this exclamation of the Hungarian Diet. The late judge, Sir John T. Coleridge, was present at a banquet given soon after the Queen's accession, when the chairman, under the mixed influence of old habit and present loyalty, gave the toast, "*The King, God bless her*." The laugh was against him, but Sir John Coleridge came to the rescue and said that his toast was a correct one—that "*king*" was a noun common, though generally used in the masculine, and he appealed to this anecdote and quoted the Diet as combining the "*Rege*" with the feminine "*Nostra*." "*The King is dead—long live the Queen*" would offend all old associations, even though it might be a queen who was to succeed to the throne. We hear the prayer for "*our queen and governour*" continually in the Litany of the Church, which is in strict accordance with the above use of *Bex* for the feminine Queen.

When the Emperor Francis Joseph ascended the throne in 1848, he tried to combine the double monarchy in a centralised Austrian Empire, and chose for his motto "Viribus Unitis," as above. But the Hungarians were proud of their ancient independence, and refused to accept Austrian supremacy, and at length, in 1867, after years of contest, "the reconciliation between Hungary and the Crown took place, and the king was crowned at Budapest, and on the coronation medals struck for the occasion the legend was 'Bizalmam Az osi erenyben,' *My trust (lies) in the Ancestral* (or hereditary) *virtue* (of the Hapsburg family). Since that time the Hungarian coinage puts round the edge of the modern coins the legend as the motto of Francis Joseph."

The CISALPINE REPUBLIC, N. Italy, which existed from 1797 to 1805, placed "Unione e Virtù" on the edge of its short-lived coinage, but, whatever its unity, its strength was small, and it merged in the Kingdom of Italy in 1805, under Napoleon.

ITALY, 1805.

In 1805 Napoleon made himself "King of Italy," and issued coins then and in 1812, with the titles *Imperatore e Re—Regno d'Italia*, and on the edge, in 1812, he inscribed his original French legend, adapted for Italy, "Dio protegge l'Italia."

ITALY, and previously SARDINIA, has now the legend "Fert—Fert—Fert," which is somewhat of a puzzling enigma. It is to be found upon the collars of all knightly orders of the old kingdom of Piedmont, and it was the device of the House of Savoy, which they have used since 1810 in memory of the Duke of Savoy having defended Rhodes against the Saracens. F.E.R.T. is the combination of the first letters of "Fortitudo Ejus Rhodium Tenuit." *His valour kept Rhodes*. It is also said to be a compressed form

of *FilibERT*, one of the kings of the House of Savoy, who was probably the man who did hold (tenuit) the Island of Rhodes.

NAPLES.

Joseph Napoleon, when king in 1806, inscribed "*Custos Regni Deus*," *God is the Keeper of the Kingdom*; and Murat, who succeeded him in 1808, followed Napoleon's original motto still more closely, "*Dio protegge il Regno*."

Ferdinand II, "*Bomba*," inscribed "*Providentia optimi principis*," an estimate of himself that was soon followed by the revolution which terminated his power in 1860.

VENETIAN REPUBLIC, 1848.

During the year of revolutions in Europe, 1848, Venice revolted against Austria, and issued a coinage with the inscription on the edge, "*Dio Premiera Costanza*," *God will reward persevering firmness*, but Austria recovered possession of the city after a prolonged siege.

PARMA AND PLACENTIA, 1815.

Maria Louisa, widow of Napoleon, Archduchess of Austria and Grand Duchess of Parma and Placentia by grant from the allies as a provision after the fall of Napoleon, inscribed "*Domine dirige me*" on the edge of her five-lire coin of 1832. This legend seems to possess an interest peculiarly its own. Maria Louisa was the daughter of Francis I, Emperor of Austria, and was brought up, as were other Austrians, in the nursery creed that Napoleon was the devil; and in the royal nursery she and the other children had a doll called Napoleon, which they stuck with pins or otherwise punished when in need of some object upon which to vent their griefs or ill-tempers. Napoleon had three times entered Vienna in triumph, or had otherwise

inflicted deep humiliation upon Austria, when, in 1809, he proposed an alliance with Austria to bring him into relations in his greatness with the old crowned heads of Europe. Brought up in the absolutist atmosphere of Austria, she did not think of raising objections, though the alliance was fearful and hateful to her, and they were married with great manifestations of honour and affection on the part of Napoleon. In the French court, however, the Austrian poverty and the old-fashioned style of her trousseau, and her personal gaucheries (in French eyes), and her coldness and hauteur of manner, made her despised at first, and eventually disliked by the brilliant and fashionable French ladies of the court—and the dislike was mutual. Napoleon almost immediately left his wife for the wars again, and throughout her married life she was an isolated unhappy woman. When Napoleon fell in 1814 she declined to accompany him to Elba, nor did she share his banishment in St. Helena.

After his permanent fall the allies granted her the Duchy of Parma and Placentia in lieu of the monarchy she had lost, and she retired there with her chamberlain, Count Niepperg, whom she eventually married, but by whom children were born during Napoleon's life time. Her own family turned away from her, and she was isolated from all her hereditary friends and associations. In 1832, her only son by Napoleon died when just twenty-one years of age, and in that year she inscribed upon the edge of her coin as above stated, "*Domine dirige me.*" When all the circumstances of her sorrowful life are passed in review, this legend sounds sadly like the wail of a broken heart, "*Domine dirige me, God help me.*"

THE PAPAL STATES, 1817.

Pius VII inscribed on the edge of his scudi in 1817 "*In terra pax,*" a record of thankfulness for peace on the fall of

Napoleon, who had kept the Pope in confinement at Fontainebleau until his own first fall in 1814.

RUSSIA.—The inscription on the edge of the roubles simply indicates the value of the coin and the period of its mintage.

THE ORDER OF THE BLACK EAGLE OF PRUSSIA.

It is so seldom that we have the opportunity of hearing from a monarch himself the interpretation which he places upon a legend of his own choosing, or the reasons which have led him to select it, that the following account possesses exceptional interest as given by Frederick the Great of his interpretation of the motto "*Suum Cuique*," to every one his own, which he has inscribed as the legend of the Order of the Black Eagle. And although Prussia is not part of France, nor has her coinage been copied from that of France, it will scarcely be out of place in this paper, which has endeavoured to assign the interpretations of the legends on the French coinage through a period of above two thousand years. The passage must be judged by its inherent interest, and its insertion may perhaps be forgiven.

This order was instituted by Frederick, the first king of Prussia, on his coronation day at Königsberg. "To the eagle," said Frederick I in the foundation chart, "we have given in one of his claws a crown of laurel, in the other the thunderbolts of Jupiter. Above its head we have written our motto '*Suum cuique*' (to each his own). The crown signifies the justice of reward, the thunderbolt the justice of punishment, the motto '*Suum cuique*' the absolute impartiality with which we award to each according to his merit. This is not all. The eagle, as all know, looks ever to the sun, he aims at nothing small or low. These qualities are a symbol by which we are instructed, we and our knights, to raise our hope and our confidence to God Most High. The

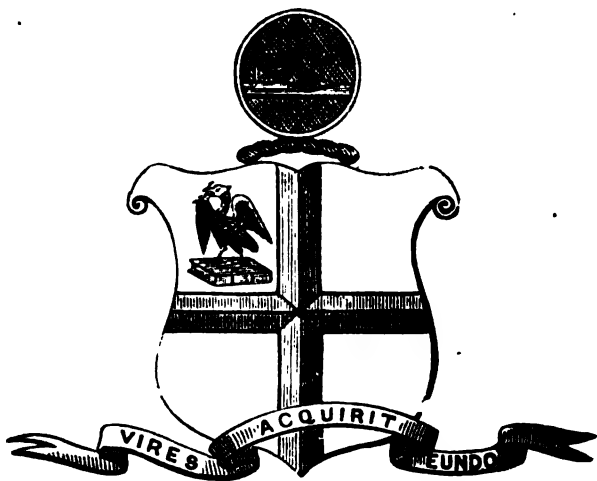
'*Suum cuique*' teaches us that we must render to man what is his due, and to the Most High that which belongs to God."

The variety of interest, of history, and of sentiment conveyed in many of the above legends, leads one the more to regret that the legend upon the edge of the British crown is so destitute of any meaning deserving of being remembered.

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- Dec. 10, 1888 Cookson, E. H., *8 Mersey-street.*
- Dec. 18, 1875 Cowell Peter, Free Library, *William Brown-st.*
- Jan. 7, 1884 Cradock, Miss, L.K.Q.C.P.I., *29 Catharine-street.*
- Oct. 6, 1868 Crosfield, William, *Stanley-street, and Annesley, Aigburth.*
- Jan. 7 1884 Currie, John, *Bank of Liverpool, Water-street.*
- Nov. 12, 1888 Daly, Ohas., *Knowsley-buildings.*
- Nov. 12, 1866 Davies, E., F.C.S., F.I.C., The Laboratory, Royal Institution, *88 Seel-street, Ex-PRESIDENT.*
- Nov. 26, 1887 Davies, W. H., F.R.A.S., *42 Irvine-street.*
- Dec. 10, 1888 Davey, Wm. J., (Messrs. Elder Dempster & Co.), *20 Castle-street, and 24 Brompton-avenue.*
- Nov. 1, 1875 Doyle, Jas. F., *4 Harrington-street.*
- Jan. 28, 1848 Drysdale, John James, M.D. Edin., M.R.C.S. Edin., *86 Rodney-street, Ex-PRESIDENT.*
- March 8, 1890 Duncan, H. C., *Annisfield, Bromborough, and 41 North John-street.*
- Nov. 18, 1889 Duncan, W. A., *Woolton.*
- Nov. 14, 1887 Eastley, Richard, Superintendent Meter Department, Liverpool United Gas-Light Co., *126 Canning-street.*
- March 21, 1870 Edwards, Edward E. (Smith, Edwards & Co.), *Adelaide-buildings, 4 Chapel-street.*

- Oct. 15, 1888 Edwards, Frederick Wilkinson, M.S.A., *Amorrt House, Balliol-road, Bootle*, **HON. TREASURER.**
- April 7, 1862 English, Charles J., 171 *Upper Parliament-street.*
- *Dec. 18, 1852 Ferguson, William, F.L.S., F.G.S., *Kinmundy House, near Mintlaw, N.B.*
- April 15, 1889 Field, Miss E. E., 12 *Laurel-road, Fairfield.*
- *March 19, 1885 Foard, James Thomas, 42 *John Dalton-street, Manchester.*
- Oct. 29, 1888 Forster, Walter P., *The Lawn, Earlston-road, Liscard.*
- Nov 12, 1877 Galley, Jno., *Albert Mount, Victoria Park, Wavertree.*
- Nov. 18, 1882 Gardner, Willoughby, 18c *Exchange-buildings.*
- Jan. 26, 1885 Gaskell, W. Frankland, 75 *Mount Pleasant.*
- *Feb. 6, 1854 Gee, Robert, M.D., Heidelb., M.R.O.P., Lecturer on Diseases of Children, Royal Infirmary School of Medicine ; Physician Workhouse Hospital, 5 *Abercromby-square.*
- March 20, 1882 Gill, James, *Sailors' Home*, and 2 *Beech-mount, Beech-street.*
- Nov. 12, 1888 Gillespie, Wm. Bryce, 159 *Falkner-street.*
- Oct. 29, 1877 Green, Robt. Frederick, 66 *Whitechapel.*
- Oct. 29, 1888 Green, Charles H. (Messrs. Green, Hill & Co.), 7 *York-street.*
- Nov. 16, 1874 Guthrie, Malcolm, 2 *Parkfield-road.*
- Oct. 29, 1888 Guthrie, Mrs., 2 *Parkfield-road.*
- Oct. 18, 1875 Hale, Philip A., *Bank of England, Castle-street.*
- Nov. 16, 1885 Halhed, W. B. (Messrs. Baring Bros.), *Sunnyside, Prince's Park.*
- *Jan. 21, 1856 Hardman, Lawrence, 35 *Rock Park, Rock Ferry.*
- Dec. 10, 1888 Hargreaves, Jas., F.O.S., F.A.S., *Peel House-lane, Farnworth-by-Widnes.*
- Dec. 18, 1875 Harpin, E. (Messrs. Bates, Stokes & Co.), 14 *Water-street.*
- Nov. 30, 1874 Harvey, Henry, M.B., 57 *Wavertree-terrace, Picton-road, Wavertree.*

- Feb. 6, 1865 Hassan, Rev. E., *Lodge, Exeter Spa, Salisbury, Wilts.*
- Oct. 16, 1882 Herdman, W.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural History, University College, 85 *Bentley-road*, VICE-PRESIDENT.
- March 7, 1880 Hess, Leonard O., 51 *Bedford-street*.
- March 22, 1869 Higgin, Thomas, F.L.S., 88 *Tower-buildings*, and *Eithersall, Mossley Hill-road*.
- Dec. 28, 1846 Higgins, Rev. H. H., M.A., Cantab., F.C.P.S., 29 *Falkner-square*, EX-PRESIDENT and PRESIDENT.
- Jan. 18, 1879 Higgins, Henry Longuet, 7 *Sandringham-drive, Prince's Park*.
- Oct. 20, 1884 Highmore, J. Henry, 27 *Ball's-road, Claughton, Birkenhead*.
- March 9, 1868 Holme, James, 10 *Huskisson-street*, and 61 *Lord-street*.
- Nov. 30, 1874 Holme, Rev. Arthur P., *Tattenhall, near Chester*.
- *Dec. 14, 1862 Holt, Robert Durning, 6 *India-buildings*, and 29 *Edge-lane*.
- March 10, 1879 Hughes, John W., *Hornby-road, Wavertree*.
- Feb. 20, 1882 Hunter, Hugh, 25A *Duke-street*.
- *Nov. 18, 1854 Hunter, John, Member Historic Society, Pennsylvania, *Halifax, Nova Scotia*.
- *April 29, 1850 Ihne, William, Ph.D. Bonn, *Villa Felseck, Heidsberg*, EX-PRESIDENT.
- Jan. 7, 1889 Jacks, Rev. Lawrence P., M.A., 4 *Dingle-lane*.
- Oct. 31, 1887 Jeffs, Osmund W., 8 *Queen's-road, Rock Ferry*.
- Jan. 26, 1868 Johnson, Richard C., F.R.A.S., 46 *Jermyn-street*.
- Feb. 24, 1868 Jones, Charles W., *Field House, Wavertree*.
- *April 4, 1852 Jones, Morris Charles, F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot, *Gungrog, Welshpool*.
- April 29, 1889 Jones, Morris P., 20 *Abercromby-square*.
- Oct. 21, 1889 Leather, B. K., M.A. Lond., 18 *Nelson-street*.
- *Dec. 11, 1871 Leigh, Richmond, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., Physician to St. George's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin, 15 *St. James's-road*.

- Jan. 7, 1889 Leslie, F. J., F.R.G.S., 15 *Union Court*.
 Nov. 18, 1882 Levy, Philip S., 24 *North John-street*.
 Nov. 8, 1884 Lewin, Walter, *Bebington*.
 Nov. 14, 1881 Lloyd, Richard J., M.A., *Lombard-chambers, Bixteth-street*.
 Dec. 1, 1879 Long, Rev. R. E., B.A., *Cambridge House, Upper Parliament-street*.
 Jan. 28, 1882 Marcus Heinrich, *Trafford-chambers, 58 South John-street*.
 Nov. 17, 1878 Marples, Josiah, *Melvill-chambers, Lord-street, and Broomfield, Egremont*.
 March 28, 1874 McCulloch, D. B., 28 *Queen's-buildings, Dale-street*.
 Oct. 17, 1881 McLintock, R., 8 *Molyneux-avenue, Broad Green, HONORARY LIBRARIAN*.
 Oct. 80, 1882 McMaster, John Maxwell (Messrs. J. B. Wilson, Dean & McMaster), 22A *Lord-street*.
 Oct. 15, 1888 Mead, A. J., B.A., *Earlston-road, Liscard*.
 Nov. 17, 1878 Mellor, James, Jun., *Weston, Blundellsands*.
 Dec. 14, 1874 Mellor, John, *Grosvenor House, Crosby-road South, Waterloo*.
 Nov. 16, 1885 Moore, G. F., 25 *Marlborough-road, Tuebrook*.
 Oct. 31, 1859 Moore, Thomas John, Corr. Mem. Z.S.L., Curator Free Public Museum, *William Brown-street*.
 Nov. 1, 1880 Morrow, John, *Greenfields, Greenfield-road, Alerton*.
 March 6, 1882 Morton, George Henry, 122 *London-road*.
 Jan. 8, 1855 Morton, Geo. Highfield, F.G.S., 209 *Edge-lane*.
 Oct. 29, 1850 Mott, Albert Julius, F.G.S., *Detmore, Charleton Kings, Cheltenham, EX-PRESIDENT*.
 *Oct. 21, 1867 Muspratt, E. K., *Seaforth Hall, Seaforth*.
 Oct. 20, 1856 Nevins, John Birkbeck, M.D. Lond., M.R.C.S., late Lecturer on Materia Medica, Royal Infirmary, School of Medicine, 8 *Abercromby-square, EX-PRESIDENT*.

- Feb. 6, 1865 Newton, John, M.R.C.S., 44 *Rodney-street*.
 Feb. 18, 1887 Nicholson, Robert, 11 *Harrington-street*.
 Oct. 31, 1887 Nicholson, Thomas, *St. Helier's College, Wellingborough*.
 Nov. 2, 1868 Norrie, Rev. B. A. W., M.A. Cantab., *The College School, Huyton*.
 Nov. 2, 1885 Oulton, Wm., *Hillside, Gateacre, and Albert-buildings, 12 Preeason's-row*.
 Nov. 2, 1874 Palmer, John Linton, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Fleet Surgeon, R.N., 24 *Rock Park, Rock Ferry*.
 Oct. 29, 1888 Paton, J. R., *Apsley-buildings, Old Hall-street*.
 Jan. 9, 1871 Patterson, J., 16 *Devonshire-road, Prince's Park*.
 Nov. 4, 1861 Philip, Thomas D., 49 *South Castle-street, and Holly-road, Fairfield*.
 Jan. 21, 1884 Polack, Rev. J., B.A., 176 *Upper Parliament-st.*
 *Nov. 15, 1886 Poole, Sir Jas., 107 *Bedford-street South*.
 *Jan. 22, 1866 Raffles, William Winter, 84 *Belsize Park Gardens, London, W.*, and *Glan-y-mor, Penmaen-mawr*.
 Oct. 29, 1888 Raleigh, Miss, 77 *Canning street*.
 Nov. 12, 1860 Rathbone, Philip H., *Greenbank Cottage, Waver-trees*.
 March 24, 1862 Rathbone, Richard Reynolds, *Beechwood House, Grassendale*.
 *Nov. 17, 1851 Redish, Joseph Carter, *Lyceum, Bold-street*.
 Oct. 31, 1881 Rendall, G. H., M.A., Principal of University College, 38 *Bedford-street*, VICE-PRESIDENT.
 Oct. 31, 1881 Rennie, J. W., 70 *Allington-street, St. Michael's, near Liverpool*.
 Nov. 26, 1888 Rennie, F. C., 70 *Allington-street, Aigburth-road*.
 Dec. 16, 1889 Rentoul, R. R., 78 *Hartington-road, Liverpool*.
 Nov. 29, 1869 Roberts, Isaac, F.G.S., F.R.A.S., VICE-PRESIDENT, *Crowborough, Sussex*.
 Dec. 4, 1876 Roberts, Richard (Messrs. Roberts & Son), 18 *Hackins-hey, and Mossley-hill*.
 April 15, 1889 Rippon, Wm. D., *Harefield, Hightown*.

- April 18, 1854 Rowe, James, 14 *South Castle-street*, and *Leyfield Grange, West Derby*.
- Jan. 22, 1872 Russell, Edward R., "*Daily Post*" Office, *Victoria-street*, and 6 *Abercromby-squares*, **EX-PRESIDENT**.
- Feb. 18, 1878 Russell, W., *Compton Hotel, Church-street*.
- Feb. 18, 1884 Rutherford, John, LL.B., Lond., 4 *Harrington-street*, **HONORARY SECRETARY**.
- Nov. 12, 1888 Rutherford, Wm. Watson (Messrs. Miller, Peel, Hughes & Co.), 8 *Cook-street*.
- April 7, 1862 Samuel, Harry S., 80 *Onslow Gardens, South Kensington, London*.
- Nov. 12, 1888 Scholefield, J. W., J.P., *Pembroke-road, Bootle*.
- March 19, 1886 Sephton, Rev. John, M.A., 90 *Huskisson-street*.
- Oct. 15, 1888 Sephton, Mrs., 90 *Huskisson-street*.
- Oct. 21, 1889 Sharpe, R. J., B.A., 42 *Canning-street*.
- Jan. 7, 1878 Shearer, George, M.D., 178 *Upper Parliament-street*.
- Oct. 31, 1881 Smith, A. T., Jun., 18 *Bentley-road, Prince's Park*.
- Dec. 10, 1866 Smith, Elisha (Messrs. Henry Nash & Co.), 12 *Tower-buildings North*.
- April 4, 1870 Smith, James, 87 *North John-street, Liverpool*.
- Feb. 23, 1863 Smith, J. Simm, 1 *Warham-road, Croydon*.
- April 20, 1874 Snow, Rev. T., M.A., *St. Mary's, Highfield-st.*
- Nov. 12, 1860 Spence, Charles, 7 *Tithebarn-street*.
- Nov. 18, 1878 Steel, Richard, 18 *Hackins-key*, **EX-PRESIDENT**.
- Feb. 19, 1888 Steeves, Gilbert M., 24 *Falkner-street*.
- Oct. 17, 1887 Stookes, Alexander, M.D., *South Dispensary, Upper Parliament-street*.
- Oct. 29, 1888 Stretch, Wm. Knowles, 9 *South Hill-road*.
- Oct. 21, 1889 Stubbs, Rev. C. W., M.A., *Wavertree Rectory, Wavertree*.
- April 17, 1886 Tapscott, W. W., 89 *Oldhall-street*, and 41 *Parkfield-road, Aigburth*.
- Feb. 18, 1865 Taylor, Geo., 23 *Seel-street*.

- *Feb. 19, 1865 Taylor, John Stopford, M.D. Aberd., F.R.G.S.,
6 *Grove Park, Liverpool.*
- Oct. 18, 1886 Thompson, I. C., *Woodstock, Watersley-road,*
Sefton Park.
- Oct. 21, 1879 Thompson, J. W., B.A. Lond. and Victoria, 22
Lord Street.
- Oct. 30, 1882 Thomson, W. J., *Exchange-buildings, and Ghyll-*
bank, St. Helens.
- *Dec. 4, 1876 Torpy, Rev. Lorenzo, M.A., *Setubal.*
- *Feb. 19, 1844 Turnbull, James Muter, M.D. Edin., M.B.C.P.,
The Spa Hotel, Tunbridge Wells.
- Oct. 21, 1861 Unwin, William Andrews, 9 *Rumford-place.*
- Nov. 15, 1880 Vicars, John, 8 *St. Alban's-square, Bootle.*
- Feb. 19, 1877 Wallace, John, M.D., *Gambier-terrace.*
- Jan. 27, 1862 Walmsley, Gilbert G., 50 *Lord-street.*
- Jan. 9, 1865 Walthew, William, 6 *Brown's-buildings, and*
Vine Cottage, Aughton.
- Oct. 30, 1876 Weightman, W. Arthur (Messrs. Weightman,
Pedder & Weightman), *Water-street.*
- April, 15, 1889 White, A. G., 71 *Kingsley-road.*
- Nov. 12, 1888 Whitmore, Miss, *Burscough House, Ormskirk.*
- Nov. 2, 1874 Wolf, Jas. O. de (Messrs. T. C. Jones & Co.),
8 *Old Church Yard.*
- Nov. 14, 1870 Wood, John J., 20 *Lord-street.*
- Nov. 17, 1884 Wortley, Wm., *Walton Grange, Walton.*
- Nov. 18, 1876 Yates, Edward Wilson, 87 *Castle-street.*
- Nov. 2, 1874 Young, Henry, 6 *Arundel Avenue, Sefton Park.*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

LIMITED TO FIFTY.

- 1.—1886 The Most Noble William, Duke of Devonshire, K.G., M.A., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.G.S., etc., Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, *Chatsworth, Derbyshire*, and *78 Piccadilly, London, W.*
- 2.—1888 Sir George Biddell Airy, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., etc., Royal Observatory, *Greenwich.*
- 8.—1844 T. B. Hall, *Crane House, Yarmouth.*
- 4.—1850 The Rev. Canon St. Vincent Beechy, M.A., Rector of *Hilgay, Norfolk.*
- 5.—1851 The Rev. Robert Bickersteth Mayor, B.D., Rector of *Frating, Essex.*
- 6.—1861 The Rev. Thomas P. Kirkman, M.A., F.R.S., Rector of *Croft, near Warrington.*
- 7.—1865 The Right Rev. T. N. Staley, D.D., late Bishop of Honolulu, Vicar of *Croxhall, Staffordshire.*
- 8.—1865 Sir Edward J. Reed, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.P., *Hextable, Dartford, Kent.*
- 9.—1865 Cuthbert Collingwood, M.A., M.B., F.L.S., *4 Grove-terrace, Belvedere-road, Upper Norwood, London, S.E.*
- 10.—1867 Sir J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, *Montreal.*
- 11.—1868 Captain Sir James Anderson, *16 Warrington crescent, Maida-hill, London, W.*
- 12.—1870 Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., etc., *High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.*

- 13.—1870 Professor Sir Henry E. Roscoe, M.P., F.R.S., etc.,
Owens College, *Manchester*.
- 14.—1870 Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, M.D., F.R.S., etc., *Kew*.
- 15.—1870 Professor Brown Sequard, M.D.
- 16.—1870 John Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., *Ware Priory, Herts*.
- 17.—1870 Professor Thomas H. Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., 4
Marlborough Place, London, N.W.
- 18.—1870 Professor John Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., Royal
Institution, *London*.
- 19.—1870 The Rev. Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D., *Binfield,*
Bracknell, Berks., EX-PRESIDENT.
- 20.—1874 Professor Alexander Agassiz, Director of the Museum
of Comparative Zoology, *Harvard, Cambridge,*
Massachusetts.
- 21.—1874 Professor Frederick H. Max Müller, LL.D., *Oxford*.
- 22.—1874 Sir Samuel White Baker, Pasha, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., etc.,
Sandford Orleigh, Newton Abbot, Devonshire.
- 23.—1877 The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.R.S., Foreign
Secretary of R.A.S., etc., 9 *Grosvenor-square,*
London.
- 24.—1877 Albert C. N. Günther, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., British
Museum.
- 25.—1877 Adolphus Ernst, M.D., Principal of the Department of
Science, Philosophy, and Medicine, University
of *Caracas*.
- 26.—1877 Dr. Leidy, Academy of Science, *Philadelphia*.
- 27.—1877 Dr. Franz Steindachner, Royal and Imperial Museum,
Vienna.
- 28.—1877 The Rev. H. B. Tristram, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Canon
of *Durham, the College, Durham*.
- 29.—1881 H. J. Carter, F.R.S., *The Cottage, Budleigh Salterton,*
Devon.
- 30.—1881 The Rev. Thomas Hineks, B.A., F.R.S., *Stokeleigh,*
Leigh Woods, Clifton, Bristol.
- 31.—1881 The Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.M.S.,
Ingleside, Lee, London, S.E.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

LIMITED TO THIRTY-FIVE.

- 1.—1867 J. Yate Johnson, *London*.
- 2.—1867 R. B. N. Walker, F.R.G.S., F.G.S., *West Africa*.
- 3.—1868 Rev. J. Holding, M.A., F.R.G.S., *London*.
- 4.—1868 George Hawkins, *Colombo, Ceylon*.
- 5.—1868 J. W. Lewis Ingram, *Bathurst, River Gambier*.
- 6.—1869 George Mackenzie, *Cebu, Philippine Islands*.
- 7.—1870 The Venerable Archdeacon Hughes-Games, D.C.L.,
Isle of Man.
- 8.—1874 Samuel Archer, Surgeon-Major, *Singapore*.
- 9.—1874 Coote M. Chambers, *Burrard's Inlet, British Columbia*.
- 10.—1874 Edwyn C. Reed, *Santiago de Chili*.
- 11.—1874 Millen Coughtrey, M.D., *Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand*.
- 12.—1875 Robert Gordon, Government Engineer, *British Burmah*.
- 13.—1877 Edward Duckinfield Jones, C.E., *Sao Paulo, Brazil*.
- 14.—1877 Miss Horatia K. F. Gatty, *Altrincham*.
- 15.—1877 Dr. Allen, *Jamaica*.
- 16.—1877 Dr. George Bennett, *Sydney*.
- 17.—1877 Dr. David Walker, *Benicia, U.S.A.*
- 18.—1888 Wm. Henry Finlay, *Cape Town Observatory*.
- 19.—1884 Rev. W. G. Lawes, *New Guinea*.
- 20.—1884 A. W. Crawford, *Oakland, California*.
- 21.—1884 John Greenwood, Mining Engineer, *Melbourne*.
- 22.—1884 Robert Abraham English, *Simla*.
- 23.—1887 Rev. S. Fletcher Williams, 48 *Westbourne Grove*,
Scarborough.
- 24.—1889 Mr. St. George Littledale.
- 25.—1889 Mrs. St. George Littledale.
- 26.—1890 Sir Alfred Maloney, K.C.M.G., Governor of *Lagos*.
- 27.—1890 Captain John Ferguson, s.s. "Aleppo," 15 *Norma*
Road, Waterloo.

ASSOCIATES.

LIMITED TO TWENTY-FIVE.

- 1.—Jan. 27, 1862 Captain John H. Mortimer, "America."
(Atlantic.)
- 2.—Mar. 24, 1862 Captain P. C. Petrie. (Atlantic.)
- 3.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain John Carr, ship "Scindia." (Calcutta.)
- 4.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain Charles E. Price, R.N.R., ship
"Cornwallis." (Calcutta and Sydney.)
- 5.—April 20, 1863 Captain Fred. E. Baker, ship "Nippon."
(Chinese Seas.)
- 6.—Oct. 31, 1864 Captain Thomson, ship "Admiral Lyons."
(Bombay.)
- 7.—April 18, 1865 Captain Alexander Cameron, ship "Staffordshire."
(Shanghai.)
- 8.—Dec. 11, 1865 Captain Walker, ship "Trenton."
- 9.—Mar. 28, 1868 Captain David Scott.
- 10.—April 7, 1884 Captain G. Griffith Jones, barque "Hermine."
- 11.—Oct. 7, 1889 Mr. Arthur G. Nevins, 22 Rutland Street,
Hampstead Road, London, N.W.

LIST OF BOOKS
PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY DURING THE
SEVENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1889-90.

A.

- Agriculture, U.S. Government Department of; N. American Fauna, no. 1, 2; Bulletin, no 1.
Alkali Report. Government Blue Book, 1889.
American Association for the Promotion of Science. Proceedings, 1888.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal.
Antiquaries of London, Society of. Proceedings.
Archæological and Natural History Society, Somersetshire. Proceedings, vol. xv.
Architects, Royal Institute of British. Kalendar, 1890; Transactions, vol. v; Journal, vol. v-19, 20; vi-1-18.
Asiatic Society, Royal, Bombay Branch. Journal, vol. vii-2.
Asiatic Society, Royal, Ceylon Branch. Journal, vol. x-34, 35.
Asiatic Society of Bengal. Journal, vol. lviii, part i, no. 1; part 2, no. i, ii; Proceedings, 1889; "Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan," by G. A. Grierson.
Arts, Society of. Journal to date.
Arts, Royal Scottish Society of. Transactions, vol. xii, part 8.
Arts and Sciences, American Academy of. Proceedings, vol. xxiii-2.
Astronomical Society. Monthly Notices; Memoirs, vol. xlix, part 2.

Astronomical Observatory, National Mexican. Annual, 1890.
 Astronomy. Six Photographie Plates of Stars and Nebulae, by Isaac Roberts, Esq.; The Lick Observatory Report on the Eclipse of Jan. 1st, 1889; Liverpool Astronomer's Report, 1884-86; Washington Star Catalogue, 1845-77 (3rd edition).
 Australian Museum, Sydney, N.S.W.. Catalogues: Birds, part i; Fishes, part i; Fossils, 1888; Minerals, 1885; Sponges, 1886; Australian Hyd. Zoophytes, 1884. Records, vol. i, part, 2; Memoirs, no. 2, Lord Howe's Island; On the Sperm Whale, etc., Notes for Collectors.

B.

Botanical Society, Edinburgh. Transactions and Proceedings, vol. xvii, parts 2, 8.
 Botany. See Linnean Society, etc.
 British Association for the Advancement of Science. Proceedings, 1889 (Newcastle-on-Tyne).
 British Museum. Catalogues: Lepidoptera Heterocera, part vii; Fossil Reptilia and Amphibia; Guide to Mineral Galleries.

C.

Canada, Royal Society of. Proceedings and Transactions, 1888.
 Canadian Institute. Proceedings, 1889; Report, 1888-89.
 Chemical Society. Abstract of Proceedings, no. 72-85; Journal, Sept., 1889, to Aug., 1890; Indexes, etc.
 Chinese Customs, Collection in Philadelphia Exhibition of, 1876.
 Congo Free State, An account of, by H. Phillips.
 Copenhagen, Académie Royale de. Bulletin, 1890.
 Cornwall, Royal Institution of. Journal, vol. ix, part 4; vol. x, part 1.

E.

Edinburgh, Royal Society of. Proceedings, vols. xv, xvi, 1887-89.
 Engineering Society, Liverpool. Transactions, vols. ix, x; Report, 1888.

- Engineers, Institute of Civil. Minutes, vols. xcvii, xcvi, xcix, c;
Charter; List of Members; Indexes, etc.
Engineers' Reports, U.S. Army. Index, vol. ii.
Entomological Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Report,
1889.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. U.S. Bulletin, xx-1-12; xxi-1-6;
Charter, etc.
Ethnology Bureau, Washington, U.S. Report 1888-84, 1884-85;
Pamphlets: Textile Fabrics of Ancient Peru; Ohio Earth-
works, 2 vols.; Bibliography of Iroquoian and Muskogean
Languages, 2 vols.
Education Report, Costa Rica.

F.

- Folklore, Journal of American, vol. iii, part 9.
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. Journal, Sept., 1889, to Aug.,
1890.

G.

- Geographical Society, American. Bulletin.
Geographical Society of Australasia, Royal, N.S. Wales Branch.
Transactions and Proceedings; Report on New Guinea.
Geographical Society of Australasia, Royal, Queensland Branch.
Proceedings and Transactions, 1888-89; Map of New
Guinea.
Geographische Gesellschaft (Kais.), Vienna. Mittheilungen, 1888-89.
Geological and Polytechnic Society, Yorkshire. Proceedings.
Geological Association, Liverpool. Journal, vol. ix.
Geological Society, Liverpool. Proceedings, 1888-89.
Geological Society. Quarterly Journal for 1889-90.
Geological Survey of India. Records, xxii-4; xxiii-2; Memoirs,
series xiii, vol. iv, part 1.
Geological Survey, U.S. Government. Report, 1885-86; Bulletin,
no. 48-58; Monographs, xiii, xiv, and Atlas.
Geologists' Association. Proceedings, vol. vi, parts 4, 5, 6, 7.

H.

Harvard College. Reports of President, Treasurer, and Curator of Museum of Comparative Zoology.

Harvard University. Bulletin, nos. 44, 45, 46.

Health Report, Liverpool, 1889, Dr. Taylor. Massachusetts, 1888.

I.

India, East, Association. Journal.

Interior, U.S. Government Secretary of the. Reports, 1888, vols. i, ii, iii, iv; 1890, vol. i.

Irish Academy, Royal. Transactions, xxix-12; Proceedings, December, 1889.

L.

Law Students' Association, Liverpool. Report, etc.

Library Reports. Astor, New York, 1889; Birkenhead; Chicago, 1890; Liverpool, 1889; Manchester, 1889; New York State, 1888, 1889.

Linnean Society. Journal: Botany, 172, 174, 181, 182; Zoology, 122, 128, 133, 134, 135, 141; Proceedings, November, 1887, to June, 1888; List of Members.

Literary Club, Manchester. Papers, vol. xv.

Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester. Memoirs and Proceedings, ii.

Literary and Philosophical Society, Leicester. Transactions.

Literary and Scientific Society, Birkenhead. Report, 1889-90.

M.

Marine Biology Committee, Liverpool. Second Report.

Medical and Chirurgical Society. Transactions, vol. lxxii.

Meteorological Society, Royal. Quarterly Journal; List, etc.

Meteorological Society, Scottish. Journal, 1888.

Météorologique de la Gironde, Commission. Observations, Pluviométriques et Thermométriques, 1887-88, 1888-89.

Microscopical Society, Royal. Journal.

Microscopical Society, Liverpool. Journal.

N.

- Natural History, American Museum of. Bulletin.
Natural History, Boston Academy of. Proceedings.
Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, Bath. Proceedings.
Natural History Society and Field Club, Hertfordshire. Proceedings.
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**SOCIETIES, ACADEMIES, AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS,
TO WHICH THIS VOLUME IS PRESENTED.**

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

<i>Aberdeen</i>	- - -	The Dun-Echt Observatory.
<i>Alnwick</i>	- - -	The Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Bath</i>	- - -	The Natural Historical and Antiquarian Field Club.
<i>Belfast</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Field Club. The Natural History and Philosophical Society.
<i>Birkenhead</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library. The Literary and Scientific Society.
<i>Birmingham</i>	- - -	The Philosophical Society.
<i>Bootle</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Bristol</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Society.
<i>Buckhurst Hill</i>	- -	The Epping Forest Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Chester</i>	- - -	The Society of Natural Science.
<i>Cambridge</i>	- - -	The Cambridge Union.
<i>Dublin</i>	- - -	The Royal Irish Academy. The Royal Geological Society of Ireland. The Royal Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Botanical Society. The Geological Society. The Meteorological Society of Scotland. The Philosophical Institution. The Royal Observatory. The Royal Physical Society. The Royal Scottish Society of Arts. The Royal Society.

<i>Falmouth</i>	- - -	The Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society.
<i>Glasgow</i>	- - -	The Philosophical Society, The Geological Society. The University.
<i>Greenwich</i>	- - -	The Royal Observatory.
<i>Halifax</i>	- - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Hull</i>	- - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>London</i>	- - -	The Anthropological Institute. The Society of Antiquaries. The Royal Institute of British Architects. The Society of Arts. The Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Astronomical Society. The British Association. The British Museum. The Chemical Society. The Royal Geographical Society. The Geological Society. The Geologists' Association. The Institution of Civil Engineers. The East Indian Association. The Linnæan Society. The Meteorological Society. The Society for Psychical Research. The Royal Microscopical Society. The Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society. The Royal Society. The Royal Institution. The Royal Society of Literature. The Statistical Society. The Zoological Society. The Editor of "Nature." The Editor of the "Journal of Science." The Editor of "Science Gossip." The Editor of the "Scientific Roll."
<i>Leeds</i>	- - -	The Philosophical and Literary Society.

<i>Leeds</i> - - - -	The Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.
<i>Leicester</i> - - - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Liverpool</i> - - - -	The Architectural and Archæological Society.
	The Astronomical Society.
	The Chemists' Association.
	The Engineering Society.
	The Geological Society.
	The Geological Association.
	The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
	The Microscopical Society.
	The Naturalists' Field Club.
	The Philomathic Society.
	The Polytechnic Society.
	The Athenæum Library and News Room.
	The Free Public Library.
	The Liverpool Library.
	The Lyceum News Room.
	The Medical Institution.
	The Royal Institution.
	University College.
<i>Manchester</i> - - - -	The Literary Club.
	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
	Chetham Library.
	The Free Public Library.
	Owens College.
<i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i> -	The Natural History Society of Northumberland and Durham.
<i>Oxford</i> - - - -	The Ashmolean Society.
	The Union Society.
<i>Penzance</i> - - - -	The Royal Geological Society of Cornwall.
<i>Plymouth</i> - - - -	The Plymouth Institution.
<i>Taunton</i> - - - -	The Somersetshire Archæological Society.
<i>Truro</i> - - - -	The Royal Institution of Cornwall.

- Watford* - - - The Hertfordshire Natural History Society
and Field Club.
- Welshpool* - - - The Powys-Land Club.
- Whitby* - - - The Literary and Philosophical Society.
-

BRITISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.

- Bombay* - - - The Royal Asiatic Society.
- Boston* - - - The American Academy of Arts and Science.
The Massachusetts Board of Education.
The Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy,
and Charity.
The Natural History Society.
The Public Library.
- Buffalo* - - - The Society of Natural Sciences.
- Calcutta* - - - The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Geological Survey of India.
- Cambridge (Mass)* . Harvard University.
Museum of Comparative Zoology.
The Peabody Museum of American Archaeo-
logy and Ethnology.
- Chicago* - - - The Public Library.
- Davenport* - - - The Academy of Natural Sciences.
- Melbourne* - - - The Royal Society of Victoria.
- New Haven* - - - The Connecticut Academy of Arts and
Sciences.
- New York* - - - The Academy of Sciences.
The Astor Library.
The American Geographical Society.
The City University.
The State University.
The State Library.
The American Museum of Natural History.
- Otago* - - - The University.

<i>Ottawa</i>	- - - -	Geological and Natural History Survey. The Library of Parliament.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Academy of Natural Sciences. The American Philosophical Society. The Franklin Institute. The Pennsylvania Board of Public Education. The Zoological Society.
<i>Salem</i>	- - - -	The American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Essex Institute.
<i>San Francisco</i>	- -	The Lick Observatory.
<i>Sydney</i>	- - - -	The Royal Society of New South Wales. The Department of Mines.
<i>Toronto</i>	- - - -	The Canadian Institute.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Department of Agriculture. The Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. The Naval Observatory. The Smithsonian Institution. The Department of Ordnance ; the Department of the Chief of Engineers ; the Department of Agriculture ; the Department of the Interior.
<i>Wellington</i>	- - -	The New Zealand Institute.

 FOREIGN.

<i>Amsterdam</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences.
<i>Antwerp</i>	- - - -	Antwerp Literary Society.
<i>Berlin</i>	- - - -	Die Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Bordeaux</i>	- - -	La Société des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles.
<i>Brussels</i>	- - - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

<i>Cherbourg</i>	- - -	La Société Nationale des Sciences Naturelles.
<i>Christiania</i>	- - -	The University.
<i>Copenhagen</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale. La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.
<i>Geneva</i>	- - - -	La Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle.
<i>Göttingen</i>	- - -	Die Königliche Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften.
<i>Grieswald</i>	- - -	The University.
<i>Harlem</i>	- - - -	La Société Hollandaise des Sciences.
<i>Helsingfors</i>	- - -	La Société des Sciences de Finlande.
<i>Kief</i>	- - - -	La Société des Naturalistes.
<i>Königsberg</i>	- - -	Die Königliche Physikalische-ökonomische Gesellschaft.
<i>Milan</i>	- - - -	Il Reale Istituto Lombardo.
<i>Munich</i>	- - - -	Die Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Paris</i>	- - - -	L'Ecole Polytechnique.
<i>Presburg</i>	- - - -	Der Verein für Natur- und Heil-Kunde.
<i>St. Petersburg</i>	- -	L'Académie Impériale des Sciences.
<i>Stockholm</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale Suédoise des Sciences.
<i>Strasburg</i>	- - -	La Bibliothèque Municipale. Die Kaiserliche Universitäts und Landes-Bibliothek.
<i>Tokio</i>	- - - -	The University.
<i>Toulouse</i>	- - - -	L'Observatoire Astronomique.
<i>Vienna</i>	- - - -	Die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Die Geographische Gesellschaft.

P R O C E E D I N G S
 OF THE
 L I V E R P O O L
 L I T E R A R Y A N D P H I L O S O P H I C A L S O C I E T Y.

ANNUAL MEETING.—SEVENTY-NINTH SESSION.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 7th, 1889.

MR. JAMES BIRCHALL, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed.

The Honorary Secretary read the following

REPORT.

In presenting their Report of the Proceedings of the Seventy-Eighth Session, the Council congratulate the Members upon the unmistakeable proofs of the Society's vigour and progress during the year.

The papers contributed have all been of great interest, and some are of permanent value. The Council note with pleasure the exceptionally large proportion of papers read before the Society which are printed in the Volume of *Transactions*.

There has been an increase in the number of Members. Since the last Annual Meeting, 10 Ordinary Members have

resigned, and 4 have died. There have been added 18 Ordinary Members.

The Society now consists of 172 Ordinary Members, 32 Honorary Members, 28 Corresponding Members, and 11 Associates.

The attendance at the meetings continues to cause much satisfaction. Fourteen Ordinary Meetings were held during the past Session, with an average attendance of 88.

The joint meeting of this Society and the Liverpool Polytechnic Society was in every way a success, and it is hoped that joint meetings with one or more of the other kindred Societies may continue a feature of the Society's proceedings.

Amongst the deaths the Council have to deplore those of Mr. H. H. Bremner, a former Member of Council, and Sir James A. Picton.

Sir J. A. Picton had been connected with the Society, without interruption, for the long period of nearly forty-three years, having been elected an Ordinary Member on the 28th of December, 1846, in company with our present highly-esteemed member, the Rev. Henry Hugh Higgins. His power was soon felt in the Society. He very early became a Member of Council, on which he rendered active and efficient service, rarely being absent from its meetings, and manifesting an increasing and lively interest in its proceedings. On two occasions the members showed their appreciation of this thoughtfulness and attention by electing him to the presidential office in 1863 and 1875.

Sir J. A. Picton's contributions to the Society's volumes of *Proceedings* are numerous, being not less than twenty in number, and ranging over forty years of his membership.

The majority of these papers treat of subjects in general literature and philology, in which he excelled; others are

devoted to antiquarian and historical matters, and a few dwell upon points in other departments of knowledge which attracted general attention at the time. In addition to these essays, Sir James frequently brought before the Society communications on miscellaneous subjects, indicative of his constant and close observation of all that occurred around him. All these productions give evidence of the extensive area of his reading, and of the facility with which he acquired knowledge outside the limits of his own specially chosen subjects. He was a fluent and graceful speaker, sharing in almost every debate; keen in argument, and not easily overcome.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, his attendances at the meetings were not relaxed until the last few months; and although a certain degree of physical weakness was perceptible towards the close of his life, his mental vigour was in no way diminished, and he continued to be a hard intellectual worker to the last. With his departure the Society has lost one of its most distinguished members, whose life and work within it form a distinct feature in its history.

But it was not to the Society alone that Sir James Picton gave his valuable aid in the promotion of literary and scientific culture. In the early part of his long public career he devoted himself to the advocacy of the Free Public Library and Museums' Act, the passing of which, it is hardly too much to say, was in a great measure due to his zealous exertions. He was the chairman of the Library, Museum and Arts Committee of the Town Council from its foundation to the time of his death, and in that capacity he presided over the Museum, the Free Public Library, and the Walker Art Gallery. In the selection of books for the use of the citizens, he acted on the principle of providing works which would not only be serviceable in the general diffusion

of knowledge, but would also be of special benefit to students—to literary, scientific and professional men. Convinced that in his own mind he had a veritable possession which it was his clear duty to cultivate, he sought to impress upon others the like sense of responsibility, and for this generous end he endeavoured to place within the reach of all, through the institutions over which he presided, the best available facilities for enabling them to fulfil this trust. As the author of the *Memorials of Liverpool*, and other works of local history, his name will not soon be forgotten; but the best monument to his memory is the noble institution in William Brown Street, which his discernment and devotion originated and upheld for the improvement of his fellow citizens.

The Report was passed on the motion of Dr. NEVINS, seconded by Mr. PHINEAS BENAS.

The HONORARY TREASURER read his Annual Statement of Accounts as audited, which was adopted and passed on the motion of Dr. NEWTON, seconded by Mr. GREEN.

The following Office Bearers were then elected: Vice-Presidents—Isaac Roberts, F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Principal Rendall, M.A., Mr. B. L. Benas; Hon. Treasurer—Frederick W. Edwards, M.S.A.; Hon. Secretary—John Rutherford, LL.B.; Hon. Librarian—R. McLintock.

The following Ordinary Members of Council were also elected: John Newton, M.R.C.S., W. Watson Rutherford, J. M. McMaster, R. J. Lloyd, M.A., Geo. Henry Morton, Chas. J. English, Henry Longuet Higgins, Josiah Marples, Rev. J. Polack, B.A., J. W. Thompson, B.A., Robert F. Green, Thomas A. Bellew, Miss Fanny Calder, Robert Nicholson.

The Associates of the Society were re-elected, and to the list was added Mr. Arthur Edward Nevins.

A vote of thanks to Mr. BIRCHALL for his conduct in the

Chair was proposed by Dr. NEVINS, seconded by Mr. BENAS, and unanimously carried.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., the President elect, delivered his Inaugural Address on "What is Religion?" *

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 21st, 1889.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. K. Leather, M.A., Mr. F. J. Sharpe, B.A., and the Rev. C. A. Stubbs, M.A., were duly elected Ordinary Members.

Various objects of interest in Natural History were exhibited.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 4th, 1889.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. JAMES BIRCHALL read a paper on "The Church and the State in Mediæval Europe. II. The Liberties of the Gallican Church." †

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 18th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. A. Duncan and the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, B.A., were duly elected Ordinary Members.

* See page 1.

† See page 75.

Mr. W. A. UNWIN read a paper on "The Authorship of Gil Blas."

The PRESIDENT exhibited a series of thirty specimens of *Turbo petholatus* from West Australia and Queensland, lately acquired by the Public Museum. Many of them possessed the beautiful eye-like operculum which characterises the species. The shell is remarkable for its highly varied and elaborated colour pattern. Mr. HIGGINS made some remarks on the interest of the exquisite adornments of this shell, for which, so far as he knew, no utilitarian reason could be given.

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, December 2nd, 1889.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Capt. Ferguson was elected an Associate Member.

Principal RENDALL, M.A., read a paper on "Stoicism and History." *

FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, December 16th, 1889.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Dr. R. R. Rentoul was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

Mr. R. C. JOHNSON read a paper on "The Perception of the Invisible."

Mr. E. R. RUSSELL read a paper on "The Book of King Arthur." †

* See page 273.

† See page 29.

SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 6th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT referred to the death of the Rev. Father Perry.

Mr. MARPLES made a communication upon the Linotype, and exhibited some specimens of print.

Mr. McLINTOCK read a note upon the First Part of the Second Volume of the New English Dictionary.

The PRESIDENT read a letter from Mr. Bewsher, of Mauritius, upon "The Green Fly" in that island.

Mr. R. J. LLOYD, M.A., read a paper on "The Aryan Cradle Language." *

SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 20th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a case of Lepidoptera, presented to the Museum by Governor Maloney, of Lagos.

Mr. F. W. EDWARDS, M.S.A., read a note on "The Adoption of a more Perfect System of Technical Instruction by the Liverpool School Board." †

Mr. OSMUND W. JEFFS read a paper on "Records of the Rocks by the Aid of Photography."

* See page 147.

† See page 67.

EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 3rd, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Sir Alfred Maloney, K.C.M.G., Governor of Lagos, and Capt. John Ferguson, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

The PRESIDENT exhibited some Bones of the Cats from Mummy Pits in Egypt, Carved Ivory Balls from China, and a Japanese Doctor's Medicine Box.

Mr. B. L. BENAS read a paper on "The Ethics and Poetry of the Chinese, with Phases in their History." *

NINTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 17th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. NEWTON made some remarks on "The Mummified Cats of Egypt," and the PRESIDENT read a letter thereon which appeared in *The Liverpool Daily Post* of February 5th.

The Rev. S. FLETCHER WILLIAMS read a paper on "Copernicus and his Work." †

TENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 3rd, 1890.

MR. B. L. BENAS, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Henry Cairncross Duncan was duly elected an Ordinary Member.

Mr. R. F. GREEN read a paper on "Christianity and Buddhism." ‡

* See page 118.

† See page 167.

‡ See page 299.

ELEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 17th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. McLINTOCK read a paper on "Johann und Gretchen."

TWELFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 31st, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. J. LLOYD, M.A., read a paper on "The Physical Nature of Vowel Sounds." *

THIRTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 14th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

A *Conversazione* was held, and examples illustrating the History and Development of Writing, Printing, and Engraving, were exhibited.

The following books from the Free Public Library were exhibited by the PRESIDENT and Mr. COWELL:—

Epistles of St. Jerome (in Latin), printed at Mayence, by Peter Schoeffer, folio, 1470. A fine specimen of early typography.

Quintiliani Institutionum Oratoriarum libri XII, printed

* See page 243.

by Aldus, Venice, 1521. An octavo in Aldine or Italic type throughout. Beautifully bound after the Grolier style by Gruel, Paris.

Caesaris, C. Julii quae extant, printed by Elsevir, Leyden, 1685. One of the rarer duodecimos, and bound by Derome.

A collection of Historical Prints, engraved from pictures by the most celebrated painters by Sir Robert Strange. A large folio containing fifty plates by this eminent master of line engraving.

Engravings from the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Two folio volumes of exquisite portraits in mezzotints.

Galerie Royale de Dresde. Containing the principal pictures of this important gallery finely executed in lithography.

Palæographie Universelle, by J. B. Silvestre. An important work, giving illuminated facsimile specimens of ancient and mediæval manuscripts, with letterpress descriptions.

The Royal Gallery. Ancient and modern engravings from the collections at Windsor Castle, Buckingham Palace, and Osborne. Fine specimens of steel engraving.

Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists. A volume of fine etched portraits and other engravings.

Société d'aquarellistes français. Two volumes folio, Paris, 1888. Choice specimens of *photogravure*.

General History of Quadrupeds, the figures engraved in wood by Thomas Bewick.

History of British Birds, with wood engraving by Thomas Bewick.

Polychrome Meisterwerke, edited by H. Köhler, a large folio, with fine plates in chromolithography.

Keramic Art of Japan, by G. A. Audsley and J. L. Bowes, plates in chromolithography.

Amongst other objects exhibited were the following:—

“Specimens of Writing on the Talipot Palm, with the Instruments used in Writing,” by Mr. F. W. Holder.

A Series of Etchings, Engravings, etc., from the Portfolio, by Mr. McLintock.

Books of Alchemy and Early Chemistry, by Dr. Campbell Brown and Mr. Watt.

Northumbrian Gospels, by Dr. Nevins.

Manuscript Books of Hours with Miniatures, Printed Books of Hours, German Bible (1488), with coloured illustrations, Nuremberg Chronicle (1493), with large Maps and Woodcuts, and Der Schatzbehälter (1491), with Maps and Woodcuts, by Dr. Newton.

Examples of Photoprocess Printing, and Blocks used in the Art, by Mr. O. W. Jeffs.

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 28th, 1890.

REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. B. L. BENAS was elected President of the Society for the next two Sessions.

The following resolution was then passed:—“That the Society expresses its feeling of the loss sustained through Mr. Isaac Roberts leaving the neighbourhood, and congratulates him on his distinguished achievements in celestial photography.”

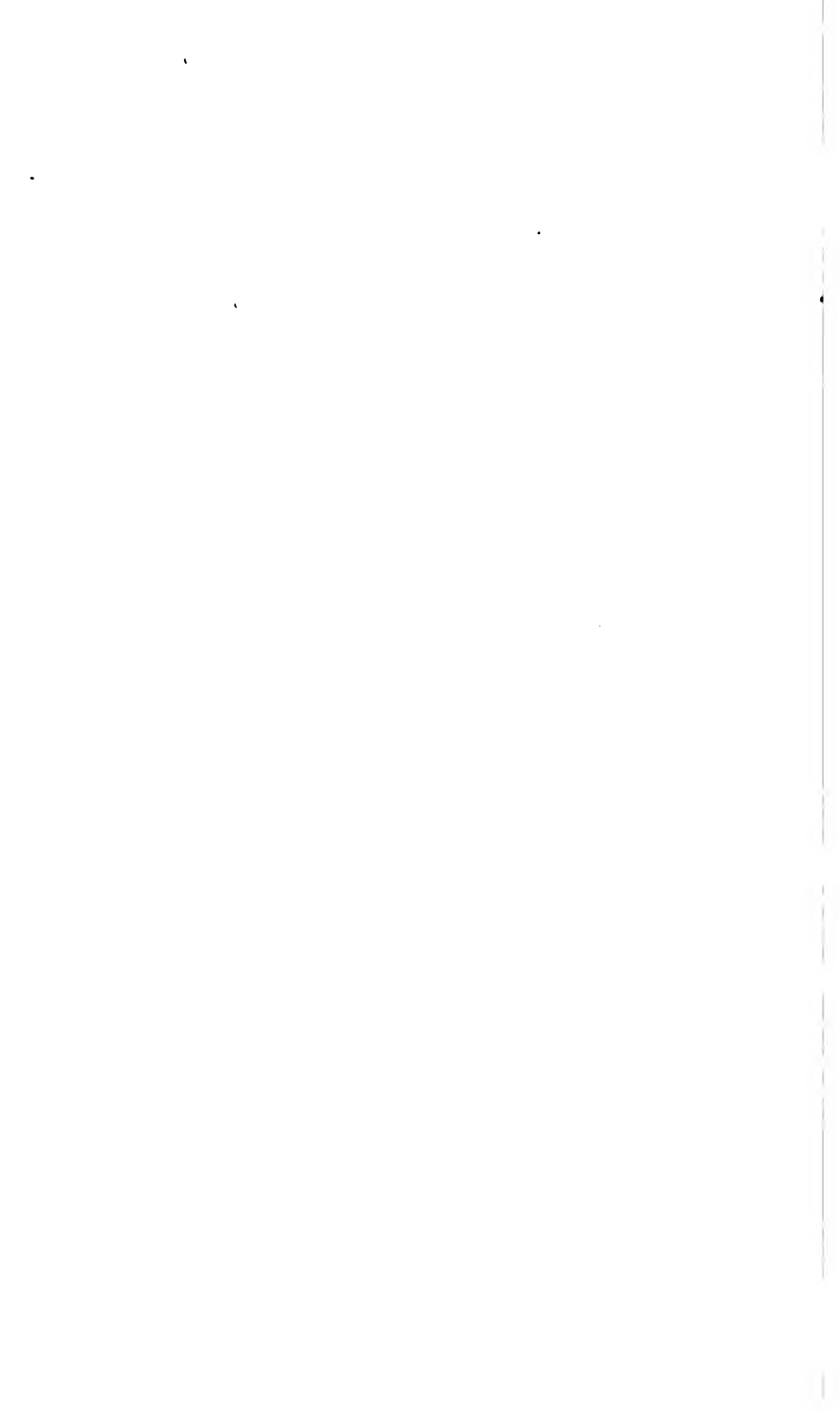
Mr. H. L. HIGGINS read a paper on “Browning’s View of the Shadows and Minor Keys of Life.” *

Principal RENDALL read a paper on “Robert Browning.” †

* See page 195.

† See page 273.

PAPERS READ DURING THE SESSION.



WHAT IS RELIGION ?

By REV. H. H. HIGGINS, M.A.

The design of the following address is to show that in the presence of the sceptical movement now in progress, it is not good to substitute Ethics for Theology—as advocated by the earlier Positivists, and the author of “The Service of Man”—but to accept, from the life and personal teachings of the Founder of Christianity, a faith in entire harmony with his spirit, and with the newly-acquired knowledge we possess of Nature.

RELIGION, in common with other great natural gifts of the Eternal, has this quality—its benefits are enjoyed by multitudes who are quite incapable of describing the origin of their happiness therein.

In the course of this address, it may be needful for me to show that much of what is often taken for religion is more commonly its adversary ; but that, as is seen in the judgment parable, those who are unconscious of any specially religious motive, may very possibly be most genuinely under active religious influence.

Within the last half century a well-marked division into two classes has separated Theistic cosmogonists into—such as believe that the Eternal originating Mind created all things, animate and inanimate, spontaneously, discretely, and from without, i.e., at a distance—and such as believe that the Eternal originating Mind, ever from the beginning immanent in all things as the Life of the universe, constituted the whole, not discretely, nor from without, but by a most wonderful method, and in an order capable of being apprehended and, in some measure, appreciated by man.

It is evident that the phenomena of Nature, as presented to the former of these classes, are deficient in much of the beautiful connection and unity which is recognised in them by observers of the second class. The conception of Nature entertained by Christian Theists of the second class will probably afford materials for an extensive literature in all ages of the future. I can only now attempt to illustrate the bearing of a few undisputed facts upon a great change which has commenced in our own day, and which will, I believe, find a happy result in the vast promotion throughout the world of the true mind and spirit of the Founder of Christianity.

THE TOTAL MEASURE OF RELIGION IN THE WORLD.

The first, and perhaps the most stupendous fact calling for our notice, is the existence of fourteen hundred millions of mankind now living on the earth (*Statesman's Year-Book* for 1888, p. 21).

All these, with the exception of a very small residue, are worshippers, and have some kind of religion. Of the inconceivably vast kingdoms of animal and vegetable life, *these only* are worshippers. There is, therefore, such a thing as a totality, or a total amount, in the religion as there is in the rainfall of the world, the latter being a physical, but the former a psychical, fact. An inquirer who should direct his thoughts to the study of man, taken collectively, as the representative of religious life upon the earth, would probably find a very limited amount of literature directly available for his help.

The ancient sacred writings of various nations were extant amongst tribes with capacities quite undeveloped towards such a conception as the "human race." Themselves and their great hereditary enemies they knew, but none beyond. The Assyrians had foes on the north and on

the south whom they recognised; and if the ships of Phœnicia, creeping from horn to point along the coast, went far and returned, the natives where they had been were to them scarcely more than animals who could trade.

The Jews, so small a people and yet so mighty in history, and in the imperishable character of their remains, had sublime thoughts—sublime, yet incompatible with the extended knowledge that was to be—knew in fact little of what in their own days was going on in China, India, and Japan; perhaps also in Mexico, and in the “*Cradle of the Aryans*.” The Jews would not, I think, have written all that they wrote if they *could have* had an adequate idea of the human race. Yet, if they had not written, it is doubtful whether we now had known so much.

The ideas for which many ancient words *seem* to stand, were then, in the main part, not in existence. The expression “mankind” of to-day, was not the mankind of the nearest word in the arrow-headed character. There is no evidence that the concept had then arisen, and there is probability that it had not.

At the dawn of history the habitable globe was divided into oceans, islands, and continents, very much as it now is; at all events, there is no reason for limiting the human family to a few regions on the borders of a land-locked sea, with Phœnicia and Egypt on its shores, the early homes of men. Antiquity as great as may be found in any race of men may possibly belong to the natives of northern Japan—the Ainos—living almost at the antipodes of the Mediterranean; and it would be most unnatural to conceive the intermediate regions destitute of population.

At the epoch when the western hemisphere was first peopled, it is at least possible that in the eastern, or, as it is called, the Old World, several centres of civilization had been developed, each sufficiently advanced to possess a

national cultus of great dignity and some spirituality; but without the technical knowledge of good inventions that would enable them to have free communication with worshippers living at a distance. *We* have the secular knowledge necessary for free intercommunication, and with it the assurance, confirmed by recent science—that One Power “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.”

On such ground I venture to speak of desiring a bird's-eye view of the religions of the world, taken, as if from a little distance, out of the war of controversy, and enabling the observer to discern the ethnic faiths occupying territories side by side or mingled in one country. All being children of one Father.

But though this is a real thing, and of the nature of a fact, it has been found very difficult to attain and preserve upon it the attitude of steadfast contemplation necessary for deriving reasonable inferences therefrom. Nevertheless the idea sought for is of grave importance, and its absence has led to results for which wise men have grieved.

In support of the genuineness and authenticity of a written, supernatural, revelation, it was declared by Paley and others to be highly improbable that the Creator of man should have left the human race without any direct testimony of his own divine character and work.

But if we admit this to be a reasonable statement, its application in the case of a revelation limited to one small section of mankind—yet claiming to possess an universal, infallible authority—changeless for all ages—and utterly excluding every child of man, except through the gate of nationalisation with the Jew—to say no more, takes from such an *a priori* argument, as an appeal to what is reasonable, the whole of its powerful prestige. It is most improbable that *such* a revelation should have been given by

a wise and loving Creator. A misconception of such fearful magnitude might, humanly speaking, have ruined the prospects of Hebrew theology; and so it would, but that there is very much of healthy feeling in man's nature. His heart has ever been better than his logic, and noble minds moulded on the Jewish Scriptures of their day have worshipped their Jehovah, in whom they felt no blemish by reason of the, to us, strange, and contradictory things they found themselves told concerning Him. To them, by reason of their deficiency in knowledge, they were neither contradictory nor strange.

It seems probable that the worst ethical results of the Hebrew worship of a Divine Being devoted to Israel, but indifferent, comparatively, to all the world besides, were not developed until many years had passed after the coming of Christ, or even till after the reformation. Calvinism with its stern logic, and the Inquisition in the depth of its inhumanity, could have gained no hold on the Jews of the Old Testament. Humanly speaking, what shall we say of the worship of Baal in comparison with these fruits of a far higher civilization?

It seems but yesterday when I attended the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society, held in the Court Theatre, then the Amphitheatre of this city. The building was crowded to the very roof; and I well remember the breathless silence which prevailed amongst the masses, when an earnest voice, trembling with impassioned, but, as I believe, genuine emotion, delivered solemn warnings against yielding to the delusion that there *could* be any solid ground for hope that a single heathen could be saved from endless burning except by being converted to the Christian faith. Mark, it was not said that no heathen could be saved. No, for all things are possible with God. But to suppose that *we* could have any solid ground for hope in the case of a heathen was only a mournful delusion. Trusting in the

character of the Almighty, without pledge, or sacrament, or written promise, was reckoned wholly unwarrantable or even inconceivable. Surely this way of putting it, as also the sentiment in the rubric on the death of unbaptized infants, is more hurtful to theology than St. Paul's straight-forward appeal respecting vessels *made* to honour, and vessels *made* to dishonour.

How would an assembly so instructed have received an expression of the larger hope not unfamiliar to us now? Led by such pioneers as David Livingstone the missionary work still continues, and a better foundation for it than "Tophet" is found in the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The nations around seem to demand a hearing. Some short notice must be taken of the character of that large majority of the world now left to uncovenanted mercies which no pious Christian, it is said, will presume to determine in favour, even of a brother.

In reply to the momentous question: "What is Religion?" we have attempted to regard the subject synthetically. We pass on to notice briefly a few of the great religions of the world.

We may commence with the mighty and ancient religion of Buddhism, which is about 500 years older than Christianity, and was founded by Sakya-muni who afterwards became the Buddha, "one who knows." The name is retained in the Anglo-Saxon "bode" and "fore-bode," meaning to know. Buddhism embraces nearly or quite three hundred millions of human beings. It is the popular religion of China: the state religion of Thibet and of what was formerly the Burman Empire. It is the religion of Siam, Assam, Nepal, Ceylon, in short, of a vast portion of Eastern Asia.

"The Buddhist morality is one of endurance, patience, submission, and abstinence, rather than of action, energy, enterprise. Love for

all beings is its nucleus, every animal being a possible relative (through transmigration). To love our enemies, to govern ourselves, to avoid vices, to reverence age, to provide food and shelter for men and animals, to despise no religion, show no intolerance, not to persecute, are the virtues of these people. Woman too, is better treated by Buddhism than by most other Oriental religions."*

Buddhism has made all its conquests honourably by a process of rational appeal to the human mind, and was never propagated by force. The pure and gentle character of its founder, the spirituality of its sacred writings, only recently known in the west, its purity and freedom from idolatry, its heroic struggle against the tyranny of the Brahman priests and the evils of caste, may well be contemplated with admiration.

But the extension of Buddhism by its northern disciples presents the fellowship of Buddha in a form widely contrasted with that of its earlier years, yet not perhaps so entirely devoid of truth as some have reported it to be ; for Lamaism, as it is known in Tibet, is a religion of conspicuously high ceremonials, headed by a supreme pontiff supported by huge monasteries, one of them containing 4,000 Lama priests bound, for the sake of an uninstructed populace, to maintain certain superstitious uses.

Few writers of travels, and even few missionaries, care to record whether this religion of high ceremony makes its votaries treat their wives and children well ; but they are sure to be profuse in describing prayer wheels, in the hands of the people, and for public use in the markets, and turned by water in the streams.

The origin of the prayer wheel, where myriads of Lama priests are ever turning over the palm leaves on which are written the laws of Buddha, may well be a desire to help the uninstructed millions to join in an act of supposed veneration.

* J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Paris, 1860.

tion, connecting the going forth of the sacred law with the daily course of the sun, the source of light and life.

The prayer sentence multiplied in the wheels is Om Mani Padmi Hoong. Om, corresponding with the Hebrew Yah, here applied to Buddha. Mani, Jewel, a title of Buddha. Padmi, Lotus; on the Lotus throne, as he is frequently represented. Hoong, Amen.

The visitor who sees the poor Tibetan peasant grinding away at the public iron prayer-crank, for himself and his wife and his little ones, may jot down in his journal, "Of course this banishes all possibility of real prayer." Nevertheless, when he gets home to England he finds a satisfaction in applying to himself and his friends such aphorisms as, "*Laborare est orare*"—"He prayeth best who loveth best." What is true for the polished Anglican worshipper in the orthodox faith, is true also for the many millions of poor Buddhists who sweat at the heavy prayer-wheels if so be that a blessing may come on themselves and their friends.

Brahmanism, the religion of the Hindoos, although numbering more than one hundred millions of adherents had no personal founder. There seems to have been in many religions a tendency to recognise a Divine Triad. In Egypt, Osiris the Creator, Typhon the Destroyer, and Horus the Preserver; in Persia, Ormazd the Creator, Ahriman the Destroyer, and Mithra the Restorer; in Buddhism, Buddha the Divine Man, Dharma the Word, and Sangha the Communion of Saints. So out of races who had developed the most ancient Vedas came the Hindoo Triad of Brahma Creator, Vishnu Preserver, and Siva Destroyer. 500 years B.C. the burdens imposed by the Hindoo priesthood had become intolerable, and Sakya Muni, the reformer, arose founding a religion which was established by Asoka 150 B.C.

Left to itself, and in the presence of an antagonistic religion, Buddhism, forbidding idolatry altogether, Brahmanism became extravagantly symbolical. It must, however, be admitted that "the Hindu religion has been more unjustly described than most others, owing to the superficial views, or more frequently the religious bias of popular writers. Thus the absurd points have been dwelt on, and the indecent hinted at, till the whole system of the religion appears to be almost entirely made up of these incidents which are merely the later growths of allegory, and chiefly the invention of the poets. The initiated and the educated, adored One Eternal Mind, the self-existing, incomprehensible spirit known as Brahm."—*E. Hodges, F.S.Sc.*

Sir William Jones, followed by Mr. Max Müller, have made us acquainted in our own language with those astonishing productions, the Vedas, the oldest works in the Hindu literature. The hymns of the Rig Veda are of unknown authorship or age, and they are very numerous. R. W. Church, dean of St. Paul's, says of them, "They stand out like constellations, projected singly and in isolation against an impenetrable depth of dark sky behind them."

Want of space compels me to select one only of these Vedic hymns, and that the shortest accessible to me. It is addressed to Varuna, the God of the sky—the Greek Ouranos, or Heaven, and also the name of the God who resides in the sky.

Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Through want of strength, thou strong and high God, I have gone on the wrong shore; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Thirst came upon the worshipper though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host;

Whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness ; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Dean Church, in his volume on *The Gifts of Civilisation*, quotes at full length this and several much longer Vedic hymns, and he appears to feel their simple grandeur.

"We find in these hymns," the Dean says (p. 374), "unquestionably the idea of righteousness and sin ; we find also, less distinctly, the idea of a life after death ;" (p. 350) "The heart of a religion passes into its poetry—all its joy, its tenderness and sweetness, if it has any, its longings and reachings after the Eternal and the Unseen."

(Page 367.) "They seem like men striving after a great truth apparently within their reach, but really just beyond it . . . Seekers after God, and of the invisible things of Him they may have been. But who will say that they were the *finders* ?"

The italics are Dean Church's, and they have indeed a sad significance. We all know what is meant by Dean Church as involved in the failing to find God.

Such was the religion of our first Aryan forefathers. Bunsen says their worship was the infantile prattle of that early world on the deepest of all subjects. One wonders that the allusion to the hosannas of children did not take some effect. But the Dean has only a *non possumus* in reply. (P. 372) "There is no bridging over the interval between the one Supreme, Almighty, Most Holy God, and any idea of divinity or of divine powers, many or few, which comes short of it. The belief is there or it is not." Of these early Eastern religions the Dean goes on to say—(page 386) "their singers sought Him, it may be ; but it was in vain !" Alas, that it should be regarded as a point of honour to think thus of God.

Eastward of India lies the marvellous territory known as

the Empire of China, with a population of 400 millions, which is more than a quarter of the inhabitants of the world. The bulk of the people are Buddhists, and with them in their elaborate ritual are joined the Taoists; but whilst Buddhism is generous, benevolent, humane, seeking to help others, Tao-ism is selfish, and addicted to magic and spiritism.

Confucianism alone has any claim to the title of a state religion, and its system, taught by competitive examinations, rules the thought of China, merely tolerating other religious professions as suitable to persons of weak minds.

Although Confucius did not himself worship a personal God, the last years of his life were devoted to the reproduction of certain very ancient books called *Kings*, from the webs of cloth on which they were written. In his days, 500 B.C., these books had become almost forgotten. They teach that there is one Supreme Being who has an intelligence which nothing can escape, and who wishes men to live together in peace and brotherhood. He commands not only right actions, but pure desires and thoughts.

The worship of Confucius was directed to ancestors, to propriety, to the state as father and mother of its subjects, to the ruler as in the place of authority. Perfectly sincere, deeply and absolutely assured of all that he knew, he said nothing he did not believe. Many beautiful and noble things are related concerning the character of Confucius—of his courage in the midst of danger, of his humility in the highest position of honour. His writings and life have given the law to Chinese thought. He is the patron saint of that great empire.

A people with institutions and such a social life cannot be despised, and to call them uncivilised is as absurd in us as it is in them to call Europeans barbarians. They are a good, intelligent, and happy people. The degraded popula-

tion of the suburbs of Canton, and other parts of China, corrupted as they have been by intercourse with some of the lowest classes of Europeans, are as nothing compared with the four hundred millions of living men women and children that owe much to the wholesome wisdom and prudence of Confucius.

Another great and very ancient religion still survives, though in exile, and with diminished numbers in its ranks. It is the religion of Zoroaster and the Zend Avesta, probably an offset from the original Aryan stock, and established as the national religion of Persia in the third century of our era. Driven thence by the Mahommedan power, the followers of Zoroaster found refuge in Bombay and other parts of India, where, to the number of 85,000, they are at present known and highly respected as the Parsis.

One of the most conspicuous features in the religion of Zoroaster is his unflinching support given to two antagonistic powers, Ahura Masda, the All-Good; and Ahriman, the Evil-One.

From early ages, in certain channels of religion, it has been made a supreme essential to acknowledge one God only. But if this involve ascribing to the One Power acts, the principles of which would not be tolerated in man, ethically it might be better to own the existence also of an adverse Power. There is not necessarily anything intrinsically evil in dualism. It is inevitable without sufficient light.

It is better to have an Ahura Mazda, and to cast in the lot with him, and be wholly on his side; and an Ahriman to hate, and to struggle against, and defy with all the heart and soul—than to boast of having one God only, but to be very mistrustful of him, and to think him capable of doing things we should be sorry to hear charged against a human friend. Real monotheism demands man at the summit of his capacities, and then it is a perilous height.

Zoroaster was probably a man whose deep and honest feelings towards the object of his worship admitted not of his tampering with the attributes of the divine character. His thoughts were sternly just, and unable to be appeased in the sight of evil. They were not attractive, as those of Sakya Muni, but they left to his followers a lesson which has apparently had lasting qualities ; for if the Parsis are not numerous, a considerable proportion of them are wealthy, and have taken the lead in voluntary munificence, and in the promotion of free education and works of public benevolence.

Our thoughts have been directed to those only of the great religions of the world which, commencing long before Christianity, have remained to this day active and influential powers.

1. Brahmanism : a sacerdotal hierarchy, mystical, cruel, proud, ascetic : exercising over its devotees a strong influence, used obviously for much evil, but ultimately, it may be hoped, for some good.

2. Buddhism : moral, gentle, communicative, domestic, loving ; but liable to extreme perversion.

3. Confucianism : systematic, politic, worldly wise ; weak in emergency but strong in ancestral veneration.

4. The Religion of Zoroaster : strict, honourable ; and, amongst the four, pre-eminent in the generous treatment of women. Laying much stress on right principles of action ; not afraid of Ahriman, but never treating the evil power with levity or subserviency.

More than half the world is here before us, and we have yet seen nothing of the millions of Islam, or of the Turanian, or the Aztec, or any of the barbarous races—or of Christianity. What a stupendous scheme of manifold religion has been developed, and for how wide an extent of the habitable earth ; and for what long ages. Is this Creation or Evolution ? Either way it is of the Eternal.

But most astonishing of all are the contrasts between one development and another : between the Brahman mystic and the Confucian law-observer—the Buddhist, satisfied with endless reiterations of his prayer sentence, Om Mani Padmi Hoong, and the Parsi lost in contemplative veneration before the sacred fire, the emblem of Ahura Mazda—and between all these and the lisping of those who dwell in the shadow of the valley where the light of knowledge shineth not. It is hard on pain of loss of faith to be driven to believe that all this means nothing, or worse.

THE SPIRIT OF ALLIANCE.

Such a revelation as must attend a glimpse, ever so slight and imperfect, of the world and its human population can hardly do otherwise than make us feel painfully the want of focus in our mental organs of perception, adjusted as they are to closer vision. Yet the thought cannot be avoided—as animals, all mankind are of one blood; but where is the psychical bond?

We shall not find such a bond of union in any object of worship in systematic theology. Our own monotheism is gained at the expense of such a conception of the Supreme as Zoroaster would have been unable and unwilling to entertain towards Ahura Mazda.

Nor can the world be united in any mode of sacrifice or substitutionary worship; or in anything involving faith in the historic character of the fall of man, and of the cursing of the earth by its Maker for man's sake.

Nor would it be reasonable to hold out hope of union in anything requiring a general renunciation—the Buddhist to renounce Gautama the Buddha; the Parsis, to renounce Zoroaster; the Christian, Christ. It is not meant after being proselytized; but now. What is there to bind us together just as we are, now?

Not with any expectation of being able to give a great answer to this question is it brought forward, but in order that it may be asked after *some* effort has been made to show the deep interest of the subject. The question has never had a fair chance, and many will be unable to be satisfied as to its serious importance. My hope is that it may bring some help to us in our thoughts of the shadows that coming events are casting on our path.

No better name has occurred to me for such a link, if there be one, than the Spirit of Alliance.

It will readily be granted that what is termed natural affection is co-extensive with the human race.

See o'er Greenland, cold and wild,
Rocks of ice eternal piled,
Yet the mother loves her child.—MONTGOMERY.

It is shared by lower animals, but that is of no consequence in our enquiry. Natural affection is an active principle, and, intentionally, always leads to the good of the object. Few moral generalisations are more reliable than this; and upon it may at once be founded the recognition, throughout all the world, of an immeasurably vast amount of thoughts, desires, and actions continually occurring, not instigated by selfish motives, nor by such as are termed religious, but springing naturally from a feeling for the benefit of the object. The whole of this is good, though not always highly intellectual, and of course it is liable to be overcome by stronger passions, but it is as natural as hunger. Its native sphere is in the family, which is the unit of the human race.

It is, however, the same principle that actuates men in relations which spring up amongst themselves, wider than the family, when they become members of a society, a church, or a community.

It is a feeling born not, I think, of a sense of duty, but of inclination,—a natural instinct, active on account of the relations into which men enter, and their liking for others who are with them in the same sodality—making them willing and anxious to act not for self, but for those of their fellows with whom they are associated. A school-boy will act in the most unselfish way for the credit of his school. For its sake he will give up his place in the 14, or the 11, or the 8—a bitter trial to him—without murmuring. The power of personal affection is thus brought to bear upon conduct, rendering it unselfish and generous.

When we reckon up the ways in which men, women, and children are banded together for various purposes, and that each segregation throughout the world, so far as it promotes a mutual interest between the members of the body, gives them an impulse to act unselfishly—the field for training in a generous use of life is seen to be vast indeed.

We need, then, some concise statement as to what it is that we are endeavouring to uphold as good. Shall we say it is the spirit that prompts us to do well for the sake of those with whom we are banded? If this be received as not objectionable, the next thing needed is a name for it.

Such good old words as “kindred,” brotherhood,” “fellowship,” and the like, express facts of unity, but not the active spirit that springs therefrom. The French have an expression—*esprit de corps*—fairly answering the required purpose, though requiring to be modified when applied to the affairs of a family. But the fact of having to borrow a French expression seems to put the matter beyond the earnest, homely, teaching that leads to salvation; *i.e.*, to a healthy condition of mind.

And so, it comes to pass that, with half a dozen names for every kind of thing that is bad, we are without a word

to express that which, take the world through, is at least one of the most powerful motives for well-doing.

The spirit that prompts us to do well for the sake of those with whom we are allied. For want of a better name we may call it the Spirit of Alliance, and find, as we have already done, our first and most obvious example in the relation which subsists between the members of a family—a bond so perfectly according to nature that Jesus the Christ, in what he said about "*corban*," seems to give the spirit of alliance priority in claim to obligations urged on the ground of religious authority; and St. Paul thus writes: "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." There are, then, worse people than infidels, according to St. Paul.

I have already said that the spirit of alliance is probably the strongest *and the most abundant psychical motive power for good in the world*. What striving and pinching! What cruel words from masters and mistresses, borne without reply! What suffering endured in silence—all for the sake of the family; and not always from ties of blood affinity, for how many servants have there been of the type of Caleb Balderston!—at whose quaint heart-overflowings one could almost cry, at the bottom they are so sweet and good.

And what a restraint on old and young is laid by the spirit of family alliance. O the pang, more bitter than death, of bringing disgrace upon a family. O the joy, in a distant land, when some soldier lad gets the Victoria Cross pinned on, as his very first thoughts fly homeward—"What will mother say to this?"

It is hard to prefer motives that require perpetual whipping up by stringent doctrines, or to be inflamed by gorgeous ceremonies, or galvanised into semblance of life by threats of endless future torment. Why, here is a

motive stronger than death, and that many waters cannot quench.

Moreover, this Spirit of Alliance is active in every place throughout the world, though increasing with the measure of civilisation and genuine religious influence prevailing therein. For the spirit of alliance is not supposed to take the place of faith, or to be a substitute for the Christian or any other religion. It has incomparably greater opportunities for action amongst the various friendly relations found in races which possess a civilised cult, most of all in Christian races. Yet it acts powerfully in the hearts of young children, and decays not where the almond tree blossoms. The parents do well for the sake of the children, and the children for the sake of the parents, even though the name of Christ be unknown.

Can this be regarded as more than the fruit of animal instinct? Yes, it is not the result of mere brute instinct, and to attribute it to human instinct is no disparagement. The whole spirit of Christ's teaching shews his wondrous regard for *natural* good qualities, such as might be found in little children, or shared by the Samaritan and the Pagan with the Christian and the Jew—thus acknowledging the natural right instincts of humanity as his Father's own work.

I am not disposed to draw an impassable gulf between the noble qualities possessed by some animals and their yet higher counterparts in man; but in the spirit of family alliance there seems to be something of the nature of such a gulf, for the passionate attachment of the brute mother turns to indifference, or even hatred, as the young are growing up, but the human spirit of family endearment becomes stronger and stronger to the very last.

And how marvellous is the spontaneous activity exerted through the spirit of alliance. I do not see that any

genuine line of distinction can be drawn between the human instinct that with love clasps the hand of a brother, and that which draws a tear into the eye at the remembrance of "home, *sweet home*." The spirit of alliance can be moved by things supposed to be without life—stones and trees—"the streamlet"—"our alley," perhaps only a poor place after all. And thoughts thus begotten are almost always fresh and pure.

For the most part they lead in the way of well-doing. There are conspiracies for evil deeds, but they are like ropes of sand; there are alliances for wickedness—thugs and assassins, but like bats they hide in holes and corners of the earth; the villain is more or less of a solitary man, and if he has a companion he turns his knife on him, perhaps sooner than on any other man.

But as for alliances for good—the time would indeed fail me to tell of countless federations in which the members are encouraged to act honourably, and justly, and benevolently—such bodies as the Freemasons, and the Odd Fellows, and a hundred others. Who knows not the enthusiasm of the soldier for his regiment, that makes the mention of its number an exorcism to drive away all such thoughts as are shabby and base? Again, what mean those ringing cheers when a knot of old British seamen hear the name of the good ship in which they fought for their country?

Such is the spirit of alliance; it has no name; it is not one of the cardinal virtues; it is not limited to any profession of faith, but is a pure instinct of the human spirit; not therefore the less, but the more, the work of the Divine Spirit; and few can claim that they are out of hearing of its friendly voice, or beyond the reach of its upright promptings.

You have been asked to judge of the human race by what it has of the Spirit of Alliance. It is impossible—you

cannot have the adequate materials before you. Herein lies a great and distressing peculiarity. The bad side of life makes most of the noise in the world and is suffered to attract an immoderate share of public notice.

There is not an overt evil result of man's conflicting qualities but it flames through the land. Actions utterly insignificant and contemptible, but for the evil in them, sell the newspapers ; though the greater number of the editors hate to have it so, but are unable to apply a remedy.

On the other hand, how entirely beyond all power of computation are the good actions and results of the Spirit of Alliance in one day, or in one hour, in a single city ; not one of them to be found in a newspaper, *all unrecorded*, except in that memory where a cup of cold water is not forgotten.

Judging by the loud things of life the pessimists have it all their own way, and find strenuous supporters in *doctrinaires* who assert that by nature man is utterly corrupt and without goodness of any kind ; so that the spirit of alliance itself being instinctive, and of unregenerate origin, must, say they, without doubt be of the nature of sin. Can it be a ground for surprise that on moral points of this sort unbelief is spreading ?

I will endeavour very briefly to reply to this question in the next section of my paper—On Altruistic Worship.

ALTRUISTIC WORSHIP.

The use of the expression Altruistic Worship has been suggested by the prevalence in the present day of a kind of unbelief comparatively unknown in former years.

It is found in men, not of the schools but of the world ; men of business, of politics, or of some recognised profession ; men whose unbelief is not a trembling doubt, but a wonder how they could ever have been brought to believe

such things. Of course, judged by *doctrinaires*, these men are simply reprobates ; but they are often honest, generously disposed, and possess sincere reverence for things they hold to be sacred. They are like men taken by surprise, but their scepticism is not in matters of high revelations, of which they are too proud to confess their ignorance,—which is the clerical idea of scepticism,—but in ordinary things which they can understand very well, and feel that they *must* regard them with grave disapprobation.

Nevertheless, their whole inner man is not thus revolutionised ; they have no unfriendly feelings towards believers. They would not sit in the seat of the scornful, and as to throwing up their religion because of not believing what they feel they ought never to have been asked to believe, they would as soon forswear the sunshine because they had learned that there are many black spots in the sun.

Hence has arisen in the churches a very peculiar condition of affairs. An eminent bishop, at the late Church Congress, asserted openly—"The unbelief of the day is not only aggressive but almost omnipresent." And it is true enough that thousands attend public worship regularly, on the Sunday morning especially, knowing that in every part of the service occur expressions with which they can no longer sympathise. They may have good and sufficient reasons for attending, but their position has become a painful one, and prompts the thought—Why is it thus ?

It would be unreasonable to expect the speedy removal of the difficulty, but its alleviation would confer a benefit so widely spread that a few moments may be well spent in seeking for an answer to this enquiry.

It falls to the lot of comparatively few to pass their Sundays within reach of public worship with every point in which they can heartily agree. Is it better for a man who disagrees, and who cannot permit indifference to truth to

rule his conduct, altogether to abstain from public worship? He may act either way conscientiously.

But if he decide to go, in what light is he to regard the sanction that he gives by his presence to the promulgation of what he holds to be serious error? Circumstances may leave him little choice in the matter of attendance; and such seems to have been the case with the first example of altruistic worship on record—that of Naaman the Syrian.

He had acknowledged Jehovah of Israel. Could he be pardoned if, in future, he bowed his head when the king leaned on his hand in the house of Rimmon? Strictly speaking, it was not a case of compulsion. He might at once have thrown up his commission and high command in which he had been a national benefactor, and thus have saved himself from the act of idolatry. The Prophet did not suggest such a course of conduct as some of our modern prophets might have done, but sent him away, healed of his leprosy, and cheered—as to his scruples—by a valedictory blessing, “Go in peace?” .

Was this a compromise? The answer to this question *for us* depends on the view we may be able to take of altruistic worship. It was but very little that Naaman had really learned of the God of Israel—chiefly, as it would seem, that soil of the earth was better than stone for building an altar to Him, and that he was a jealous God, but one whose prophet could heal a leper. Naaman’s altruistic worship was the bowing of his head before the national god of Syria after having declared himself a worshipper of Jehovah.*

We need not, in our days, look for an exact parallel. But very frequently indeed it happens that a worshipper

* The very limited knowledge of the Jewish religion possessed by Naaman could hardly have altogether stamped out his Rimmoniam. We know the abominations practiced by the priests in the name of Rimmon. Probably Naaman knew, or thought he knew, much that was good in the National Religion of Syria.

finds himself joining in a service, including hymns, or a creed, or a psalm, or a sermon, conceived in a spirit with which it has become difficult for him to unite. Such discrepancies are the unavoidable occasions of altruistic worship. Can it be justified?

On the basis of our old conceptions of public worship, which we have so long honoured and loved, and in which we have found true and pure happiness, I see no hope of reconciliation. Liturgies, and hymns, and sermons have been framed with the express purpose of keeping out such thoughts as are suggested by altruistic worship. The need of such a thing has never before been felt, and, as far as I know, the name has never been heard.

So it has been with "totality in religion," meaning the whole of religious influence throughout the world, perfect or imperfect; being all from the same source,—the thought has never been wanted, but is it not needed now? May we not, moreover, say that the thought put into words as "the spirit of alliance," not opposing the true doctrine of an imperfect nature in every child, but coupling with it the recognition of an universal instinct tending most powerfully to good, and incompatible with a totally corrupt nature. All these belong to the same class of expressions, developed by circumstances.

It may be objected that altruistic worship implies indifference to truth. But we do not regard errors, maintained in the religion of our forefathers, as any the more true because those errors have been held as parts of a whole which has proved to be of inestimable value.

We, Christians, possess not the only religious systems that the Eternal has made helpful to his children on earth as the ages have rolled along.

It may be said—You expect far too much of the men you have characterized as likely to find relief in altruistic

worship. Men of ordinary habits of thought may be quite capable of modern scepticism, but are also quite incapable of losing themselves in grateful feelings for benefits bestowed on others.

Is it not, however, true that more of this altruistic spirit is the very greatest need, for believers equally with unbelievers, in religion, which is encouraged to be unduly selfish and subjective. Perhaps a man sufficiently thoughtful to have a strong sense of difficulty in certain points of faith, may not be unfavourably conditioned towards thankfulness for others whilst not ungrateful for his own less undisturbed belief.

If we enter a building where a Christian congregation is worshipping, how certain we may be that the stream which for the hour is bearing onwards and upwards the spirits of fathers and mothers with their families, has for hundreds of years, and with many variations, brought healing to broken hearts, and hope, and peace, and wisdom.

What if the visitor receive the impulse of the healing stream in this or that century, joining in the worship, it may be, in an *Ave Maria*, or in one of Toplady's most Calvinistic hymns? His altruistic worship, even if his knowledge were ever so high, need not be disloyal to truth, but only a submission of himself to a sense of the overwhelming greatness of that salutary ocean tide on which he feels himself borne. He well knows that the congregation could not assimilate *his* own thoughts, if placed ever so clearly before them. Is there no way in which he may feel himself one in heart and mind with them? He really is so, the obstacles being verbal.

The question is of high practical importance. It affects all congregations alike, whether Churchmen, Nonconformists, or even Romanists, diminishing their numbers, and, in the more highly educated portions of society, creating an

unsatisfactory state of feeling on occasions which ought to be, and which are, in the absence of this trouble, the brightest hours of family reunion in the week. Ordinarily the father is the missing link. If all go heartily and well with him, the Sunday is what it ought to be. It is he who chiefly feels the trouble which lasts through the week. He has been to church, but he has not had his day of rest; cares, and the consciousness of a want of sympathy, have spoiled it, and he begins the business of the week listless and uninvigorated.

What has he done that he should be made so keenly to feel himself a defaulter? Possibly no charge can be brought against him beyond this—that he has been reading Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, Mrs. Ward, *The Hibbert Lectures*, or the *Nineteenth Century*, and on the Sunday he has been brought into contact with thoughts and words not permitted to be judged by the progressive knowledge of the age; in accordance with which Religion has been defined to be “Those perceptions of the infinite (or of the unseen) which are able (favourably) to influence the moral character of man.”

NATURAL RELIGION.

We have had before us three expressions coined in the mint of Natural Religion—the subject on which I have something to say in conclusion.

It is probable that Natural Religion owes much of its discouragement to prejudice against its name. I do not extenuate the evil of unreasonable contempt for the teachings of Nature in spiritual things; but it seems probable that tens of thousands of good men desire to have, in public worship and in their lives, a reverential awe and a genuine gladness they cannot have without there be, in worship and in life, a substructure of Natural Religion. Such is

the inference drawn, after a long and most laborious life spent in studying and translating the sacred books of various nations, by Professor Max Müller. We are more indebted to him than to any other man, for the ability to judge for ourselves what the great religions of the world have been and are. Professor Max Müller is not, I think, likely to have a bias towards Natural Religion, unless his studies had irresistibly led him thereto.

In a volume entitled *Natural Religion*, published this year, Max Müller quotes his own Gifford Lecture, given at Glasgow, 1888:—

“It is easy to say it before an audience like this, but I should not be afraid to say it before an audience of Brāhmans, Buddhists, Paris, and Jews, that there is no religion in the whole world which in simplicity, in purity of purpose, in charity and true humanity, comes near to that religion which Christ taught to his disciples.”

In his next sentence, he alludes to the episcopal address already mentioned:—

“There may be other reasons for this omnipresent unbelief, but the principal reason is, I believe, the neglect of our foundations, the disregard of our own bookless religion, the almost disdain of Natural Religion. Even bishops will curl their lips and toss their heads when you speak to them of that natural and universal religion which existed before the advent of our historical religions, nay, without which all historical religions would have been as impossible as poetry without language.”

There has been in the history of each religion a widening severance between the real and the conventional. Not all which is conventional is worthless—not all which is real is practically available; but the active presence of some such great and simple thoughts as may be suggested by natural religion is most desirable.

It is the absence of humanizing thoughts, on sacred

occasions, that is so disastrous; for when their place is habitually preoccupied by considerations doctrinal or ritualistic, the human worshipper, whether Brahman or Buddhist, Mahometan, or Christian, is lost in the devotee—often extremely pious and zealous of good works, but believing himself bound to cherish, as the highest gift from heaven, feelings of strict caste towards those that are without.

No, Religion was made for man, and not man for religion. I think that God has given us, not miraculously, but through a perfectly natural mode of development, desires and capacities that this life cannot satisfy. I know He loves beauty, and beauty does not chiefly lie in bright colours and graceful forms, but in fitness and conservation. Shall conservation apply only to every thing that is *not* spiritual?

It is said that our longing for that which lies beyond an earthly life is no proof that we shall possess it. Perhaps it holds out a fairer inference than many allow,—especially if evolution be admitted.

Proof it is not; but I have learned, in the things of God, to hate what are called infallible proofs, and not to desire pledges or covenants, oaths or bonds. It is best with Him to live from hand to mouth, as the Jews were taught by their beautiful allegory of the manna, and we by the prayer of our Lord.

And what a harvest of much needed lessons might we thus gather. With higher thoughts of God, how many stubborn errors would right themselves; how many a root of religious bitterness would cease to poison the minds of men; how many troubled ones would possess their souls in peace; and we should learn to live with God as with One who is not ever engrossed in awarding prizes to the good, and showering strokes of wrath upon the wicked, becoming charged with anger as a cloud with electricity, but who has leisure to love what is beautiful, as well as to comfort those that

are cast down ; who recognises, notwithstanding abounding ignorance, and sin, and misery, that His purposes are not thwarted, but that earth-life is passing through another and a higher of its countless stages. For that we—wonder of wonders—that even we may be fellow-workers with the Master Worker in that divine order which He “ from before the beginning hath set for Himself to do all things by.”—*Richard Hooker.*

THE BOOK OF KING ARTHUR.

By EDWARD R. RUSSELL.

So far as I remember, the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table have not been made the subject of any paper read before this Society, at least for a considerable number of years. I am not a special enthusiast in admiration of those legends. But I think they may be worthy of an evening's attention. The Society is well aware of the kind of contribution which on any subject of this nature I can bring to its transactions. Nothing of erudition; nothing of special research: all I pretend to is an endeavour to see and to estimate the literary value of the work criticised, exactly as it is. That is to say, without preconception, without taking a side, without any indulgence of affectations or of peculiar or acquired taste. The literary value of any work is its value to the world. Its style may mould the language of succeeding centuries—nay, may help to establish what has been so well called “the perpetual supremacy of literature in the high sphere of thought and conduct” among myriads of men unborn. Its ideals may inspire the ambition of all goodness and truth in human hearts for generations. Its poetry as long as time shall last may waft weary spirits from the dull and enfeebling surroundings of mechanical life-routine into regions of ethereal animation. Its pathos may sanction the emotions of all humanity. Its characters may become models and types and tests of mankind, in its “proper study,” the study of man. Its incidents may embalm in memorable form, in form that cannot be forgotten, the most remarkable exigencies of human life. Of

such a work every thinking person should have an intelligent opinion. There is a kind of honour on this point in every mind that has been tinctured with literature. There is a sort of feeling that we are not entitled to the casual profit and enjoyment which we derive from a book of old and world-wide fame without rendering it that best homage which is involved in duly appraising it. How, for instance, can a man of literary mind be happy in the enjoyment of *Don Quixote*—how can he use or even be merry over its wealth of illustration and of fun—and not address himself with earnestness and candour to the heart of the book and to the mind of the writer? A true and worthy reader of great books develops what may be called a fine sense of literary honour. Just as one would not accept a gift from a friend without some thought of the character which had prompted it, and the trouble and taste expended in choosing it, and even perhaps of the worthy labour or brilliant enterprise which had yielded the means to be generous, so one would not lightly enjoy a quip of *Sancho Panza*, or freely use an extravagance of the knight of the rueful countenance, or call a rustic inamorata a *Dulcinea*, or a sorry steed a *Rosinante*, without having at some time of our life measured the lofty height and plumbed the rare depth of *Cervantes'* great and most human conception.

It cannot always follow that on such a complete review the dimensions and proportions of the edifice will exceed and excel, as in *Don Quixote*, the popular specimen bricks that we carry freely about with us to build into any literary structure upon which we may be employed. There may be some who think that the very noble aspect of the Arthurian legends in the fine poems of *Tennyson* does not correspond with the *Book of King Arthur* which *Caxton* printed from the manuscript of *Sir Thomas Malory* in 1485. On the other hand, some are of opinion that in reading into the old tales the

spirit and the didactic and exactly developed morals of our time, the Poet Laureate has deteriorated the fabric. Whoever is right in this debate it must be a fit undertaking for a Literary Society to consider what the old foundation work really was.

In attempting the task under the conditions which prevail in such a Society as ours, the line must be drawn between telling one's audience a great deal that they are supposed to know, and leaving all matters of common literary knowledge and easy reference entirely unmentioned. Any introduction to an edition of Sir Thomas Malory's book will inform the general reader in a brief space, and in a concise form, of facts which, nevertheless, in order to be intelligible, I must, though more briefly and more concisely, recount.

"The noble and joyous book entitled LE MORTE D'ARTHUR, notwithstanding it treateth of the birth, life and actes of the said King Arthur, of his noble knights of the Round Table, their marvellous enquests and adventures, the achieving of the Sangreal, and in the end the dolorous death and departing out of this world of them all, which book was reduced into English by Sir Thomas Malory, Knight,"—such, in quaint spelling, is the old title page—was one of the first books printed by Caxton, and was accompanied by a very fine preface, in which the father of English printing exhibited a high sense of all that was greatest in the capabilities of the book. The preface also proves the existence so late as 1485, not only of a high estimation of chivalry, which we know lasted more than a hundred years later, but a frank belief, in spite of rising scepticism, in the reality of the King Arthur incidents. The "noble men" of Caxton's day were told to "see and learn the noble acts of chivalry," "the gentle and virtuous acts that came to honour," "how they that were vicious were punished and oft

put to shame and rebuke." "Renowned acts of humanity, gentleness and chivalry," were promised where much of what was narrated was mere conventional and purposeless mutual banging-about and maltreatment of knights in the conventional name and practice of chivalry, though much was of a better-justified type. Caxton recognised in a Shakspearian spirit the mingled character of the scene and the personages: "chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue and sin. Do," said he, "after the good and leave the evil. . . . All is written for our doctrine and for to beware that we fall not into vice nor sin, but to exercise and follow virtue, by the which we may come and attain to good fame and renown in this life, and after this short and transitory life, to come unto everlasting bliss in Heaven."

To this admirable teaching must be at once appended the statement, afterwards to be attested more at large, that the sermon is not in every sense warranted by the text. While the finest and supreme ideal of the book, associated with the pursuit and achievement of the Holy Grail is uncompromisingly pure, almost to the edge of miracle, the ordinary and working standard hypothesis of virtue is in one point, most essential in human life, extremely low; much lower than is now professed or, it may be hoped, practised. Significantly enough King Arthur himself, though nearly as good as men are made, is not brought into the quest of the Holy Grail at all. The one man who achieves it is almost miraculously as free from stain as the Saviour of the world himself. And unquestionably the finest type of intelligent and conscious virtue presented except Arthur, Galahad and Percivale, is that of a man who lives his active life through in deliberate and permitted, but always on one side of it, faithful sin—the knight of whom Tennyson in one of the most perfect and pregnant of epigrams says, that—

His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.

In all such comments now and throughout the paper I am not troubling to find fault. It is superfluous. We have but to observe. The morals here mirrored are the morals of Errant Knighthood—errant in a double sense. The interest lies in this as an historical phase of evolution in ethics—in the curious place which it held in point of time—and in the question (too large for our debate) how far such toleration is a necessary element in the highest imaginative literature: possibly in all generous judgments of human life.

To what extent the moral atmosphere of *Morte D'Arthur* was that of Sir Thomas Malory's time—the time of Edward the Fourth; to what extent it was merely the moral atmosphere attributed to mythical times and scenes in earlier and cruder romances—to what extent it accurately represented the moral atmosphere of chivalry, when chivalry actually existed—each must decide for himself. The tendency of knighthood from the first, as of every other transcendental code and system, would be to become more and more conventional. As it grew more conventional it would be less operatively and spiritually moral. It always had an ingredient—namely, the worship of women—which, while it made greatly for civilisation, and in a general way would promote morals, must of necessity lead to laxity in one important respect. Human experience is that, with large exceptions in the case of the very noblest spirits, an ardent worship of women is apt to fail to preserve that highest tone of adoration which is incapable of either conceiving or exciting in the person worshipped emotions other than spiritual and refined. Possibly, women, inheriting unconsciously from grosser civilisations, may have been prone to regard as cold

and therefore dubious, worship which did not impel the worshipper at least a little beyond Platonic limits. Or, what is more likely, men may have thought that women were prone to these suspicions and exactions, and may have been spurred beyond the limits of spiritual chastity by an impulse which was inward and not objective. Once the line—the faint and sometimes untraceable line of pure ethereal communion—was passed, sex would act and react upon sex. In a society where there was little subtlety and no casuistry—where the majority of well-bred persons were nominally governed by ideals too high for common human nature—and where the received and obligatory observance of these ideals consisted of devotion to women, the most dangerous pursuit of unregenerate, or half-regenerate man—it was inevitable that the majority of men, ill-educated in spite of their rank, and of necessity coarse, in spite of refining conventions, should be addicted to forms of woman-worship wholly irreconcilable with the highest chastity. In a vast proportion of cases the formal worship of ideals artistically blended with Christian ideas was carried on along with free indulgence in enjoyments which were not chaste at all, and where a special degree of virtue was attained and maintained it was rarely that of continence, but only that of continuance in one faithful long protracted *liaison*. When all else of chivalry except this and belligerent personal bravery had died out, we can well imagine that Sir Thomas Malory would know of much in his own times which would enable him to give point and effect to everything that he had to say of the relations of men and women in framing from the old French stories and any other materials the epic of King Arthur.

That it is a prose epic, and that he did so frame it, I shall assume without discussion. The chronology appears to be something like this: King Arthur—a King Arthur of

some sort—lived and did deeds of kingly (if not knightly) prowess about the beginning of the sixth century. Three centuries later the stories of King Arthur began to take form in various writings of chivalry, and these composed in bulk a quite considerable literature. Scholars say that Sir Thomas Malory used these materials very much as we know Shakspeare to have used his—improving the stories, and adding bright touches of nature, of pathos, of grace, and of moral interest. Sir Edward Strachey calls him a Shakspeare-like or Homeric man. We know little, perhaps, of how Homer composed his epic, but if we are of opinion that Homer wrote Homer we can imagine that in an infantile manner, and with childish material, Malory did in prose for a chivalry literature spreading over centuries, and having supposititious roots in ages of myth, what Homer did for the material which tradition had accumulated for him. And here again we must be struck with what I have already hinted at—the curious position of these legends, whether as written by Malory or as prepared in the rough from the ninth century downwards—their curious position in point of time. Childish they are in comparison with the adult majesty, and scope, and pregnancy of Homer written two thousand years before. Infinitely greater is the contrast between their childishness and the perfected, the God-like manhood of Shakspeare, written about a hundred years after Malory was composed and printed.

Of the literary status of Sir Thomas Malory I shall say nothing, though I may convey impressions incidentally. His latest editor, Dr. Oskar Sommer, says of him that he is “not alone interesting to the archæologist of words and manners, but has exercised an abiding influence over the subject-matter of English literature, and over the technical form of English prose.” The bibliographical situation of the matter is that the text is being exactly reprinted from Caxton in a very

noble edition published by Mr. David Nutt, and that the second moiety of this work is to contain an essay on Malory's prose style by Mr. Andrew Lang. This prospect will keep my mouth closed. I might presume to differ from Mr. Lang, or even to criticise his criticism, but I am not so fatuous as to precede him in a task in which he cannot but exceptionally distinguish himself.

Although the book is familiar, it may be as well to put ourselves in the key of it by reading an extract or two. Here is one which affords an excellent specimen of Malory's prose, a good example, and not an extensive one, of his descriptions of combat, and an illustration decidedly out of the common of his occasional power of pathos. It will well enable us to understand at all points the observation of Dr. Sommer which has just been quoted.

"At that time there was in King Arthur's court a knight that was the king's son of Ireland, and his name was Lanceor; and he was a proud knight, and he counted himself one of the best knights of the court, and he had great spite at Balin for the achieving of the sword, that any should be accounted of more prowess than he was, and he asked King Arthur, 'If he would give him leave to ride after Balin, and to revenge the despite that he hath done.' 'Do your best,' said King Arthur, 'for I am right wrath with Balin; I would he were quit of the despite that he hath done to me and my court.' Then this Lanceor went to his hostel to make him ready. The knight of Ireland armed him in all points, and dressed him his shield on his shoulder, and mounted upon horseback, and took his spear in his hand, and rode after as fast as his horse could run: and within a little on a mountain he had a sight of Balin, and with a loud voice he cried to him, and said, 'Abide, knight, for ye shall abide, whether ye will or will not: and the shield that is before you shall not help you.' When Balin heard that noise, he turned his horse fiercely, and said, 'Fair knight, what will you with me; will ye joust with me?' 'Yes,' said the Irish knight, 'therefore am I come after you.' 'Peradventure,' said Balin, 'it had been better to have holden you at home; for many a man weeneth to put his enemy to rebuke, and often it falleth to himself.

Of what court be ye sent from?" 'I am come from the court of King Arthur,' said the knight of Ireland, 'that am come hither for to revenge the despite that ye have done this day to King Arthur and to his court.'

" 'Well,' said Balin, 'I see well I must have ado with you, which me forethinketh for to grieve King Arthur or any of his knights, and your quarrel is full simple to me,' said Balin; 'for the lady that is dead did great damage, and else I would have been as loth as any knight that liveth for to slay a lady.' 'Make you ready,' said the knight Lanceor, 'and dress you to me; for one of us shall abide in the field.' Then they took their spears in all the haste they might, and came together as fast as their horses might drive, and the king's son of Ireland smote Balin upon his shield, that his spear went all to shivers. And Balin smote him with such a might, that it went through his shield and perished the hawberk, and so pierced through his body and the horse croup; and Balin anon turned his horse fiercely, and drew out his sword, and wist not that he had slain him, and then he saw him lie as a dead corpse. Then he looked by him, and was ware of a damsel that came riding as fast as her horse might gallop upon a fair palfrey. And when she espied that Sir Lanceor was slain, then she made sorrow out of measure, and said, 'O Balin! two bodies hast thou slain and one heart, and two hearts in one body, and two souls thou hast lost.' And therewith she took the sword from her love that lay dead, and as she took it she fell to the ground in a swoon: and when she arose, she made great dole out of measure, which sorrow grieved Balin passing sore, and went to her for to have taken the sword out of her hands, but she held it so fast, that in nowise he might take the sword out of her hands but if he should have hurt her; and suddenly she set the pommel of the sword to the ground, and ran herself through the body. And when Balin saw her dead, he was passing heavy in his heart, and ashamed that so fair a damsel had destroyed herself for the great love she had unto Sir Lanceor. 'Alas!' said Balin, 'me repenteth sore the death of this knight, for the love of this damsel; for there was much true love between them both,' and for sorrow he might no longer behold them, but turned his horse and looked toward a forest, and there he espied the arms of his brother Balan; and when they were met, they put off their helms and kissed together, and wept for joy and pity. 'Brother,' said Balin, 'let us go hence, and well be we met.' The meanwhile as they talked there

came a dwarf from the city of Camelot on horseback, as fast as he might, and found the dead bodies; wherefore he made great dole, and drew his hair for sorrow, and said, 'Which of you knights hath done this deed?' 'Whereby asketh thou it?' said Balin. 'For I would wit,' said the dwarf. 'It was I,' said Balin, 'that slew this knight in my defence; for hither came he to chase me, and either I must slay him or me, and this damsel slew herself for his love, which me sore repenteth, and for herself I shall owe all women the better love and favour.' 'Alas!' said the dwarf, 'thou hast done great damage unto thyself; for this knight, that is here dead, was one of the most valiantest men that lived, and trust thou well, Balin, that the kin of this knight will chase thee through the world till they have slain thee.' 'As for that,' said Balin, 'I fear it not greatly; but I am right heavy, because I have displeased my sovereign lord, King Arthur, for the death of this knight.' So as they talked together, there came a man of Cornwall riding by them, which was named King Marke; and when he saw these two bodies dead, and understood how they were dead by one of the two knights abovesaid, then made King Marke great sorrow for the true love that was between them, and said, 'I will not depart from hence till I have on this earth made a tomb.' And there he pitched his pavilions, and sought through all the country to find a tomb. And in a church they found one was rich and fair, and then the king let put them both in the earth, and put the tomb on them, and wrote both their names on the tomb, 'Here lieth Lanceor, the king's son of Ireland; that at his own request was slain by the hands of Balin, and how his lady Colombe and paramour slew herself with her love's sword, for dole and sorrow.'"

In the subtler and more religious vein of the book, take the following brief example:—

"There came in a white dove, and she bare a little censer of gold in her bill: and anon there was all manner of meats and drinks; and there was a maiden that bare the Sancgreal, and she said openly, 'Wit ye well. Sir Bors, that this child is Galahad, that shall sit in the Siege Perilous, and also shall achieve the Sancgreal; and he shall be much better than ever was Sir Launcelot du Lake, that is his own father.' And then they kneeled down and made their devotions; and there was such a savour, as all the spicery in the world had been

there: and when the dove took her flight, the maiden vanished away with the Sancgreal, as she came."

"'I let you to wit,' said King Pelleas, 'here shall no knight win no worship, but if he be of worship himself, and be of good living, and that loveth God and dreadeth God; and else he getteth no worship here, be he ever so hardy.' 'This is a wonderful thing!' said Sir Bors: 'what ye mean in this country I wot not; for ye have many strange adventures: therefore I will lie in this castle this night.' 'Ye shall not do so,' said King Pelleas, 'by my counsel, for it is hard that ye escape without a shame.' 'I shall take the adventure that will befall me,' said Sir Bors. 'Then I counsel you,' said King Pelleas, 'for to be confessed clean.' 'As for that,' said Sir Bors, 'I will be confessed with a good will.' So Sir Bors was confessed; and for all women Sir Bors was a virgin, save for one, which was the daughter of King Brandegoris. And so Sir Bors was led to bed into a fair, large chamber."

"And anon forthwith there came an old man into the hall, and he sat him down in a fair chair, and there seemed to be two great adders about his neck; and then the old man had a harp, and there he sang an old song, how Joseph of Arimathy came into this land. And when he had sang, the old man bade Sir Bors to go from thence; 'for here shall ye have no more adventures; and full worshipfully have ye done, and better shall ye do hereafter.' And then Sir Bors seemed that there came the whitest dove that ever he saw, with a little golden censer in her mouth; and anon therewithal the tempest ceased and passeth, that before was marvellous to hear. So was all the court full of good savours. Then Sir Bors saw four fair children, that bare four tapers, and an old man in the midst of the children, with a censer in his one hand, and a spear in his other hand; and that same spear was called the spear of vengeance.

"'Now,' said that old man unto Sir Bors, 'go ye unto your cousin Sir Launcelot, and tell him of this adventure, the which had been most convenient for him of all earthly knights. But sin is so foul in him, that he may not achieve such holy deeds; for, had not his sin been, he had passed all the knights that ever was in his days. And tell thou Sir Launcelot, that, of all worldly adventures, he passeth in manhood and prowess all other; but, in these spiritual matters, he shall have many his better.' And then Sir Bors saw four gentlewomen coming by him, poorly beseen; and he saw whereas they

entered into a chamber, where there was great light, as it were a summer light: and the women kneeled down before an altar of silver, with four pillars; and he saw as it had been, a bishop kneeling down before that table of silver: and, as Sir Bors looked up, he saw a sword like silver, naked, hovering over his head; and the clearness thereof smote so in his eyes, that, at that time, Sir Bors was blind. And there he heard a voice that said, 'Go thou hence, thou Sir Bors; for as yet thou art not worthy to be in this place.' And then he went backward to his bed, till on the morrow; and on the morrow, King Pelleas made great joy of Sir Bors: and then he departed, and rode to Camelot; and there he found Sir Launcelot du Lake, and told him of the adventures that he had seen with King Pelleas at Corbin."

The following morsel is somewhat in the quaint vein of Shakspeare's clowns, only that the humour is more left to be made by the reader's imagination:—

"Forthwithal there came a poor man into the court, and brought with him a fair young man, of eighteen years of age, riding upon a lean mare. And the poor man asked all men that he met, 'Where shall I find King Arthur?' 'Yonder he is,' said the knights; 'wilt thou anything with him?' 'Yes,' said the poor man, 'therefore I came hither.' Anon, as he came before the King, he saluted him, and said, 'O King Arthur, the flower of all knights and kings, I beseech Jesus save thee. Sir, it was told me, that at this time of your marriage ye would give any man the gift that he would ask, except it were unreasonable.' 'That is truth,' said the King, 'such cries I let make; and that will I hold, so it impair not my realm nor mine estate.' 'Ye say well and graciously,' said the poor man. 'Sir, I ask nothing else but that ye will make my son here a knight.' 'It is a great thing that thou askest of me,' said the King. 'What is thy name?' said the King to the poor man. 'Sir, my name is Aries, the cowherd.' 'Whether cometh this of thee, or of thy son?' said the King. 'Nay, sir,' said Aries, 'this desire cometh of my son, and not of me. For I shall tell you, I have thirteen sons, and all they will fall to what labour I put them to, and will be right glad to do labour; but this child will do no labour for me, for anything that my wife or I may do, but always he will be shooting, or casting of darts, and glad to see battles, and to behold knights: and always both day and night, he desireth of me that he might be made a knight.' 'What is thy name?'

said the King to the young man. 'Sir, my name is Tor.' The King beheld him fast, and saw he was passingly well visaged, and passingly well made of his years. 'Well,' said King Arthur to Aries, the cowherd, 'fetch all thy sons afore me, that I may see them.' And so the poor man did, and all were shapen much like the poor man; but Tor was not like none of them all, in shape nor in countenance, for he was much more than any of them. 'Now,' said King Arthur unto Aries, the cowherd, 'where is that sword that he shall be made knight withal?' 'It is here,' said Tor. 'Take it out of the sheath,' said the King, 'and require me to make you a knight.' Then Tor alighted off his mare, and pulled out his sword, kneeling, requiring the King that he would make him a knight, and that he might be a knight of the Round Table. 'As for a knight I will make you,' and therewith smote him in the neck with the sword, saying, 'Be ye a good knight: and so I pray to God ye may be; and if ye be of prowess, and of worthiness, ye shall be a knight of the Round Table.' 'Now, Merlin,' said King Arthur, 'say whether this Tor shall be a good knight or no.' 'Yea, sir, he ought to be a good knight, for he is come of as good a man as any is on live, and of king's blood.' 'How so, sir?' said the King. 'I shall tell you,' said Merlin: 'this poor man, Aries, the cowherd, is not his father, he is nothing like to him; for King Pellinore is his father.' 'I suppose nay,' said the cowherd. 'Fetch thy wife afore me,' said Merlin, 'and she shall not say nay.' Anon the wife was fetched, which was a fair housewife, and there she answered Merlin full womanly; and there she told the King and Merlin, that when she was a maid, and went to milking, 'there met with me a stern knight, and he begot my son Tor; and he took from me my greyhound, that I had at that time with me, and said that he would keep the greyhound for my love.' 'Ah!' said the cowherd. 'I weened not this; but I may believe it well, for the boy had never no likeness to me.' 'Sir,' said Tor to Merlin, 'dishonour not my mother.' 'Sir,' said Merlin, 'it is more for your worship than hurt; for your father is a good man, and a king, and he may right well advance you and your mother; for ye were begotten or ever she was wedded.' 'That is truth,' said the wife. 'It is the less grief to me,' said the cowherd."

If there were time, several other passages might be read with more advantage than can result from any description.

An especially striking one is an apostrophe to the month of May. But it is difficult to bring extracts within the compass of a paper.

Phrases and short passages are more manageable, and of these there are many which go straight to the heart and mind and seem as if they must cling there for ever. Sir Thomas Malory was one of the first to develop in our vernacular a fertility of such locutions, which to Englishmen seems to distinguish the English language in strength and wealth and mellow, venerable beauty before all others.

"We have lost two good knights for the love of one," says Sir Gaheris. "We must all change our life," says Sir Percivale solemnly, when he hears of the death of his mother. The knights when they are overthrown and invalided are always described as getting "big and strong again." Launcelot exhorts his son Galahad, and Sir Galahad in his ecstatic death moment, after achieving the quest of the Holy Grail, sends word to his father to "remember this unsteadfast world"—that is, to bear in mind the unsteadfastness of the world. Sir Galahad is described as a knight of such living—that is to say of such life-conduct—that "he shall slay no man lightly." We meet here the good phrase "new-fangled," and it is curiously applied to the English—"for there is a great default of us Englishmen," says Malory, "for there may nothing please us no term." "He that hath a privy hurt," says the sententious romancist, "is loth to have the shame outward." "I will never hate a noble knight for a light lady," says Sir Segwarides. King Marke is described as "a fair speaker and false thereunder;" and when other knights are disgusted with his unworthy qualities they anticipate Fletcher of Saltoun, and send a song into Cornwall with a view to ruin him with his people. Sir Dinadan declared that never a man would get over King Marke by fair speech.

"But," said he, "ye shall see what I will do. I will make a lay for him. And when it is made I shall make an harper to sing it afore him." "So anon he went and made it, and taught it an harper that hight Eliot, and when he knew it he taught it to many harpers. And so by the will of Sir Lancelot and of Arthur the harpers went straight into Wales and into Cornwall, to sing the lay, which was the worst lay"—meaning the most injurious—"that ever harper sang."

This Sir Dinadan was almost the only knight of the time that would have nothing to do with love. He was a sort of Benedick; but a very dull one. In fact the humour of the book is scanty and poor—childish in the extreme. To dress Dinadan up in woman's clothes appears to have been thought a joke of immense force, and Dinadan is pronounced by La Beale Isoud as the merriest knight and the maddest talker, though he is about the "unfunniest" jester in all literature. He was best, like Mr. Gilbert's Point, when not droll at all, even in intention. In "marvelling what ailed Sir Tristram and other lovers to be so mad and so sotted upon women" he hit upon the following melancholy and beautiful lament—"For the joy of love is so short, and the sorrow thereof, and what cometh thereof, dureth over long."

Some of the little touches of character and of remembered incident are very good. Lancelot is depicted surveying a young knight, and finding him "seemly and demure as a dove." This would make a good picture. So would Sir Gawaine carrying the dead lady away towards Camelot on horseback, with her headhanging about his neck and the whole body of her lying before him on his horse's mane. So would the fine scene where Arthur's malignant enchantress sister Morgan Le Fay, essays to kill him as he sleeps, and her damsel brings her the sword "with quaking hands." So would many other incidents of the Book of Arthur which

as yet have escaped the observation of painters. But to return to our phrases, effective in their simplicity and their sufficing brevity. This same Morgan Le Fay treacherously sent to King Arthur a sword purporting to be his Excalibur. "And he thanked her and weened it had been so, but she was false, for the sword and the scabbard was counterfeit, brittle, and false." When Sir Aglovale heard Sir Persides speaking of his brother, Sir Percivale, he said "He departed from me unkindly." One of the knights is pathetically named "The knight that has trespassed." Another knight is quaintly addressed "Oh! knight, full of thought and sleepy." Twelve knights introduced in one of the stories "had countenances like unto men that were overcome." "I am slain," exclaims one of the characters, "by this traitor knight that rideth invisible." Merlin prophesies of Sir Tor that he shall be "passing true of his promise and never shall do outrage." Of the same young knight Sir Pellinore, his father, says: "There is no better knight, loth to do any wrong and loth to take any wrong." When "the meddle waxes passing hard" the lances are "all-to shivered"—a compound seeming to the unlearned to be of American quality. Queen Guenever thus lauds Sir Kaye, the seneschal, "Ye spake a great word and fulfilled it worshipfully." "A knight without mercy is without worship." Worship, of course, throughout the book means honour. "Strange men ye should debate with," says one, "not brother with brother."

It is a quaint touch of instinctive nature when a lion and serpent are fighting, and Sir Percivale helps the lion "because it is the most natural beast of the two." The following is equally quaint, and very keen and sly: "Solomon was wise and knew the virtues of stones and trees; and so he knew the course of the stars, and many other things. This Solomon had an evil wife, where-through

he weened that there had never been no good woman ; and so he despised them in his books." Four hundred years later John Stuart Mill wrote that the source of most of men's knowledge worth having of women was their wives, and that one might to an almost laughable degree infer what a man's wife was like from his opinions about women in general. Women's knowledge of each other is rather intuitive. "So when dame Elaine"—who was very fond of Lancelot—"was brought unto Queen Guenever, either made the other good cheer by countenance, but nothing with hearts."

If the sentimental occupation of the Knights was love, their actual business was adventurous fighting. An enormous proportion of Malory's Book is taken up with narratives of their combats, in which there is little merit, and what there is is spoilt by being repeated, and repeated over so large a surface. One can well understand how a bored world may well have sighed for a Cervantes to deliver it by caricature from such endless and bald repetitions of the same old mauling about. Indeed if those ages had by miracle prophetically sighed for a Mark Twain it would not have been by any means wonderful, under such dire and wearisome provocation. The old language and the men being encased in knightly armour of course makes a difference, but intrinsically there is no more intellectual interest in those slashings, and staggerings, and buffetings, and piercings than in an account of prize fighting in *Bell's Life*, and they are entirely devoid of that ingenuity and invention of cant synonyms which made *Bell's Life in London* fifty years ago a respectable precursor—well, no—but a lively precursor of the most slangy American journalism.

The accounts of knightly struggles given in Sir Thomas

Malory's work may almost be said to be drawn in a common form. There is just a little variety in the terms in which the knights challenge each other and vaunt themselves, and in the manner in which they behave when their opponents are completely at their mercy.

In the latter situation there is the notable case of Launcelot, with whom Guenever's wishes, right or wrong, were always a law. He had brought a knight to his knees in fighting for her honour (but without good ground—nay, much the reverse); and this knight submitted himself, "Slay me not," said he, "for I yield me as an overcome knight." Launcelot looked towards the queen if he might espy by any sign or countenance what he should do. She wagged her head as though she would say, Slay him. Full well knew Sir Launcelot by the wagging of the head that she would wish her enemy dead, so he required the beaten knight to rise and fight the battle to the utmost. Sir Meliagraunce would not rise except to be taken as yelden and recreant. So Launcelot was obliged to do the queen's pleasure. But it went against his noble grain, and he proposed that, before proceeding to extremities with the defeated knight, he should unarm his head and the left quarter of his body, and that he should have his left hand tied behind him. Upon this Sir Meliagraunce sprang to his feet quite ready to fight. King Arthur asked Launcelot if he abode by his offer, and Launcelot replied, "I will never go from that I have once said." And so he fought, thus handicapped, and his adversary's head was soon "carved in two parts."

There is nothing very agreeable in this. A thousand years before it was supposed to have happened, and fifteen hundred years before it was described, it would have been thought in Rome and in Greece too low and coarse for literary use; but it is at least out of the common.

The average fight of two knights is incessantly repeated *ad nauseam* in the absolute identity of phraseology. First they come on the field like thunder. Then they feuter their spears and come upon each other with a great crash. One usually unhorses the other. Then the knight still on horseback requires the knight who is afoot to yield. He always refuses, and in quite a large proportion of cases shouts out what on the first occasion of its use may have seemed a witty and original saying—that he has been betrayed by the son of a mare, but is not going to give in to the son of a woman. Then they avoid their horses and pull out their swords, and lash together as men that are wild and courageous, and often their shields fly in cantels, and the place all around streams with blood. Then they leave their strokes and foin at their breathes and visors. When they see that that may not avail them, they hurtle together like rams to bear either other down. Both are wounded passing sore that the blood runs freshly from them to the ground; but one waxes more fresher than the other, and better winded and bigger; and so with a mighty stroke he smites the other on the helm such a buffet that it goes through the helm, and through his coif of steel, and through the brain pan, so that the sword sticks so fast in the helm and in the brain pan that the victor knight pulls thrice at his sword or ever he may get it out from the other's head; and then the conquered knight falls down on his knees, the edge of the other's sword left in his brain pan.

This palls. Once or twice one may bear with it. When it is multiplied indefinitely with only a little bit of separate character to refresh the wearied reader it forfeits all claim to be literature, and becomes mere traces of customs and tastes, which if they cannot be got out of civilisation are at least unworthy and incapable of being glorified by good writing.

There is a special Providence—so to speak—that watches over fighting for a good cause. Literature has found few finer tasks than to describe great acts of needed valour. But the mere chronicling of frivolous fighting has added scarcely anything—except in the two extremes of Pindaric diction and modern slang—to the real literature of the world.

The noblest and most interesting struggle in the Book is that in which Arthur himself fights Sir Accolon and successfully resists for many hours both the bravery and skill of his antagonist, and the acts of the wicked Morgan le Fay, by which the antagonist has been feloniously armed. Sir Accolon did not know he was fighting King Arthur. The king's abominable sister had possession of Excalibur and its scabbard, and sent, as we have mentioned, counterfeits to Arthur while furnishing Accolon, her lover, with the real sword and scabbard. He knew she had wrought enchantments, but, as he was fighting for his lady-love, may be presumed to have thought all fair in love and war. But it was a dreadful matter for King Arthur, and the combat of ever-weakening force and ever-strengthening will extending over many hours—Arthur's sword in his hand "not still as it was wont to do, therefore was he sore adread to be dead"—is described with genuine and moving power. "Always King Arthur lost so much blood that it was marvel that he stood on his feet; but he was so full of knighthood that knightly he endured the pain." When he paused Sir Accolon cried "It is no time for me to suffer thee to rest." King Arthur, nothing daunted, dealt him a blow that made him nigh fall to the earth, but therewith King Arthur's "sword brake at the cross and fell in the grass among the blood, and the pommel and the handle he held in his hand. When King Arthur saw that he was greatly afraid to die, but always he held up his shield

and lost no ground, nor abated any cheer." "If it were possible to me to die a hundred times I had rather so often die than to yield me to thee, for though I lack weapon and am weaponless, yet shall I lack no worship, and if thou slay me weaponless it shall be to thy shame." The king fought with shield and sword pommel, and after a time by counter enchantment Excalibur fell from Sir Accolon's hand; and the king lightly leapt to it, and perceived clearly that it was his good sword; and cried "Thou hast been from me all too long, and much damage has thou done me." He tore the scabbard from Sir Accolon's side and threw it from him as far as he might; and then the fortune of the long day soon changed. "Ye are the best knight that ever I found," said Sir Accolon, "and I see well that God is with you." It is clear that the literary merit of the book rises here, because there are novelty and scope in the incidents. It is not mere fighting. The rival enchantments, the heroic defiance of an extraordinary fate, the fearsome failure of the better knight's weapon, the noble continuance of the battle disarmed, and the dramatic recovery of Excalibur make up a splendid scene and story, and the language in which they are presented is such as may well fill any literary Englishman with reminiscent pride and fervent gratitude.

In the vein one degree removed above the mere fighting level, but consisting largely of fighting detail, is the story of Tristram—the knight of sorrowful birth but very cheerful life. No part of it, either in narrative of conflict or any other element, rises to the point of interest attained in the combat between Arthur and Accolon; and the whole creation is infinitely below the standard of moral interest sustained throughout the story of Sir Launcelot of the Lake. Tristram had no conscience to speak of on the subject of marriage and

connubial fidelity. He does not appear, however, to have had any wayward or merely animal passions, and he was a fine, manly, trusty, courteous, cordial, powerful and unconquerable knight errant. La Beale Isoud, another knight's wife, was "the causer of his honour," and to her he was always true; and without any of the qualms and scruples and crises by which Sir Launcelot's love for Guenever was chequered. In the general run of the lives, and especially in his going mad, there was a considerable parallelism between the two careers. With Launcelot he was immediately compared by every one who knew them both, and the reader finds that this instinct is soon bred in him as naturally as it existed among the knights and ladies of Arthur's society. Launcelot himself recognised the supreme knightly merit of Tristram. It was one of Launcelot's noble qualities always to be generously just. Tristram's open and admirable knightliness is thrown up into high relief by the dark and sinister meanness of his enemy King Marke. The fact that he was the known lover of Marke's queen did not derogate from his popularity in Arthur's or probably in Malory's time—when the only penalty of a knight's adultery was that he was not considered fit to be one of the two knights in all the world who found the Holy Grail. Even in our day the very treacherous manner in which King Marke behaves wins sympathy for the successful paramour and provokes disgust towards the injured husband. The love of Tristram and Isoud is, however, common-place. It is just a noble-hearted man and a loving woman. Anything else has to be read into it by modern poetry or composed upon the rude theme of it by modern music.

The women in general of Sir Thomas Malory's Legends are not supremely interesting except in the reflected glory of

the worship that was paid them. The face of Elaine is most beautiful in the light thrown upon it from Lancelot's shield. The ladies, however, are in intellectual expression quite on a level with the knights. Sir Thomas Malory was in a mere infant-school as compared with the great academy of Elizabethan thought and colloquial eloquence which placed men higher in power of expression than they have ever been before or since, and represented women as well holding their own in all interchanges and conflicts of intellect. But there is no lack of cultivation or of capacity in his women. Such of them as speak speak well and sententiously. Isoud was a great enjoyer of conversation. Guenever bore her part in counsel and was always ready with the right thing to say. She had a keen sense of what was unknighly, and condemned the envious. She gloried in the great fellowship of the Round Table, and, woman-like, marvelled that her husband could let it be broken up for the quest of the Sancgreal. The ladies, for good reason, were not allowed their part in this sublime undertaking. Many of those that loved knights would gladly have gone with their lovers, but an old knight came among them in religious clothing and explained to them that it could not be. The hermit Nacien had sent them word by him, "that none in this quest lead lady nor gentlewoman with him, for it is not to do so in so high a service as they labour in, for I warn you plain," said he, "he that is not clean of his sins he shall not see the mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ; and for this cause they left those ladies and gentlewomen." And the Queen, her mind on Launcelot more than on the Grail, went off and told spotless Sir Galahad that he was Launcelot's son, to which he said neither yea nor nay. Then the knights went to the minster and heard service, and Queen Guenever betook herself to her chamber that no man should perceive her great sorrow. And when Launcelot missed her he went

to her in her chamber, and in her usual way she reproached him for going, and especially declared that his leaving her husband would be her death. Launcelot told her he would soon come again with honour he had won. "Alas," said she, "that ever I saw you; but He that suffered death upon the cross for all mankind be to you good conduct and safety, and all the whole fellowship."

The pair had many love passages after this, but when all was over, and Arthur had mysteriously departed, as was supposed, in death, Queen Guenever appeared to be really converted. Becoming a nun, she was made ruling abbess—"as reason would," says Sir Thomas Malory. When Launcelot sought her she remembered that it was through them that Arthur and his noble knights had been destroyed. She besought him heartily for their old love that he would never more see her face, but forsake her company and keep his realm from war and wrack. Well as she had loved him, she said, she could not bear to see him, because through him the flower of kings and knights were destroyed. So he was to get him a wife, and live with her in joy and bliss, and pray for Guenever that she might amend her misliving.

Converted or unconverted, the queen was consistently unreasonable to her lover, and he went on loving her just the same from first to last, buffeting all the rest of the world as need arose, and being buffeted by her at her good pleasure. She was not devoid of intelligence, and always had at command sufficient dignity, but her intelligence was not fruitful, and her dignity did not raise her above the faults which are most lightly attributed to her sex—especially that waywardness by which some men are fascinated, some bored, and some fascinated first and bored afterwards. In excuse it may be considered that though she lived in an age of wizardry it may not have been so easy

for her as for modern slightly interested readers to believe that Launcelot's few infidelities were committed under the influence of supernatural illusions.

Of Guenever's great sin nothing is to be said here; first, because this is not a sermon; secondly, because it could not be spoken of in due reprobation without going out of the tone of the book we are criticising. The morality must be taken as it is. Allowing for different periods and manners, it is that which is supposed to be the morality of the French novel. The only commandment which was greatly respected at King Arthur's and King Marke's courts was that which forbids being found out. Nor can I agree that, except in the most conventional way, and in reference to sins that knighthood had no mind to, the writer endeavours to distinguish between vice and virtue. All that is written about the quest of the Holy Grail is as solemn as it is superstitious. When set to Wagner's unparalleled music it is capable of obtaining the most profound command over the heart. It is touching too to find Launcelot, noblest of men, prevented from succeeding in the quest by the Divine cognisance of his sin. The transparent beauty of the virgin Sir Galahad and Sir Percivale must also live luminous for ever in the imagination of mankind. But it is impossible not to feel that, according to the view of Sir Thomas Malory and of knighthood, purity is a virtue "too bright and good for human nature's daily food."

Our review would be too long if discrimination were made between the characters of the knights; and though very distinct and interestingly distinguishable, the majority of these personages are not important enough to demand detailed description. But it is due to the literary and dramatic excellence of the work to recognise that much as

they are necessarily alike each is different from the other as real man must differ from real man.

The story and character of Launcelot are probably unique. Here we are in a separate atmosphere—an atmosphere which, so to speak, the hero carries about with him. Although it is an atmosphere of sin it is a nimbus of glory. It protects him not against the vicissitudes of a life not wholly pure. It shields him not from the searching penetration of omniscience. “Thou God seest me” might be emblazoned upon the cloud by which Launcelot is environed—might be the text of all the sermons that good men preach him. But his sin is so glorious; his unfaith is so faithful; the single line of evil in his course is so arrow-straight and undeviating; even his treachery to his sovereign is so full of love and so devoid of any injury or malfesance beyond the one great, continuous wrong of it; his recognition of his sweet guilt as inevitable is so solemnly and simply absolute; his reverence for abstract purity is so evidently genuine; his submission to spiritual verities is so heartfelt though inoperative; his final penitence is so loyal and yet so curiously and magnificently imperfect and unreal from the inconceivableness of his being stable in the avoidance of Guenever; and in every other respect and relation of life his character is so perfect and yet so free from pretention—so simply transparent, so strong and manly, so powerful in mind and body, so gracious and so ready in self-sacrifice, so easy in confiding, so frank and natural in forgiveness, that this sinner, this disloyal knight, this adulterer, this man unworthy to participate in Christian mysteries, stands among the very highest in the intuitive and indefeasible admiration of the Christian world. Launcelot is a sort of irresistible proof, put in evidence by a genius capable of establishing its creations indisputably in the credence of mankind—an irresistible proof that sin is not necessarily Satanic—

that in the most damning guilt there may be no malignity—that, explain it how we may, sexual guilt (perhaps any guilt) does not always “harden all within and petrify the feeling.” The subtleties of sin have often been tracked and dissected, but never with such classic simplicity—never with such restraint of diction—never with such a marvellous combination of sharpness and tenderness in the analysis—never with so perfect a perception under rudimentary forms of the good that abides in evil—never with so perfect an avoidance of the mawkish—never with such unconscious and gospel-like literary severity. When one remembers how plain, unadorned, uncomplicated and unsophisticated the story of Launcelot is, one feels almost ashamed to have used so many words in praising it; but the very simplicity of a great work of art may demand copiousness and detail in the criticism of it. In sum, what must be said of the story of Launcelot in the Book of King Arthur is that its classic merit is incomparably superior to everything else in Malory’s work, and that, elementary as are its style and scope, it places its author among the six or seven really great “makers” of the world—with Homer, with Shakspeare, with Cervantes, with Goethe, with Sterne, with Thackeray, and with George Eliot.

It is the story of the problems and passages of a knightly life, in which one darling sin is not resisted, but takes the place of virtue. From the beginning of the *Morte D’Arthur* the singular power of this conception exhibits its hold alike upon the author and upon his personages. The nobleness of Launcelot is always prominently mentioned. Early in the book Merlin the enchanter constructs a bed in which no man shall ever lie without losing his wits; but it is interpolated that Launcelot “fordid that bed through his nobleness.” That is to say, he lay in it and did not go out of his mind.

He is never mentioned without, as it were, a bating of the breath, part admiration, part sorrow. Other knights were as knightly, and by any standard of chivalry Sir Tristram would be accounted his equal alike in prowess and in character; yet about Tristram's peccadilloes and great sin neither author nor personages seem to be troubled. The moment Launcelot comes in sight the minds of author, personages, and readers become attuned to a sad yet delightful sympathising melancholy. Although the judgment perforce condemns him, it is only by a positive moral effort that one can wish him other than he is. He is made so pathetic a figure by his devotion to Guenever; by his impeccable persistence in that devotion, from which in spirit he never falters, and only degenerates from it in act, under magical influences which persuade him of the identity of other women with the queen; by the sufferings which he undergoes in consequence of his loyalty to his illicit but romantic love; by the curt and pettish, if not harsh, treatment which he receives from Guenever without moulting a feather of his devotion; by the noble courtesy of the unmoved indifference with which he receives the affectionate demonstrations of other ladies whose hearts are set upon him; and by the pensive resignation with which he accepts, as a proper and just disability, that exclusion from the highest spiritual privileges that falls upon him in consequence of his sin, although he is admitted to be the noblest and best knight among sinful men.

While it may be allowed that on the whole Tennyson's Launcelot is a fine and sympathetic version of the character, it must be added that in labouring and refining upon it the modern poet has detrimentally changed its precise effect upon the reader of Sir Thomas Malory's book. And the numerous living persons who are acquainted with the Arthurian stories only through Tennyson, need also to be told that King Arthur, excellent husband as he is, shows no sign

of making himself understood by Guenever, or of carrying her along with him, from first to last. They agree. They perform their royal functions in harmony. Their mutual demeanour and relations correspond with the conceptions most of us have of the probable life of husbands and wives in very high places. They never wrangle. Arthur, we are told, from the time he first saw her never loved any other woman. But there is not much sign that ever Guenever loved him except in a very matter-of-fact way; and Arthur was too serious and too seriously occupied to worry himself about the precise complexion and temperature of her love. Probably he thought it was all right, though everybody else knew it was all wrong, and whenever his queen's honour was impeached he confidently and warmly committed the defence of her honour to Launcelot. Launcelot was certainly the knight most bound to defend her, though the last upon whom, if he had known everything, King Arthur would have called. He did not know everything. In fact, the trouble was to get him to know anything. Repeatedly, Launcelot's strong arm re-established the queen's honour according to the absurd fashion of the time. She was fortunate in having a lover of such prowess. And at last, when under circumstances of glaring scandal, King Arthur had to recognise his wife's guilt and to break with Launcelot, it was made evident by his swoonings and his laments that the loss of his friend was the greater trouble of the two.

The simplicity of Sir Launcelot's character was most remarkable. He appears never to have had a double thought. His hold upon the affections of those around him was complete. He is not described as having any of the arts of a squire of dames, and so far from laying himself out to captivate them, his thoughts were ever on Guenever, but one after another fell desperately in love with him. None did he encourage. To all he was sweetly kind. It cannot be said

that he made any real effort to break the golden chains of his infatuation, through his sense of deprivation when not allowed to behold the Holy Grail appears to have been none the less severe. But he was told on all hands, what was true, that he was "feeble of evil trust and good belief." He was a man of evil faith and poor belief. He trusted more, and his heart was more set on an earthly good, and that by no right his, than on the great mystic verities of which he yet had a stronger feeling, as became the depth of his nature, than any other knight. He made his prayer to a cross after being encouraged to hope that he might see the Sancgreal; but he was ever unstable in the one matter, and this infected his otherwise beautiful life. He all but saw the Holy Grail in a vision, and lay in a consequent trance many days; and when he awoke and "saw folk he made great sorrow, and said 'Why have ye wakened me, for I was better at ease than I am now. Oh! Jesu Christ, who might be so blessed, that might see openly the great marvels of secret-ness, there where no sinner may be.'" But he was never stable, so the Book says, or always stable, as you may say if you prefer it. "By his thought he was likely to turn again," even when, as was rare, he resolved, or rather prayed, to avoid the besetting frailty which had become his very life. It was after this that he indulged with the queen in the amour at the castle of Sir Meliagraunce, and indeed there never was a question whether he would yield or not when her fascinations were around him. To think most highly of him, you must observe how it was only she that ever could lead him from the true path of moral loyalty—how faithful he was to her—how exquisitely gentle—how firm as a rock he was in holding off other women—how gracious and self-sacrificing he was in his jousts and in his deadliest combats—how he worshipped the King he was daily wronging, and would have fought for him with entire self-abnega-

tion, as always so to the close, had not his and the Queen's love, as she expressed it, "come to a mischievous end."

With the breach between Arthur and Launcelot ended the glory and dominion of the King. The fall of Arthur's kingship, his mysterious passing away, and Launcelot's single hearted melancholy compose the climax of the epic. "Alas!" said Sir Launcelot, "this is the heaviest tidings that ever came to me."

It is easy to imagine—it is difficult not to imagine, when you have surrendered yourself to Launcelot's beautiful and subtle though primitive story—the half puzzled brooding into which his mind would be thrown by the ruin brought upon those he most loved by a sin the heinousness of which he had never realized, even under the sharpest Divine reproofs, and which even then he would have resumed if opportunity had been afforded him. It is a sufficient literary vindication, if this is true, to some phases of human nature, as well as finely done. I hold that it is both, and that the achievement is a remarkable one.

Scarcely less remarkable is the extremely delicate portraiture of King Arthur. That a husband so egregiously trustful, and so perpetually deceived, should be clearly and uncompromisingly exhibited in this character in a rough age, and never be subjected to a word of despite or contumely, or made a butt for ridicule, is extraordinary. When one of Guenever's acts of infidelity is rudely exposed by uncouth knights, it is finely said that King Arthur would not have displaced her curtains. Alike to men and women, this mirror of chivalry always presented a surface at once true and smooth. He was never untrue of his promise, never deficient in charity, never failed in courtesy, never misdoubted a seeming friend.

Any general observations that I can offer in conclusion

must be confused and complicated by a profound difficulty which I feel in reasonably making out the place of the Book of King Arthur in literary development. For those who accept Tennyson the question is easier. His Idylls are at once more capable of being sympathised with by rational readers of this century, and more what we should expect a thousand years after the coming of Christ. Even they are below the level of moral manhood reached in the educated life of Greece and Rome fifteen hundred years before. And though the roots of Tennyson are in Malory we cannot be sure, and in fact we feel it to be most unlikely, that anything like Tennyson grew from them until centuries of cultured imagination had imbued them with a higher life not their own. Thus we are landed with what seems a problem—the existence in the thousandth year of Christianity, and amidst a full provision of Christian ordinances, almost exactly corresponding with those existing to-day, of a state of society most elementary and primitive, infinitely less advanced in its reasons and motives than the society of ancient Greece and Rome. Is it or is it not true that an ordinarily cultivated man of to-day finds his mind moving freely about with Thucydides, Plato, Livy, Tacitus and Pliny, while he can only take a perfunctory interest in the manners, doings, and modes of thought of the period of the Round Table? Regarded seriously the Book of King Arthur is very much as if men had descended to become interesting dumb animals, even lacking the wistfulness under limitations which is seen in dumb animals by those who understand them.

On the other hand Mr. Rhys, in his General Introduction to the Camelot Series, seems to approve the modern realism which makes the "artistic spirit inevitably recur to the Ideal, and try to solve the problems of Nineteenth Century life by a reference to the romance problems of

timeless Camelot." Is this mere sentimental literary affectation—a mood of unreal æstheticism into which it is possible to ecstasise oneself—or is there in it any ethical substance—any actual correspondence with permanent human needs? I ask; I do not pronounce; only confessing that Mr. Rhys' words convey to my mind no meaning whatever.

If the Nineteenth Century has any perplexities which can be solved by the problems of Camelot, it must be in a very babyish condition. Some of the ideals of knighthood have been very properly discarded. Others have been developed into high and spiritual perfection, so that the Nineteenth Century has no need to recur to the beggarly elements of the Tenth or the Fifteenth. Comparing the ideals of Camelot with the life of Greece and Rome, some might allege that the spirit of sacrifice for others was a new moral element in the former. But this might be strongly contested in view of the municipal and imperial public spirit, and the many instances of self-abnegation recorded in classic story; and Grecian and Roman government were both too good to allow of regions being oppressed with "bad customs" or distressed damsels needing to be rescued at the point of the lance. Sir Edward Strachey, in his Introduction to the Book of Arthur, quotes from Von Sybel a most unfavourable description of society in the middle ages: "Petty, lawless tyrants trampled all social order under foot, and artistic pleasures were as effectually crushed as the external well-being and material life of the people. It was a dark and stormy period for Europe, merciless, arbitrary, and violent. It is a sign of the prevailing misery and hopelessness that when the first thousand years of our era were drawing to a close the people in every country in Europe looked with certainty for the destruction of the world. Some squandered their wealth in riotous living, others bestowed it for the good of their souls upon churches and convents. Weeping multitudes lay

day and night around the altars. Some looked forward with dread, but most with ardent hope towards the burning of the earth and the falling in of Heaven. Their actual condition was so miserable that the idea of destruction was a relief, in spite of all its horrors." If such was the state of things when the Christian era was a thousand and more years old, and if knight-errantry was the best and most imaginative distraction that the wealthier and better taught could find, my humble advice, or, at all events, suggestion would be that we should just take a mild interest in knight-errantry and its ideals and its grade of religious feeling, as notable features of a departed past. But we should recognise that if there is evolution in human society this was a Darwinian degradation from the state of things in ancient Greece and Rome. We should recognise also that it is very difficult to assign the times and usages of chivalry any place in the progress of Europe. As to our disturbing the long laid ghost of chivalry, and making believe to solve our problems in the dim dark-lantern-light of its ideals, after entertaining this æsthetic idea as charitably as I can, I can only say that my own feeling is that it is trivial and artificial.

And yet—there is always an "And yet"—do we not find among us a strange recrudescence of childishness? In learned literature we go back to Sagas. Adults revel in the dramatic childishness of fairy tales provided expressly for them, and flavoured for them with subtleties of the adult mind, though having the guise of juvenile reading. And in religion the vice of our age is more flagrantly imbecile. I may not perhaps notice with freedom the curious fact that the Mass the Knights of the Round Table constantly heard before setting out on their frivolous adventures may be presumed to be the Mass which is said every Sunday now, and which is produced in the vernacular as closely as may be in our own Protestant Service. There

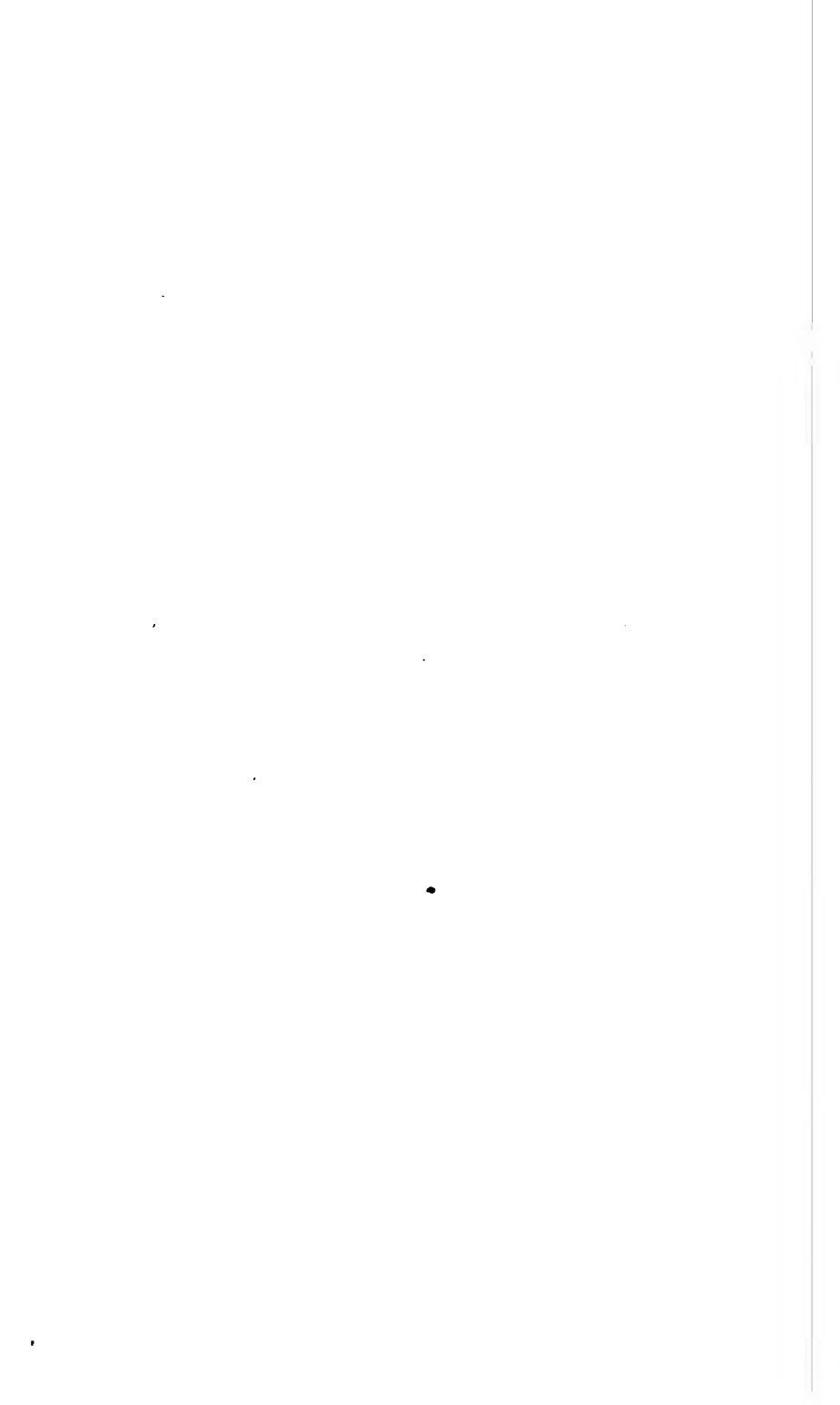
is scope enough in that sacred service for all degrees of intelligent and unintelligent devotion, and, if our President will allow me the expression, we can worship altruistically with Arthur's knights as we can with the peasants of Galway or with the loftiest intellects of the Catholic Church. But it is impossible to shut our eyes to the rapid extrusion of intellectual spirituality from our worship—to the growing and indeed full-grown popularity of superstitious ritual—to the utter degradation of much of our hymnology, which has held a high place in Christian literature very long only to find itself now largely disused in favour of barren mediæval crudities, simplicities and dogmatizings. Are we then to be made to confess, after all, that for the bulk of mankind these puerilities are necessities, and that above them the bulk of mankind cannot permanently rise? Is it to be understood that religion in the philosophy of its hold upon mankind is to be a species of will-worship, a deliberate self-abasement to the most inferior levels of infantile understanding, and that thus and thus only in the application of childish things to deliberately simple minds is Christianity to supply from age to age its regenerating influences?

I must say that I shrink from these conclusions as much in the philosophy of religion as in the evolution of literature. And in both we have the great encouragement of experience for a contrary opinion. Simple incidents and simple emotions alike in religion and in literature must always have their place and power. In all ages they have retained their place and power. But that they might do so it was never necessary that the play of the intellect should be limited to the mere rudimentary thoughts and feelings which are identified with the most childish forms of literature and the most ceremonial types of religion. The primitive composition of Sir Thomas Malory, having bequeathed the fair and

noble music of its language to the English of the future, was soon followed by the translation of Utopia, by the authorised version of the English Bible, by the Essays of Lord Bacon, by the History of Sir Walter Raleigh, and by the wonderful productions of the Elizabethan age in almost every region of human thought. Theology and spiritual life never relinquished the basis upon which the religious part of Sir Thomas Malory's book was built; but in successive ages great divines and preachers have substituted for the bald and almost blind devotion of a monastic cult and of miraculous legends a vast range of inspiring contemplations and exhortations, in which the spirit of man expatiates not by means of the lowest and most abject, but through the highest and most soaring of his faculties. And from this height there should be no declension in the operative and working mind. What I mean is, that although it may be good and interesting to read and even study the stories of King Arthur or any other memorials of an inferior past, there should be no taking them or their spirit for serious guidance.

You will observe that in the Book of King Arthur magic and enchantment are in full play. It seems as if in the early conceptions of human life man cannot be left alone. The full responsibility of action cannot be conceded to him. The results of human will are so formidable that they have to be veiled beneath the control of some form of fate. This is the stage of King Arthur, and it is also, we must admit, the stage at which the Greek tragedies arrived, though these are so much higher and greater in the intellectual scale. Then comes the stage of Shakspeare, where the supernatural is not left out, but where the behaviour of the characters is not really swayed by supernatural beings. Finally we reach the less poetical but sounder platform from

which supernatural invention is entirely excluded. The Book of King Arthur treats of a mythical age, and deals with mythical people in a manner which would be easy enough to understand if it dated from an earliest age. Written about 1480, and narrating supposed events of from 800 to 1100, it puzzles us, as to how such a period could have been so mythical, and as to how the ethical spirit of such an age can have become so elementary. The charm of it must be admitted; the value of it is but moderate. Its simplicity and primitiveness are part of a great enigma—the decay of literature and intelligence during the first thousand years of Christianity. In the rapid advance of literature and intelligence from Sir Thomas Malory's point of time—an advance so much more rapid than any that followed the productions of Chaucer—we may perhaps detect an illustration, not only of the value of printing, but of that extraordinary action of prose language in exploiting and generating mental power which has still to be taken into due consideration in accounting for the beginnings of civilisation.



THE ADOPTION OF A MORE PERFECT SYSTEM OF TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BY THE LIVER- POOL SCHOOL BOARD.

By FREDERICK W. EDWARDS, M.S.A.

COMPARING England with the Continent, the late Matthew Arnold said that the fault of popular teaching at home lay in its being so little formative. This is probably the reason why *Punch* once satirically asked whether there was anyone at the Education office who had ever seen a child. It also had something to do with the assertion of Sir Lyon Playfair, that three-fourths of the Education grants were wasted.

It may, therefore, be of interest and use, and tend to emphasise a new era in local educational work, if an attempt be made to state briefly, and in a popular and consecutive form, a few facts connected with an extended curriculum of Technical instruction about to be introduced in the Board Schools of Liverpool. The recent Technical Instruction Act undoubtedly gives all elementary schools power to adopt its provisions for any scholars who are no longer receiving instruction in the standard or obligatory subjects. It is but just to recognise, however, that the Liverpool School Board had anticipated the measure, in ascertaining, in the form of an exact legal opinion, that they were able to do so under their earlier Elementary Education Acts, and also by proceeding to initiate an efficient scheme throughout the standards.

It had previously been a matter of some uncertainty as to whether elementary schools could provide technical

instruction, or earn grants thereby, but the statement of Sir Horace Davey appears to be entirely in their favour. He says :—

I am of opinion that, provided that elementary education continues to be the principal part of the education there given, instruction in any secular subjects, as well as in religious subjects, may lawfully be given in a Board School, unless and except so far as the conditions required, in order to obtain a Parliamentary grant contained in the minutes of the Education Department, in force for the time being, prohibit any subject to be so taught. The Code of 1887 (which I assume to be the one now in force), by Clause 17, expressly permits instruction to be given in secular subjects, in respect of which no grant is made. I am, therefore, of opinion that a School Board, under existing circumstances, and subject to any regulations which may be made by the Education Department hereafter, may give manual instruction and defray the cost of it out of the school fund, and charge such cost, or a *pro rata* proportion (as the case may be) to the school or schools where it is taught.

A majority of the English nation has at last apparently arrived at the happy state of admission that it is imperative that elementary education must be henceforth of a more real and practical nature, and better adapted to the requirements of an artisan population. In this connection it should be a matter for congratulation that the Liverpool authorities have had the courage to inaugurate what is probably the most complete system up to the present time, and one which will ere long be fully organised throughout the whole of their schools. The first important step towards this was the conference held between the School Management Committee of the School Board and the Committee of the conference of Public Elementary School Managers, at which several valuable resolutions were agreed to. These may be summarised in the following manner :—

- (1.) The introduction of the Kindergarten system of instruction in all Infant schools.

- (2.) The continuance up to Standard IV of some branches of Kindergarten instruction, such as modelling in clay, etc., in addition to a series of object lessons leading up to the later science instruction.
- (3.) Throughout all the standards instruction in drawing, at least to boys.
- (4.) In Standards IV or V and upward, instruction in elementary science by means of actual demonstration.
- (5.) Manual instruction to be given to boys in the upper standards, at centres to be established by the Board, which shall be, as far as legally possible, available also to Voluntary schools.
- (6.) The retention of scholars in elementary schools as long as they can be induced to remain, and the inauguration of a special curriculum, including Science and Art Department subjects for scholars beyond Standards VI or VII.
- (7.) Permission to be given to Voluntary schools to avail themselves of the services of the science demonstrators engaged by the School Board, and also the use of their apparatus, together with the advantages of instruction to Voluntary school teachers by any special demonstrators that may be employed by the School Board.
- (8.) Centres for manual instruction not to overlap or encroach on the accommodation of any existing school, and to be provided by hiring workshops or any suitable premises.
- (9.) The City Council to be requested to exercise their powers as regards Elementary schools under the Technical Instruction Act of last year.

It will be observed there is nothing very revolutionary in the reforms that have been adopted, and that their introduc-

tion will not militate against the obligatory subjects of the code being still the principal part of the instruction given in Elementary schools. It would appear rather that the resolutions referred to have been drawn up mainly with the view to being successfully grafted on to, or co-ordinated with, the existing requirements of the code. If this be so, we may at least hope to realise ere long that theory and practice have joined hands to the greater advantage of both. The value of Kindergarten instruction up to the Fourth Standard, and the necessity of drawing being continuously taught, have been so repeatedly discussed and acknowledged that more extended comment is superfluous.

It will be noticed that the proposed manual instruction is to be given at centres, and as it will probably take place partially out of school hours, it will not be a serious burden to the present curriculum. It should be exceedingly satisfactory to learn that not only is the manual instruction to be available to the Voluntary schools, but that the Voluntary schools are to have extended to them other privileges as to apparatus and training of their teachers, wherever legally possible. It is evident that the resolutions have been drawn up with wisdom and care, and as they have been formulated by an ample representation of the concentrated interests of the Elementary schools, it ought to be unnecessary to take exception either to their scope or demands. A prevailing idea appears throughout in an attempt to provide for the training of the hand, the eye, and the brain in conjunction with the memory, suitably and continuously throughout the standards. There is strong evidence of the conciliatory spirit which has guided the deliberations of the joint committee in the practical arrangements which they have made to allow the Voluntary schools to participate in the new scheme wherever legally possible. This is but another proof that the School Board owes and deserves much of its success

to the broad and generous manner in which it has always dealt with the whole of the elementary interests of the city, whether Board or Voluntary.

The great point of importance is the retention of scholars as long as they can be induced to remain. This is somewhat in the nature of a blank cheque, and, while it may be misconstrued by some, will possibly be adversely commented upon by others, who believe that they are ratepayers first and educationalists after. With a little thought it will be seen that the proportion of scholars who, from various reasons, are able to remain beyond the Seventh Standard will be exceedingly small. The enhanced cost to the ratepayer, *if any*, will be unappreciable, owing to the fact that the grants earned (for the specific subjects which will be taught) from the Education and Science and Art Departments will probably cover the outlay involved. Those who doubt the value of continued elementary instruction may be reminded that in Scotland the most promising scholars are successfully retained up to the age of seventeen or eighteen, and that they practically receive a similar instruction principally at the cost of the British nation. Their retention may be looked forward to as the best devised connecting link between the elementary and secondary school, and the managers of local voluntary higher grade institutions anticipate with pleasure that it will offer to them many students whose training has been carried up to the exact point at which their secondary education commences. Hitherto it has been painfully clear, in numberless instances, that youths who have left an elementary school at twelve or thirteen, and who desire several years later to learn the theory of any handicraft they are apprenticed to, have forgotten most of what they knew, and in their ignorance feel degraded in being put through an elementary course ere they can be allowed to attack the ordinary curriculum of a

technological class. Many will eagerly desire to see this decision supplemented by a syllabus of specific subjects of a less rigid character. Such a definite departure in elementary education demands greater power of variability, differentiation, and local option. The academic requirements of all class subjects might, without any fear of a tendency to teach trades still further, give place to the needs of so large a manufacturing, agricultural, and domestic people. This will appear clearer, and be insisted upon more strongly, when it is generally realised how much economic, as well as educative force, will ultimately result from the giving of a reasonable amount of manual instruction. The voluntary experiment made last year by the Liverpool Technical Association was so successful that the School Board have decided to bear the cost themselves of carrying on the work for another season. The two subjects of manual instruction chosen were : wood-carving and fretsaw work. Ten schools were selected as centres, and each class consisted of fifty boys taken from the Sixth and Seventh Standards. The classes were held after school hours, and the instruction, tools, and materials, provided free. The reports of the head masters, in whose schools the classes were held, unanimously testify to the interest and enthusiasm exhibited, the benefit received, and the desirability of extending the work throughout all the boys' schools. The council of the Technical Association are quite satisfied that the movement in favour of manual instruction only requires such a fostering influence as this in order to insure its universal adoption as a voluntary subject in all Elementary schools.

Attention may be further drawn to the fact that the joint committee, not satisfied with the laborious attention already given by themselves to the subject, invited delegates from the principal voluntary educational agencies of the city, asking and receiving from them an expression of opinion as

to the best method of inducing the City Council to put promptly into motion "The Technical Instruction Act" of 1889. The fortunate results of this will be seen shortly in a unanimous scheme drawn up by representatives of all the public educational institutions of Liverpool, to be presented to the City Council in due course. The credit of its initiative will belong largely to the School Management Committee of the School Board, whose action has brought about an amount of loyal co-operation and friendly feeling that could scarcely have been hoped for under any other circumstances. Liverpool is indeed fortunate in possessing a public official like Mr. Hance, whose wide knowledge of the whole politics of education, and whose courteous treatment and consideration to other higher institutions providing Technical Instruction, has made many things possible that might have been conflicting in so large an undertaking.

The resolutions already epitomised were unanimously passed as a report by the School Board, at their monthly meeting in November last, and the meeting on the 2nd instant of the School Management Committee announced that they had appointed Mr. J. C. Pearson as instructor in applied drawing, to give and direct, under the Board's science instructor, the manual instruction contemplated by the approved report. Mr. Pearson, though a stranger, is not only an efficiently trained teacher, but has had considerable experience in the organisation of manual instruction under the City and Guilds of London Institute in conjunction with the London School Board, and is thoroughly conversant with all its details. There is every reason to assume that his work will grow in importance and success, as has that so ably carried out by Mr. Wm. Hewitt, B.Sc., who was made Science Demonstrator in 1877. Those who at the time opposed or depreciated the introduction of science teaching, may be aptly told that the general intelli-

gence of scholars has since largely increased, and that the passes in elementary subjects which were 79 per cent. in 1877, the year alluded to, rose gradually until they reached 92 per cent. in 1884, and were last year 95 per cent. This ought to be accepted as a fairly conclusive proof that any form of Technical Instruction is a help, and not a hindrance to ordinary primary education.

One paragraph only of the report need be noticed to illustrate its scope and value. Fully recognising the many difficulties of a redistribution and reform of the existing curriculum, it points out that the amount of Technical Instruction that can be given in Elementary schools may never be large, but that the principal importance lies in the fact that the preliminary training necessary to enable young people to avail themselves of the new Act at a later stage can only, in the majority of cases, be given in such schools. It also truly states that the extent to which scholars are likely to desire further benefit will largely depend upon the bias for or against Technical Instruction imparted to them in the early standards.

Caligula wished that the Roman people had but one neck that he might cut it off at a blow. It would be impossible, perhaps, under any circumstances, to deal in so summary a manner with the hydra-headed problem of education, but is it not encouraging to find the School Board doing its utmost to diagnose the difficulties of the situation, and at the same time offering an intelligent and comprehensive solution of what they deem necessary for its amelioration and future progress?

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE.

By JAMES BIRCHALL.

II. THE LIBERTIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

THE attitude assumed by the Christian Church in the presence of the barbarians who overthrew the Roman Empire presents one of the most impressive spectacles in European history. Of all the ancient institutions she alone withstood the invaders, subduing them by the calm and undaunted front of her priesthood, and rendering herself necessary to them in the transaction of business and the legislative proceedings of their national assemblies. But the influence which the Christian ministry then maintained in temporal affairs, although beneficial both to conquerors and conquered, was prejudicial to their spiritual authority. They sank into the position of worldly courtiers, flattering when they should have denounced, and involving themselves in the crimes and intrigues of the rough barbarian courts. Their vast wealth and political aggrandisement at length roused the envy and jealousy of the chieftains. These fierce warriors at first held in contempt the ease and inaction of the ecclesiastical office, and so left it in the exclusive possession of an enslaved and despised race. But the frequent appearance of bishops in arms at the head of fighting men, soon taught them that spiritual honours were not necessarily incompatible with the career of a soldier. Rough and uncivilised Teutons then began to supersede the comparatively refined and polished Latin hierarchy, and although many illustrious men thus entered the Church, the majority were utterly unscrupulous,

hard and worldly, and reckless plunderers of their neighbours. Even the stern rule of Charles the Great failed to reduce such turbulent churchmen to order. The feudal tenures imposed on their lands nourished a passion for warfare, in spite of laws which prohibited their engaging in arms; while their enjoyment of exceptional powers and immunities fostered those ideas of ecclesiastical independence which shortly gave birth to that demand for "Liberties," for complete freedom from control, whether of Rome or the State, which forms the most striking feature in the history of the Gallican Church. The appropriation of all the richest benefices by princes and nobles further developed the new-born spirit of independence. In the course of a few years the spiritual aristocracy greatly excelled the lay nobility in wealth and numbers, and Feudal France, as it gradually evolved out of the chaos of that eruptive age, assumed the aspect of a Feudal Theocracy, in which the episcopal order appeared as the dominant power, and ecclesiastical councils almost superseded, as they did in Gothic Spain, the national assemblies.

None laboured at this time with greater ardour, to establish the national character of the Gallican Church, than Hincmar, the great Archbishop of Rheims—the almost absolute ruler of Church and State in the reign of Charles the Bald (840–877). Equally a courtier and a churchman, he preserved friendly relations with all the contending factions of the time, without wavering in fidelity to the Carolingian princes whom he zealously served. But he enforced the sovereignty of the spiritual power over that of the civil, almost to the point of usurpation, repelling at the same time the growing pretensions of Rome, whose spiritual primacy he nevertheless acknowledged. In his resistance against the latter power, Hincmar was often successful. Of all the pretensions which Rome then advanced, that of her

appellate jurisdiction most deeply undermined the rights of metropolitans and the authority of provincial councils. The custom of appealing to the successor of St. Peter was originally confined to important questions, *causa majores*, on which bishops demurred to the decision of their metropolitan, it being always understood that the Pope in pronouncing judgment, only gave expression to the statute law of the Church as set forth in the canons. Under the exceptional government of Charles the Great the custom fell into abeyance, but the dissensions which agitated the rule of his incapable successors soon afforded pretexts for its renewal. Appeals to Rome, even by ordinary clerks, then became common; and refractory bishops, like Rhotad of Soissons, and Hinemar's nephew and namesake of Laon, always had recourse to the supreme pontiff, assured, by the general tenour of papal policy, of receiving a favourable decision.

Rhotad had been cited by Hinemar, his metropolitan, to answer certain charges before the provincial council. Refusing to appear, he appealed to Pope Nicholas I, and on a repetition of his contumacy, was deposed and committed to a monastery. The pontiff thereupon demanded his restoration, and summoned all the parties concerned to argue the matter before him in Rome. Led by their metropolitan, the Gallican bishops resented this interference as wholly illegal and expressly contrary to the canons. Nicholas pointed to the Isidorean Decretals, then first published, as the warrant for his action, affirming that they prohibited the deposition of a bishop without papal sanction. And if, as was objected, these decretals were not to be found in the Canonical Code, it must be understood that all injunctions issuing from the Vatican were of equal authority with the canons, whether included in the code or not, and superior to the edicts of ecclesiastical councils.

This arrogant assumption keenly offended the Gallican bishops. It deprived their synods of all independent action, and as Nicholas also declared, on the same authority, that no council was lawful unless held by permission of the Holy See, it led to a further infringement of clerical liberties in the extension of the system of legations.

Previous to this time the Pontiffs had been generally represented in each Christian State by some eminent native metropolitan, appointed for a special purpose, with the consent or at the wish of the reigning sovereign. Such occasional vicars were now superseded by Legates *a Latere*, entrusted with undefined powers, which authorised them to hold councils, promulgate decrees, depose bishops, and issue interdicts at their discretion. The gross misconduct and overbearing pride of these new emissaries, and the excessive abuse of their authority, in defiance of the ancient customs, soon provoked wide-spread indignation. At the same time, much of the odium they incurred was due to the reforms which legates, like Hildebrand, rigidly enforced, and the severe penalties they inflicted upon clerical offenders. By the time of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) more mischief than good had been produced by these papal ambassadors, and when the French monarchy grew stronger, their powers were considerably abridged. They were then forbidden to enter the kingdom without the previous consent of the sovereign—their letters patent were scrutinised by the Courts of Parliament—their functions were strictly defined—and they were prohibited, under pain of forfeiting their licence, from trespassing upon the royal prerogatives, the laws and ecclesiastical liberties of the realm, or the privileges of the universities.

Meanwhile, the bishops themselves endangered the liberties of the Church by their possession of feudal estates. Feudalism was essentially repugnant to Ecclesiasticism,

organising society on a different basis. Aforetime, the clergy formed a class apart from the laity, and free from the burdens of the state. Now their immunities were curtailed; feudal services admitted of no exemptions; and all fief-holders, whether lay or spiritual, were bound by the one common law which fixed the terms of their tenures. All were subject to a pecuniary fine on entering into possession; the lay tenant paid a *Relief*, and the ecclesiastical feudatory a *Régale*; the lay heir, if a minor, became the ward of his lord, who administered the estate; but as no such contingency could happen in the Church, the lord kept his benefices vacant as long as he could, drawing the revenues in the interval.

Again, no estate could be transferred to another without the permission of the lord, who exacted a fine for granting the privilege on every occasion. But when lands were bestowed upon the Church, they remained with her for ever and could never be alienated, for which loss of prospective revenue a pecuniary compensation was demanded called the *Droit d'Amortissement*. The increasing number of these alienations in mortmain at length brought them under the cognisance of the law, and no transactions of the kind were permitted without the express licence of the sovereign, who demanded heavy dues on each occasion.

Other feudal customs peculiarly exposed the Church to the domination of the great seigneurs. These naturally claimed their right to the patronage of any abbey, prebend, or chapelry founded by them or their ancestors, and the claim was rarely disputed. But under the titles of *Avoués* or *Vidames*, by which they guaranteed protection to particular churches or abbeys, or agreed to render such feudal services as it was uncanonical for ecclesiastics to perform, they not only extorted a territorial recompense for their championship, but often inflicted upon their clients

wrongs as grievous as those they had undertaken to prevent. All this feudal control, with the pecuniary dues connected therewith, was transferred to the crown, as the monarchy developed, the process of change beginning with Philip Augustus (1180-1223), and ending with the reign of Lewis XI (1461-1483), when the Gallican Church exchanged the bonds of feudalism for those of an absolute monarchy.

The Church, however, had felt the strong hand of the chief secular ruler from the earliest times, especially in the disposition of her episcopal dignities. Her primitive right to elect her own chief pastors was generally admitted by the Frankish kings, but rarely respected. Leaving creeds and formularies which they did not understand, to be settled by the clergy, these rough princes seized upon the temporalities and disposed of them at will. Arrangements which satisfied the Church were frequently made, and as often broken; and it was eventually decided that after being canonically elected, a prelate should wait for the royal confirmation before he ascended his spiritual throne. Breaches of this compact led to the custom of soliciting permission from the crown to proceed to an election; and this again induced the practice of issuing royal letters of recommendation, specifying by name the person to be elected. Then came the ceremony of Investiture, which did not excite serious controversy in France, since the Gallican Church admitted the right of the suzerain on certain conditions, which were generally observed until the crown monopolised the patronage of the higher preferments by the Concordat of Bologna.

In the course of these successive encroachments, the ancient custom of electing bishops by clergy and people passed away, and was superseded in the twelfth century by the practice of capitular election. Even then, and for some time afterwards, the choice of bishops was not subject to any fixed or generally recognised rule. Most frequently, the

chapter of the diocese elected the bishop, and then applied for the approbation of the king and the pope. Sometimes each of these potentates appointed directly and independently.

Royal control over these elections would seem to have been justified by that essential principle of feudal law which stipulated that no suzerain could have a vassal placed in any of his fiefs without his consent. But it was an abuse of the *Régale* when the sovereign wantonly prolonged a vacancy for the sake of appropriating the revenues. The Capets were very jealous of any interference with this unjust stretch of their prerogative, and the famous Philipine Ordinance of the first king of the House of Valois extended the *Régale* not only to benefices actually vacant, but also to those which were held without a legitimate canonical title, and therefore ought to be considered vacant.

All these innovations of the temporal ruler were not observed with indifference by the pontiffs on the Tiber. From the time, at least, of Nicholas I, it had been their settled policy to make Rome the seat of a sacerdotal empire : to transfer to the Holy See the patronage of all the benefices in Latin Christendom, and centralise at the Vatican the judicial administration of the whole ecclesiastical commonwealth. National churches lost their independence by the promotion of appeals and the perpetual citations of their dignitaries to Rome. Their metropolitans could not act until the pallium had been received direct from the pontifical hands ; their bishops were obliged to await confirmation before assuming episcopal functions. These and other advances to supreme control, which marked the policy of Gregory VII were followed up by Innocent III, who not only assumed the right of determining all contested elections, but claimed authority by what was termed the Right of Devolution to supply the want of election, or the unfitness

of the elected, by a nomination of his own. Then came Mandats and Provisions whereby the popes, at first under the form of requests, and next of commands, asserted their absolute right, as universal patrons, to dispose of all preferments whether vacant or in reversion. The court of Rome thus gradually acquired a predominant influence in the disposal of all the higher preferments in France, and exercised an almost absolute sway over the Gallican Church.

It was destined by the irony of fate that this career of aggression should be arrested by the most devoted son which the Church could claim in that age—Lewis IX. With all his austere piety, this royal saint possessed too deep a sense of religion to become the slave of the clergy, and too lofty an opinion of the kingly office to abase its authority before the spiritual power. He appointed his own bishops, and recognised none of their excommunications unless they were first examined and justified by his own courts; and he firmly maintained that the representative of St. Peter, as lord of consciences, should keep to his own sphere and not encroach upon the authority of temporal potentates. In this policy he was boldly supported by the civil lawyers who now began to surround the throne, and the famous Ordinance, known as the Pragmatic Sanction, considered by some to be erroneously attributed to him, is in perfect harmony with his principles. The six articles it contains enforced—first, the rights, liberties, and internal canonical usages of the Gallican Church, particularly with regard to freedom of election, and respect for the rights of patrons; and next prohibited the payment of all exactions and pecuniary impositions demanded by the court of Rome, except with the free and express consent of the sovereign and the church of the realm.

It should be observed that the new legal force which now pressed upon the clergy was directed rather against

ecclesiastical than against papal encroachments. The latter generally affected the Church more than the State; and it was the enormous powers exercised by the spiritual tribunals, and the exemption from civil jurisdiction claimed by the clergy, which aroused the fiercest hostility of the lawyers and the laity generally. In 1246, a confederacy of the nobles, sanctioned by St. Lewis, bound themselves by oath not to permit the spiritual judge to take cognisance of any matter except heresy, marriage, and usury; and they further resolved that, if one of their number were excommunicated on account of this oath, they would all resist in common to the utmost of their power.

In the early days of anarchy and general insecurity of life and property, the Church was the only power able in any degree to curb violence and lawlessness; bishops arbitrated in every quarrel, and, on the whole, succeeded in enforcing some respect for order and justice. But as the secular authority developed the ability to rule, judicial functions were gradually transferred to lay magistrates, and ecclesiastical interests began to be subordinated to those of the state. The study of the civil law in the universities, and the rise of an intellectual body of laymen, whose erudition was as profound as that of the clergy, immensely accelerated this movement. The temporal courts then began to fall under the exclusive control of the lawyers; churchmen were removed from the offices of mayor, sheriff, bailiff, and other lay positions which they had hitherto occupied. They were compelled to withdraw from the parliaments, and abandon all share in the business of the civil administration; and when the great Parliament of Paris, solely composed of laymen, and guided by legal minds, became in 1302 the central machine of government, the whole administration of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, fell into the hands of the legists.

The bishops first evinced their perception of this continuous diminution of their influence and authority during the twelfth century, from which time they strained every effort to recover themselves and extend the jurisdiction of their courts. Orphans, widows, strangers, pilgrims, lepers, and the poor, classed as "persons in distress" (*miserabiles persone*), were already under their protection and free from the control of lay tribunals. The like immunity extended to Crusaders and those who took the crusading vow; while the indefiniteness of the term "*spiritual causes*" afforded them an unlimited number of pretexts for drawing cases into their courts. By virtue of the right of the Church to chastise "*sin*," Innocent III vindicated his pretension to control national quarrels, and, for the same reason, the episcopal judges claimed the right to adjudicate in all the common differences of individuals, in breaches of contract, violations of oaths, and unfaithful discharge of trusts. At a memorable conference held before Philip of Valois in 1329, Peter de Cugnières, Advocate-General in the Parliament, delivered a long speech in which he enumerated the instances wherein the spiritual courts had transgressed their powers. They compelled laymen to bring their cases before them under threats of excommunication. In order to swell the list of their subjects, bishops conferred the tensure without any discrimination of persons as to fitness, character, and scholarship; even upon those who sought the privileges of the Church for the sake of escaping the just punishment of their crimes by the secular court. Episcopal officers treated persons excommunicate after the most rigid manner of modern boycotting. They prevented men from trading with them, working for them, or holding intercourse with them; they stopped the cultivation of their land; and it was a common occurrence for considerable numbers of individuals to be brought up in the episcopal courts and fined for

associating with those who lay under the ban of the Church.

The bishops present, unable to deny these charges, only sought to justify them, on the ground of law, ancient custom, and the superiority of the clerical order, but they promised to redress any reasonable grievances. No active measures immediately resulted from this remarkable debate, but several regulations were made before the end of the century which withdrew from the spiritual courts the cognisance of testaments and other causes, and considerably narrowed the immunity of the clergy in criminal matters.

The Church courts at length brought about the loss of their independence by their own action. Having only spiritual censures at their command, they were thrown upon the lay magistrate for the enforcement of such sentences as fine and imprisonment. This furnished the temporal courts with pretexts for revising their proceedings. Appeals against their decisions were encouraged; and finally, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the famous form of procedure known as the "Appeal because of Abuse" (*Appel comme d'Abus*) subjected all their judicial acts to the revision and correction of the Parliament of Paris. The spiritual courts then ceased to exercise their ancient independent jurisdiction; laymen were forbidden to resort to them; and, in 1539, a royal ordinance restricted their authority to questions purely spiritual, and to cases in which personal actions might be brought against clerks in holy orders. From that time they gradually fell out of use.

I pass now to the memorable conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France, which forms an era as important in the constitutional system of mediæval Europe as in the relations between Church and State. The papal dream of a universal monarchy then vanished in confusion; nations felt in themselves the manhood which works

out its own destiny—and the Gallican Church, with all the external dominion enjoyed by the hierarchy during the preceding ages, succumbed to the crown.

Many issues were involved in the conflict.

The State resisted the Church in the person of its supreme head. The lawyers, jealous of the clergy and their privileges, asserted the authority of the civil law over canonical law. It was a contest for the strengthening of French interests in Italy; while the personal hostility which existed between the two chief combatants infused a bitterness into the quarrel that excluded all hope of reconciliation. Both antagonists were well matched in ability and resolution. Each was alike confident of the justice of his cause; each equally determined to uphold his sovereignty unfettered—the king over all the estates of his realm; the pope over all sorts and conditions of men, princes or subjects, as members of the Christian community, of which he was the sole supreme and divine ruler.

Neither of the two potentates took into account the revolutions which had so considerably altered the character of their respective dignities; although Philip possessed some advantage in this respect, under the direction of the lawyers, his chief counsellors. Ever since the reign of Lewis the Fat (1108–1137) kingship in France had gradually emancipated itself from the feudal system; it had acquired a sovereignty of its own, above and beyond the right of the suzerain over his vassals; and the contending feudal elements had become so much welded together under its authority that Philip was supported in the strife by the entire nation. It is from this date that we can clearly trace the growth of that absolute monarchy from which the French people did not deliver themselves without the convulsions of the Revolution of 1789.

The popedom likewise had grown to a supreme position;

but moral and intellectual, from which the pontiffs looked down upon all terrestrial powers. While Philip Augustus was extending and consolidating the royal authority in France, Innocent III was successfully confirming the spiritual dominion which Gregory VII had set up. The two powers thus developed contemporarily, and there grew around each a body of able and daring men ; on the one side, lawyers learned in all the maxims, principles and precedents of the Roman law, to whom the king was what Cæsar had been to the empire ; and on the other side, canonists and profound theologians who maintained the absolute sovereignty of the spiritual power over all earthly princes, on the ground of its divine origin.

During the long warfare between Pope and Emperor, the French monarchs, jealous of imperial aggrandisement in Italy, had generally allied themselves with the papacy ; and the popularity of this policy had given expression to the saying "that it was a goodly match to marry the church to the fleurs-de-lis." Boniface had been connected with the French party in the Italian peninsula long before his elevation to the Apostolic Chair ; he owed his promotion to its influence, and declared his willingness to serve it still. He was moreover well known to the French king, having been legate in France only four years before, so that Philip had many reasonable grounds for regarding him as a friend and ally.

The real origin of the quarrel arose out of Philip's fiscal necessities. So long as the Capets were little more than great feudal lords, the revenue of the royal domain was equal to their needs ; but it was totally inadequate to support the machinery of a monarchy, with its hosts of officials and its army of mercenaries. Philip, moreover, was entangled in wars here and there : with the Flemings, with the First Edward Plantagenet in Guienne, and with revolts in the

South. All these severely trespassed upon his ordinary resources, and compelled him to resort to questionable expedients. He plundered the Jews and the Lombards, sold privileges to the towns, tampered with the coin, and taxed the nobles with sumptuary laws. In 1296, two years after the elevation of Boniface, his treasury was again exhausted, and for its replenishment he imposed a general levy upon his subjects, clergy and laity alike. Now Church property was originally exempt from all liabilities to the State. But when its domains were converted into feudal fiefs, the clergy, as military tenants, paid the regular dues, and also, at least from the time of Philip Augustus, a pecuniary composition for those services in the field which they were unable to render in person. Moreover in great public exigencies, they acknowledged their duty to contribute, like all other subjects, to the defence of the kingdom, only that such contribution should be sanctioned by their councils, and collected by their own officers. In short, they demanded that at such times they should not be taxed without their consent. The clergy, therefore, did not object to the Evil Toll which the king had imposed, but to the arbitrary manner in which it was enforced, without any consultation with pope, bishop, or council. Two-tenths were demanded; the Cistercians refused to pay, and appealed to Rome. Boniface rushed to the quarrel, and forthwith issued the bull *Clericis Laicos* (Feb., 1296), which forbade, in peremptory tones, the payment of any tax upon church property without the direct permission of the Pope. Ecclesiastics who submitted to such taxation were declared deposed and incapable of holding any benefice; secular rulers and their officers who received such money thereby placed themselves absolutely under excommunication. The Gallican clergy did not relish this bold interference in their relations with the State, and in an address to the pontiff they deprecated his action as conducive

to disturbance. Thus deserted by his natural allies, and threatened with the loss of his own supplies by a royal ordinance forbidding the export of money and valuables from the kingdom, Boniface withdrew from his assumed guardianship of ecclesiastical property, and acknowledged the king's full right to tax the clergy with their consent whenever State necessity required it. An interval of apparent reconciliation followed; but it soon appeared that the Pope was temporising. The obnoxious bull was not withdrawn, it was only disavowed in the case of France; in all other countries it was still in force, and it was evident that Boniface meant to declare himself the one sole trustee of all the lands, goods and property held by the clergy throughout Christendom. Philip, on the other hand, showed no disposition to abate the least of any of his prerogatives, and he continued to vex the Church with many petty arbitrary acts. One of these which involved him in a dispute with the Archbishop of Narbonne drew forth a strong, but not intemperate, remonstrance from the Pope, and the unfortunate, if not insulting, choice of a legate to adjust the difference precipitated a rupture. Instead of entrusting such a delicate mission to some affable and diplomatic cardinal of the papal court, Boniface selected a turbulent intriguer, whose notions of sacerdotal power were as inflexible as his own, and who, being a native of Languedoc, was also possessed with the hereditary hatred of the South against its new French masters. This envoy, named Bernard de Saisset, had been recently made Bishop of Pamiers by the Pope, under circumstances which had given considerable dissatisfaction to the king, so that on every ground he was of all men the one who should not have been despatched as an ambassador to the French court. It was manifest that Boniface, whose high office imposed upon him the character of the pacificator of Europe, was bent on provoking a

quarrel, and that with the most passionate and unscrupulous of contemporary sovereigns. Hardly had de Saisset entered upon the duties of his mission than he was arrested on a charge of treason, and committed to the custody of his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, ambassadors in the meantime being sent to Rome with charges of a spiritual nature which demanded his degradation. The chief of these ambassadors was Peter Flotte, Keeper of the Seals, one of those lawyers who were so passionately attached to the crown, and so resolutely determined to withstand the domination of ecclesiastics. The choice of such an emissary was equally as imprudent as that of de Saisset. The Pope, already incensed at the violation of all ecclesiastical and legatine privileges by the arrest of his envoy, was further irritated by the fearless language of the French minister, and he forthwith fulminated, with furious impatience, bull after bull against the king and his clergy. In one of these, known as the Greater Bull, *Ausculda carissime fili* (Dec., 1801), Boniface arrogantly proclaimed the supremacy of his see in things temporal as well as spiritual, and called upon Philip to acknowledge this and submit. Another bull renewed the prohibition of ecclesiastical payments to the lay authority, and a third was addressed to the prelates, cathedral chapters and doctors of the universities, citing them to attend a council in Rome to consider the affairs of the kingdom and the conduct of the king. This daring assumption of authority over the secular administration, and the attempt to set the whole hierarchy in revolt against their sovereign was a fatal error. It was a blow struck at the national independence, laity and clergy alike felt deeply offended, and Philip and his counsellors, accurately sounding the general mind, promptly resolved to set clearly before the people the Pope's pretensions and their consequences, and appeal to the national patriotism. He published a summary

of the Greater Bull, and caused the document itself to be publicly burnt in his presence, and then convoked the three estates of the realm to advise and aid him in his extremity. The nobles, and the burghers of the towns and cities now rising into notice and wealth, promptly responded to his call, and pledged themselves to resist the unbridled pretensions of Rome, and maintain inviolate the sovereign rights of the crown. The clergy, embarrassed by their spiritual allegiance, tardily assented to the decision of the lay estates, requesting at the same time permission to obey the papal summons and attend the council at Rome. They further addressed a respectful appeal to Boniface protesting against the doctrines he had enunciated, as well as the numerous invasions he had made upon their special and distinctive liberties. In reply to this protest, the Pope sharply rebuked them for their cowardice and apostacy, and when the council assembled he issued therefrom another bull, *Unam Sanctam*, wherein the powers which he had assumed, and would not surrender, were fully and deliberately defined. The Church, it was asserted, had one body and one head. She had at her command two swords—the one spiritual, held by herself; the other temporal, wielded by kings and soldiers, with the assent and by the sufferance of the supreme pontiff, to whom every human being was subject. Belief in this was necessary to salvation.

Notwithstanding the royal prohibition, the council at Rome was attended by forty-five French bishops and abbots, mainly from Bretagne, Burgundy and Languedoc, where the royal authority was least respected. Philip now seized and confiscated the property of these prelates, which Boniface retaliated by the excommunication of all who should molest them, or any one proceeding to or returning from Rome. The king then renewed his prohibition, and a second time forbade the export of money and valuables. So the quarrel

went on, varied with fruitless overtures for reconciliation. At last the Pope despatched a legate with an ultimatum containing twelve demands, requiring Philip, among other matters, to revoke his ordinances against the clergy, release them from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts in civil actions, and, while acknowledging the right of the Pope to dispose of all the benefices in the kingdom, to declare his own inability to touch the property of the Church. French arms had recently sustained a disastrous defeat in Flanders, at the battle of Courtrai (24th March, 1302), and Philip returned a moderate answer to these demands, conceding some, but distinctly affirming his resolution to follow the customs of the realm and maintain the liberties and privileges of the Gallican Church.

Under the impression that Philip was thoroughly humbled by the reverse in Flanders, Boniface commanded his legate to excommunicate the king, and all who supported or countenanced him. But papal thunder had no terror for Philip and his legal advisers: Peter Flotte, slain in the ditch at Courtrai, had told the pontiff to his face that he cared not for his spiritual power—it was only nominal, while that of the king's was real. Philip, therefore, stood unmoved; and, supported by the nobles, prelates, and legists in parliament assembled, he caused a formal indictment to be presented in which the Pope was accused of usurpation of his office, and of being guilty of many abominable crimes and heresies. These grave charges he demanded should be heard in a General Council; to this council he appealed as the supreme tribunal of the Church, and forthwith published his appeal throughout France and the neighbouring countries; William of Nogaret, a fearless and unscrupulous lawyer, being despatched to Rome in the meantime to do whatever was necessary to secure the pontiff's attendance. Not a single churchman uttered a word of remonstrance

against these unheard-of proceedings. Twenty-six prelates actually signed the appeal ; no fewer than nine cardinals also concurred in the measure ; and seven hundred cathedral and conventual bodies in France alone signified their approval. It was impossible that a man of such a fiery temper as Boniface should calmly observe this defection of many who had hitherto been his most ardent and servile partisans. Repudiating with scorn the notion that the successor of St. Peter could be arraigned before a General Council, he forged for his last and greatest blow, a thunderbolt hurling Philip from his throne, and blasting his kingdom with the curse of an interdict. This threatening missive never fell. Anticipating the attack, Philip caused Boniface to be seized in Anagni by a band of the Colonnas, his hereditary foes, who treated him ignominiously and with shameful brutality. Indignant at the outrage, the townsfolk, with whom he was a fellow citizen, rescued the aged pontiff, and conducted him to Rome. Here, however, he found himself once more in the power of his enemies. This fresh mortification, added to the indignities and barbarity he had already endured, was more than his spirit and enfeebled frame could bear. He fell into a burning fever ; and in delirium and frenzy he left the field of strife, pursued even beyond the grave by his vindictive foe, who sought through his successor to damn his memory with the anathemas of the Church.

The contest which thus came to such a tragical end was speedily followed by the subjection of the papacy. Within a few months, Philip secured the election of a pontiff wholly devoted to his interests. Clement V, in return for the honour conferred upon him, removed his court to Avignon, where he and his successors continued to reside during the years of the so-called Babylonish Captivity. The Church of France then fell a prey to both king and pope. Each gave the other license to make free use of its property ; the king

extracting his tenths whenever his need required; the pope demanding his annates and firstfruits with increasing rigour. The lower clergy especially suffered under the burden of these exactions; but the oppression became almost insupportable during the years of the Great Schism.

The jurisdiction of the Avignon popes being then confined to France and a few smaller countries, the pomp of their courts and their retinue of cardinals mainly depended for support on the revenues of the Gallican Church. The intolerable extortions of this time, together with the shameful lives of these reputed successors of St. Peter, and the evils which threatened to destroy the whole Christian organisation, at length excited universal alarm, and the University of Paris, the recognised organ of public opinion, began a movement for putting an end to the Schism by an appeal to a general Council.

At an extraordinary assembly of prelates and nobles, held at Paris in 1395, it was decided to call upon the pope reigning at Avignon to resign. A royal ordinance confirmed this decision, and the French clergy, catching at an opportunity which promised the restoration of their ancient franchises, withdrew their allegiance. Their expectation was doomed to disappointment. The State at once stepped in as the only supreme authority, and it was at this time that the secular tribunals gained those advantages over the spiritual courts which have already been noticed; the parliaments widely enlarged their jurisdiction, and the sovereign was left in the exclusive possession of the right to convoke the national councils of the Church.

Such a national council was summoned to meet at Bourges, by Charles VII, in 1438, amid the distractions of the English occupation. In the series of assemblies at Pisa, Constance, and Basle, by which the Great Papal Schism was at last terminated, several important principles

had been enunciated destructive of the long established supremacy of the Roman pontiffs. The Gallican divines, led by the illustrious Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, took a prominent part in the discussion of these principles. Adhering with the severest orthodoxy to Catholic doctrine, they demonstrated the absolute superiority of General Councils and their canons over all popes and papal rescripts, and they showed that the traditional primacy of St. Peter was not indispensable to the existence and authority of the Church. These ideas now inspired the assembled hierarchy at Bourges; and they were further influenced by the opinions which had been held from the days of Hincmar respecting those peculiar rights and privileges which placed the national church in distinctive and almost exclusive independence of Rome. The new Pragmatic Sanction which resulted from their deliberations gave the force of law to these principles and sentiments. It declared that it was the bounden duty of the Pope to convene a General Council every ten years; and that the sanction of such council was necessary to the validity of his bulls and decrees. He was deprived of all patronage in France except in a few specified cases; reserves, mandates, provisions, and all other devices for appropriating benefices were forbidden, and annates and firstfruits condemned; while such impediments were placed in the way of appeals that papal interference in this respect was practically abolished. In the matter of ecclesiastical elections, the new Sanction enjoined that they were to be freely made in strict accordance with the canons by the respective chapters; but the king and other princes might occasionally recommend or request the promotion of persons of special merit, a clause which, in effect, took away the freedom granted. The publication of this unprecedented vindication of the liberties of the Gallican Church caused the greatest satisfaction

throughout the kingdom; but at Rome it was severely censured, with threats of an interdict. Charles VII declared himself equally determined to uphold the law, but his son, Lewis XI, partly out of blind hatred of his father's memory, and partly to gain papal support for the House of Anjou in Naples, abrogated the decree, and allowed all the hateful usurpations of Rome to be resumed. The nobility and clergy stoutly resented this renewal of aggression; the Parliament of Paris absolutely declined to admit the king's prohibitory ordinance in the records, and Lewis, discovering that the hope which had tempted him proved to be groundless, and that his action met with universal reprobation, revoked his concession. The Pragmatic Sanction thus remained on the statute book, but its provisions were never sufficiently enforced, although the secular courts and the theologians of the Sorbonne formally acknowledged it as the foundation of the ecclesiastical constitution of France.

This unsatisfactory condition of things continued throughout the reign of Charles VIII. Lewis XII, drawn into collision with Pope Julius II, by his ambitious enterprises in Italy, then took a decided step. He republished the Pragmatic Sanction, and ordered the exclusion from office of all who had obtained benefices from Rome contrary to its provisions. The Gallican clergy warmly supported their sovereign in this proceeding, and a conflict with the Pope began which the fortunate death of Julius alone prevented from growing into a formidable schism. Leo X, who succeeded, adopted a more conciliatory policy. In an interview with Francis I, at Bologna, after the great victory at Marignano which gave the French possession of Milan, he succeeded in obtaining from the king a concordat which literally sacrificed the liberties of the Gallican Church to the interests of her temporal and spiritual sovereigns. Ever since the Council of Bourges, the French kings had upheld

the supremacy of general councils, and asserted a right to demand their convocation, in conformity with the Pragmatic Sanction and the Councils of Constance and Basle. These claims Francis silently abandoned to Leo, and by a silence equally significant restored to him the right to reimpose the odious annates and firstfruits. The popes, on their side, had never ceased the assertion of their indefeasible right to fill up vacant sees, and to appoint to every other ecclesiastical dignity. This right Leo surrendered to Francis, reserving only a formal and ineffectual veto, as an acknowledgment of his theoretical supremacy. Such an iniquitous measure created the utmost amazement throughout France. The Parliament of Paris stubbornly refused to give it legal authority; the University vehemently resisted it almost to the point of sedition. But the despotic power of the crown bore down all opposition, and in 1527 the king, by his own arbitrary command, deprived parliament of all jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs, and transferred it to the Council of State. The general doctrines, however, on which Gallican "Liberties" were founded, had taken too deep a root to be easily suppressed. The clergy frequently urged the sovereigns to relinquish the privileges they had acquired by the concordat; and the Council of Trent would not only have deprived the secular ruler of his control over the temporalities of the Church, but restored all the jurisdiction and immunities of the clergy as they had existed in the most sacerdotal times. The same Council also attempted to infringe Gallican "Liberties" by reserving all criminal causes affecting bishops to the sole cognisance of the Pope, in contravention of the ancient discipline which rendered them, in the first instance, amenable to the Metropolitan and the Provincial Council. All these and other decrees of a like character were repelled by the Parliament on the ground that they were at variance with the primitive coun-

cils, derogatory to the rights of the king and the authority of his edicts, and repugnant to the liberties and immunities of the National Church. The decrees of the Council of Trent were consequently rejected in France, except such as were not contrary to the laws and constitution of the realm. The Papacy, however, supported by the Ultramontanes, made repeated efforts to recover its lost control. But French statesmen, churchmen as many of them were, remained firm in their maintenance of the royal authority, and none presented a more determined front than Cardinal Richelieu. The extortionate pecuniary demands of the Roman Chancery on promotion to episcopal sees, the increasing assessments of annates, and the long time during which sees remained vacant, on account of the bishops-designate being unable to obtain their mandates for consecration from Rome, created great offence, and Richelieu at one time threatened to annul the concordat and place the Gallican church under an independent patriarch. Lewis XIV was also engaged in a controversy with the Holy See, which had a very important result. The difference arose out of a declaration issued by the king, affirming that the Right of Régale and the guardianship of the temporalities belonged to him in *all* the sees of his kingdom, except a few in the south, where feudalism had never been in force; and those bishops whose dioceses had hitherto been considered exempt were summoned to register their oaths of allegiance at once, in order to save their temporalities. Two prelates defied the summons, on which their sees were declared vacant, and successors nominated. Innocent XI warmly resented this encroachment, notwithstanding that he was barred from all interference by the Concordat of Bologna. Lewis then convened a National Council of the Clergy, and this assembly, led by the illustrious Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, drew up a "Declaration concerning the Ecclesiastical

Power," which has been always appealed to as the clearest statement of Gallican "Liberties" to be found in the archives of the Church. This famous document affirmed that the authority of the Pope and the Church was exclusively spiritual, and that kings and princes are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, with respect to their temporal government, nor can their subjects be released from the duty of obedience. That the spiritual power of the Pope is subject to the authority of General Councils. That the ancient rules, customs, and institutions received by the realm and church of France are inviolable; and that, while the Pope has the principal place in deciding questions of faith, and his decrees extend to all churches, his judgment is not irreversible until confirmed by the consent of the Church. The Declaration containing these Four Articles was issued as an edict by royal proclamation, and accepted by the Church and the Universities. The Pope judiciously refrained from passing any judgment upon it; but he manifested his displeasure in refusing to institute any bishops nominated by the king, and there followed a renewal of the threat of Richelieu to sever all connection with Rome. The Ultramontanes furiously attacked the measure, and Bossuet, feeling himself responsible for it, wrote his memorable Defence (*Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani*). In this noblest of all his works, he reviewed with consummate talent, and in a calm and moderate temper, the entire history of the manifold feuds between Popes, Emperors, and Kings. He showed the traditions of Councils, examined the controversies which arose from them, and appealed to the writings of the Fathers, the schoolmen, and the most illustrious doctors of the Church. The impression he produced upon all parties was profound—his Defence was felt to be unanswerable; the Vatican dared not censure or proscribe the work, and the long controversy

between the Gallican Church and the Papacy came to an end.

Such was the final stand against Rome made by the clergy of France. It now only remains in conclusion to show briefly how the undisputed exercise of State patronage affected the internal welfare of the Church. One article of the notorious concordat practically asserted that royal or noble birth was in itself, apart from scholarship or pastoral fitness, a sufficient passport to preferment. The Gallican hierarchy throughout their history had been essentially aristocratic, and this article intensified their character. Noble and royal houses appropriated all the wealthiest offices; some prelates held as many as ten bishoprics and abbeys at once: and only a few small sees here and there could be found in the occupation of men who, by some extraordinary chance, had been promoted from the plebeian clergy. The Church, in short, was converted into a great State department whose treasury, equal to two-fifths of the entire national revenue, constituted an almost unlimited source of reward at the disposal of the crown. Qualification for the sacred office was considered to be of no account in these State promotions. The favourite advanced generally earned his reward by civil or military services. If he had a wife, or was reluctant to assume the clerical office, he could delegate his duties to a spiritual person, himself retaining the income. Most of the great abbeys were held in this way. The abbots neither observed vows nor presided over their communities. Their duties were discharged by the prior, who held his office at their pleasure, while they lived abroad in the world, enjoying their high rank and ample revenues. A remarkable example of this system of State patronage, which so thoroughly secularised the higher clergy, is that of the Viscount de Bourdeille, Abbé de Brantôme, historian and biographer, who lived

during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the reigns of the Angoulême princes, when the concordat had had full time to show its effects. His income was mainly derived from the abbey which had been granted to him for service in the field. Leaving the duties to be performed by his titular abbot, Brantome spent his time amidst the gaities and profligacy of the court, the *Memoirs* he left behind showing an apparent unconsciousness of the objectionable character of the scenes described. This bland acceptance of royal vices directly resulted from a system which brought bishops and high dignitaries to the court in quest of preferment. The total indifference which princes and ministers displayed for the spiritual needs of the people was a still greater evil. Pluralities and absenteeism became the standing reproach of the Gallican Church, so much so, that one of the first decrees of the Council of Trent was specially directed against it. The spirit of worldliness and disregard of duty spread downward from cardinals and archbishops to the most insignificant curate, and the germs were then sown of that corruption and scarcely concealed infidelity which some regard as the prime cause of the Revolution. A much more powerful cause, however, lay in the broad and impassable chasm which separated the parish priests from the princely hierarchy. The condition of the country curates throughout the whole history of the Gallican Church was a sad and hopeless one. Taken entirely from the *roturiers*, their plebeian birth perpetually barred them from promotion—feudal arrogance claiming all ecclesiastical dignities as the exclusive heritage of the nobly born. These unfortunate men were for ages tied down for life to the diocese in which they were ordained, and little removed in social rank from the serfs to whom they ministered whatever spiritual comfort and edification lay at their command. In the representative assemblies of the Church they had no voice and rarely a seat. Their

revenues, drawn from the tithes, were mulcted by the great tithe owners, who gave to them thereout a pittance barely sufficient for decent maintenance. Even then they were not free from plunder. The burden of taxation authorised by councils where they had no advocate, or by pope and king, in whose eyes they were of mean account, fell with a grievous pressure upon them. Thus despised and oppressed by brethren who felt for them no sympathy, they contracted in the long duration of their bondage, feelings of the deepest bitterness and distrust of their superiors. On the eve of the meeting of the States General (May, 1789) they inundated Paris with their lampoons and satires; they set forth their grievances and the selfishness of the "illustrious do-nothings" in a Petition to the Throne. The effect of all this upon the electors was so great that when the Estates met, their elected candidates exceeded those of the higher clergy by nearly two to one. At that eventful moment the hierarchy relaxed none of their haughty reserve and overbearing pride; and the irritated and long suffering curés cast in their lot with the Left, and identified themselves with the Revolution. When they found the National Assembly bent upon a destructive policy, they perceived their error, and went over to the Right. It was then too late. The doom had come; and the Gallican Church was swept away with the Monarchy which had done so much to ruin it.

NOTE.—In addition to the authorities mentioned in the previous paper of this series, I desire to express my obligations for much of the material used in the present essay to *The History of the Church of France from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution*, and *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, by the Rev. W. Henley Jervis, M.A.; the *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, by Professor Baird, of New York; and Sir James Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*.

THE ETHICS AND POETRY OF THE CHINESE, WITH PHASES IN THEIR HISTORY.

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I PROPOSE in this paper to lay before the Society a sketch of the inner life, aims and aspirations of more than three hundred and eighty millions of our fellow-creatures; the only family of human beings who can claim to have from the remotest ages to the present day, kept the cradle of their race and themselves in an unbroken historical continuity. The Jews, who have marvellously retained their ethics and racial instincts perhaps longer than any other Caucasian race, must yield to the Chinese the merit of having preserved both their territory and their political organisation intact.

I am not entering into the field of comparative ethics, nor do I wish to impress anyone with the idea that I at all disparage our western ideal of civilisation. I only ask for an impartial and philosophic enquiry as to the claims the Chinese have to hold a place among the nations of the world, who have contributed their share to wean mankind from a state of primitive savagery, to a useful form of communal life.

It is most difficult for us, perhaps the most serious task, for the philosophic mind to free itself entirely from inherited prejudices. I remember conversing once with the great Indian reformer, Chunder Sen, a man of transcendent intellect, who had a supreme admiration for all that was health-giving in our European customs and ethics, yet he admitted to me that he himself could not easily overcome his inherited prejudice against the use of flesh meat.

It has been jestingly observed, that if the pockets of some of the agnostics of Latin countries were searched, possibly an *Agnus Dei* or a sacred heart might be found on their ring of charms.

No people had a greater prejudice against the bearded strangers (barbarians) than had the great Roman nation; yet in the end the traditions of Rome would have been lost but for these very barbarians. If anyone could have foretold that the Roman people would in later years adopt the poems of, what was in their estimation, the barbarian Jewish king David, as sacred hymns, and chant and re-chant these verses daily in all the Basilica of the Eternal City, it would have seemed as ludicrous then, as though someone to-day were to venture to predict that in a future time, some Chinese poet might take rank with a Shakespeare or a Byron.

In fact, do we not ourselves associate ideas with modes of expression, I will not say thought, which our educated conscience warns us are erroneous? For instance, we asso-

ciate a German band with a wretched out-of-tune brazen performance, whilst we at the same time know that Germany produces some of the most tender and exquisite writers of harmony, and many of the most skilful executants. Again, an Italian organ-grinder and an Italian plaster-of-paris image man revolt our artistic instincts, the one by its machine-made inartistic harmony, the other by the soulless lifeless lump of dough which seems to burlesque art; and yet Italy, of all other countries, is the mother of much that is true and beautiful, whether in the domain of harmony, the brush, or the art plastic. It is just because both Germany and Italy are artistic nations, that where the cup is full to overflowing, there we find, as a rule, the froth and bubble as well; and we are apt to associate the froth and bubble oftentimes with the generous liquid itself. It is a matter of fact that those Germans and Italians, to whom none of their countrymen would fling a centime, get a few coppers from the country folk of people not their own. Hence so many of them emigrate, and thus give a false impression to the uncultured, untravelled, and unthinking multitude; respecting the character of the masses of their countrymen at home.

There is another pitfall from which we have to be warned, and that is the influence of the unscientific and superficial chronicler. For instance, the foreign professor, who may live in Soho, or the neighbourhood of Leicester Square, and who corresponds with some continental journal, professes to instruct the people abroad about the English nation, whereas he hardly knows the parish of St. Giles. What does such a critic as this know of our sturdy Lancashire men and their busy hives of commerce; our Yorkshire centres of industry; the charm of our lake district; the brawny Highlander and his wild and romantic country; our beautiful Devonshire meads and their gentle yeomanry;

or the grimy iron puddler of Dudley and West Bromwich; yet such writers profess to instruct about England. You have, again, the foreign Commission Agents, who live a few years in some of our important manufacturing centres. They attend their lager beer houses in London, Liverpool, Manchester, or Bradford; they go occasionally from Friday to Monday perhaps to Brighton, Southport, Buxton, or their nearest watering-place; they remain with us just long enough to make the money they want; they go back to the Vaterland, and these people tell you they know all about England and the English; nay, how many native born Londoners are there who know extremely little of the land of their birth. So that before presenting to you a few examples of the ethics and poetry of the Chinese people, I venture to entreat you to divest yourselves of any possible prejudice, which I regretfully admit exists against the Chinese, in many English-speaking countries, in the same degree as I warn you of the prejudice which clings to the Italian organ-grinder and the German brass band. I wish you also to take *cum grano salis* the opinions of many Europeans who happen to have lived a few years in the Treaty ports of China, who have possibly associated only with the English "set" over there, and have become saturated with our prejudices, going to China only to make money, and on their return venturing to tell you they know all about China and the Chinese. Their knowledge perhaps is about equal to, or possibly slightly less than, that of our foreign friend located in St. Giles, who presumes to be a popular educator with regard to Great Britain.

To study the history and tendency of a people, we must not merely visit the country as a tourist or as a commercial adventurer, but it is necessary to take a deep introspective view into their literature, religion, laws, ethics, and proverbs, as well as to their political and social organisation. A

Gibbon, or a Mommsen, has described the inner life of ancient Rome perhaps better than a local Roman *quidnunc*, who may have been in the flesh in the Eternal city centuries ago. These historians that I have mentioned have seen with their brains what the other merely thinks he sees with his eyes. Of course, those students who are satisfied without examination that they are only dealing with the "heathen Chinese," are no better than the prejudiced Chinaman of the lower orders, who calls Europeans barbarians and whiskey-drinking devils. These persons on both sides do not count for much in the domain of philosophic thought, though, alas, they do sometimes influence the material and political relations of mankind with each other, and oftentimes prejudice gains a temporary victory. A child may not like the multiplication table, but whether he likes it or not, it does not alter the fact that twice two are four.

Suppose a Chinese author quoting the opinion of an American Ex-Consul as to the position of womanhood in Germany, the so-called typical land of culture. Now this is what Ex-Consul Mr. Henry Ruffles says :—

I would not like to be a German peasant woman, I would much prefer to be a German horse, for German horses are well treated and well fed. The Germans are naturally kind to all dumb animals. Women, however, receive none of these kind attentions and considerations at the hands of the male portion of the community, but are treated as if they were of a species lower than the brutes, with no feelings and no souls. Woman is made to perform every kind of degrading labour. She prepares the fields for planting, she drives the oxen and holds the plough, and not unfrequently she takes the place of the ox before the plough. She sows the seed and tills the soil, she shovels, she hoes, she reaps, she gathers the harvest, she thrashes the grain and carries it to the mill, she grinds it at the mill, she markets the products of her small strip of land to buy bread for her children and beer for her lord and master. She does the work and drudgery in the factories, she is the scavenger for cleaning the streets, and gathering offal in the cities and highways for enriching the land. She does

everything but play soldier and hang about beer shops and drink beer from early morn until late at night like the German men, and these occupations would be assigned to her provided they required hard labour or drudgery of any kind. Yet they are strong and robust, and perform what is called a man's labour. While at work in the fields, and it is only during the warm months of the year that they can, they are only paid ten or twelve cents for a day's labour of twelve hours (that is fivepence or sixpence English money).

When they board themselves they receive from 20 to 28 or 30 cents a day, or 10d. to 1s. 3d. English sterling.

Might not a Chinese critic be reasonably expected to deduce from this opinion, that however high the ideal of woman may be in countries holding western ethics, in actual practice it does not amount to much; and might not such a student logically retort, when we point flippantly to the practical position of women in some of the treaty ports of China, that we ought to examine what the ideal position of woman is, in Chinese religion and ethics, before we assume that the Chinese Chowbenter's wife is the ideal of Chinese womanhood.

As a magistrate, I had the personal experience in our local tribunal, of an excellent heroic woman who nursed and tended, and by her long and faithful watching, saved the life of a desperately wounded canal-boatman with whom she lived as his wife, absolutely refusing the earnest appeal of the man in open court to marry with legal or religious form; "Nay," said she, "I love him, and he is a good man and kind to me now, but the moment I am his wife he looks upon me as his property, and he'll kick me like the rest of them do." And *vice versa*, how many women are there that have goaded their husbands almost to the verge of ruin, madness, and despair, who have lost all their womanhood, except, perhaps, as the poet Heine calls it, "their anatomical virtue?" Such instances as these, however, are the

exceptional diseases of western society, but not the ideal high type of the true biblical wife, whom the royal sacred writer describes as more precious than rubies. There is a popular Chinese song of very ancient date, seven centuries before the Christian era. It is in General Tcheng Ki Tong's collection, published in the French language. I give you two verses. I may add that, to the best of my belief, although there are translations, there is no metrical version in the English language of the ancient Chinese book of verses—more of which anon.

LITTLE WIFE.

Outside the eastern city gate
Are many damsels fair and gay,
Like clouds are they in numbers great,
To them I have no word to say.
My little wife in robes of white
For me is my heart's sole delight.

Outside the ancient city towers
Await me maidens, sweet and gay,
With coloured robes and gorgeous flowers.
They tempt me from my mate astray.
But little wife in robes of white
For me is my heart's sole delight.

I have carefully studied the many adverse criticisms of the Chinese people, and I find that they may be crystallised into three main charges; firstly, that woman does not hold as high a social position as in European and western communities generally; secondly, that their deterrent and punitive legislation is cruel; and, thirdly, that the Chinese personal habits are unsavoury, that their abodes are uncleanly, and that their general ideas of sanitation are either very primitive or altogether wanting. The prejudices of Europeans and English-speaking people generally have been for the most part fostered by the experiences of the Treaty

ports, and of Americans and Australians, where the froth of Chinese emigration has overflowed, and we hear much of the unsavoury condition of the Chinese quarters and of their careless habits. Let me remind these adverse critics of what an observant foreigner wrote of us in pre-reformation days. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness, dirt, and slovenly habits of the people. "The floors," said he, "are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrement of dogs and cats, and everything that is nasty." We have, however, improved all this off the face of the earth, so there is hope for the Chinese likewise.

I venture to think I have shown that in sanitary matters at least, China is what we were in former generations. It occurs to me that the reply of many Chinese ladies to those who adversely criticise their social position, would be very much like the reply of those British matrons who do not care to help their sisters to obtain political equality and complete parliamentary enfranchisement, these like the others say "We don't want to vote, we prefer to retain the sphere we now occupy." As a matter of fact, monogamy is the legal status of society in China. There is a recognised inferior union, similar to that permitted by the "first" Code Napoleon and the temporary morgantic alliances of the German aristocracy known as "standesherrn," but law and Chinese society permits only one wife. On the other hand, a Chinese wife is a legal attorney for her husband. She can give a receipt for him and take delivery or accept a transfer for him; she can veto or consent to the marriage of her offspring, and she can endow them with her goods without the consent of her husband. In fine, woman's position in China is somewhat the Pauline one, but hardly as low as that of St. Chrysostom. Paul says in 1 Timothy ii, 11,12,

"Let woman learn in silence with all subjection, but I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence;" whilst St. Chrysostom calls woman "a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination, and a painted ill." The *Fortnightly Review*, in its issue of October, 1889, has a remarkable article on the position of women in Asia, from which I extract the following:—

No one could for a moment maintain that if a highly organised specimen of the western women were picked out there could be found amongst eastern women any one to match her in beauty, grace, purity, and that highly specialised sense which we love to think of as refined womanhood, but on the other hand, among western women there are many whose infamy and depravity of nature it would be as equally difficult to match in the eastern world. Action and reaction are equal everywhere. Development cannot proceed apace without starting at the same time a retrograde course of degeneration. If the ideal aimed at is high it cannot be astonishing that the majority failed to come anywhere near it, and many fall lower than if they had no ideal at all to start with. The easterns are content with the mediocrity and materialism of this earth, their tread on it is firm and sure, and whilst failing to produce brilliant results, their condition of morality is one of inherent stability. We, like Icarus of old, spurn that which is material from beneath our feet, and attempt to rise on wings of our own making towards the ethereal expanse. May heaven grant that we may not, like him, come crashing lower down than that level from whence we sprung, and with disordered minds and broken up institutions find ourselves wallowing once more amidst the filth of primitive savagery.—HORACE VICTOR.

With respect to punitive and repressive legislation, we in England should be the last to throw stones upon another people. The act of Henry VIII, 22, Cap. 12, enacts that a sturdy beggar is to be whipped the first time; his ears cropped the second; and if he again offend, to be sent to the next gaol till the quarter sessions, there to be indicted for wandering, loitering, and idleness, and if convicted shall

suffer execution as a felon and an enemy to the commonwealth. W. Heaton in his work, *The Three Reforms of Parliament*, writes :—

“ Our law recognised two hundred and twenty-three capital offences. It seems at first that there can scarcely be two hundred and twenty-three human actions worthy of even the mildest censure, but our stern fathers found that number worthy of death. If a man injured Westminster Bridge he was hanged. If he appeared disguised on a public road he was hanged. If he cut down young trees ; if he shot at rabbits ; if he stole property valued at five shillings ; if he stole anything at all from a bleach field : if he wrote a threatening letter to extort money ; if he returned prematurely from transportation ; for any of these offences he was immediately hanged. In 1816 there were at one time 58 persons under sentence of death, one of these was a child ten years of age. This was England before 1830.”

Before we enter upon the ethics and poetry of the Chinese people, and having disposed of some of the negative aspects of this great Mongolian family, we may now proceed to examine some of their positive institutions.

The pith and kernel of society in China is the purity of family life and the sanctity of the home. The father, the mother and the offspring, are protected in all their legitimate rights and aspirations, and respect for ancestry is carried perhaps to extravagant dimensions. If a man attains a position of dignity, not only is he ennobled, but his ancestor likewise. There are few hereditary titles in China, but those few have originally been ennobled on account of conspicuous merit. As in Great Britain, the title descends to the eldest son only, whilst the younger sons merge with the rest of the people. Promotion to high office is attained by dint of meritorious conduct and high culture. Children of the humblest parentage have been appointed viceroys and mandarins. Many men and women of the labouring classes pass through a life of privation to save enough to educate one exceptionally clever son. In the event of this lad gaining a

chief prize in the local school, which the government provide everywhere free for "elementary" education, the parents feel themselves amply rewarded in the homage paid by the village or the district to the successful prize-winners. These youths are carried on the shoulders of a deputation who wait upon them, they are crowned with flowers, and at night the streets are brilliantly illuminated. This annual prize day forms a feature in Chinese social life. Every Chinese mother looks forward with hope to this eventful day, for to train up a prize-crowned son is to raise her on a pedestal of social importance. The Chinese cannot well understand the English or American system of ministerial appointments, that is to say, choosing a banker as first Lord of the Admiralty, or a bookseller for the position of Minister of War, or a briefless barrister to be appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chinese insist upon a complete apprenticeship and step-by-step training for government appointments. They remark that we would not allow our coat to be made by one who is not a tailor, nor would we have our boots repaired by a blacksmith. "Every occupation," say they, "requires apprenticeship and training." They taunt English and Americans with having heaven-born legislators who are quite ready to mend a constitution, but who would not attempt to repair a coat or a pair of boots. The views of the Chinese Government are identical with those of the Papacy, whose hierarchy and priesthood permit no layman to take office in the church proper.

The Government of China is strictly paternal. The Emperor is the almost infallible ruler of his empire, just as the Pope is the ruler of the Catholic Church. The Emperor delegates his power to viceroys, mandarins, magistrates, and thence to the lowest functionary, all of whom can be suspended at will. Of course no human institution exists to

which one might apply the term perfection. Necessarily the exercise of so much absolute power does and must give rise to instances and cases of injustice and peculation, but these cases are exceptional, the Chinese people, though a peace-loving, well-educated, and well-disposed people, would only tolerate their ancient system providing it brought them the maximum amount of, what was in their estimation, communal comfort with the smallest discomfort, and they accept their form of government with the same contentment as a believing Catholic does that of his church. The United States of America exhibit perhaps the very antipodes of the Chinese system, and are certainly not free from corruption or peculation. It would be difficult to predict whether the free American institutions will endure three thousand years hence, her polity having stood the test of scarcely more than a century. The occurrence, a few weeks ago, of two senators shooting at each other, one being mortally wounded, does not look like political perfection. Again, several Chinese writers have pointed out that if they dared believe a tithe of the charges which each political party in England inveighs against the other, they could come to no other conclusion than that Great Britain is divided into two governing clans, the one bloodthirsty ruffians, the other incompetent noodles.

China points back with some pardonable pride that her system has endured for more than four thousand years. The Marquis Tseng points out, in his epoch-making article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* entitled "China: the Sleep and the Awakening," that his country has become rejuvenated and quite ready to hold her own now against all comers, both physically, intellectually, and commercially. The last chance that Europe ever had of making China subservient to her views, as with Hindoostan, was when the allied forces of England and France marched through the country and took

possession of the capital, but the burning of the summer palace near Pekin effected for the Chinese people, what the Carthaginians did for Rome after the battle of Cannae. China, the Marquis observes, is now wide awake, and will hold her own against all comers. It is admitted that their arsenal at Foo Choo is one of the finest in the world, and they now turn out some of their own ironclads and Krupp breech-loading guns. The best proof of their re-awakening is that in the late struggle with France, our gallant neighbours came off decidedly second best, and showed no symptoms of regret when England hinted a friendly suggestion of mediating.

Religion tempers the paternal government of the empire, and to a great extent acts as a protective force against injustice of all kinds.

Here again the Mongolian attitude towards religion is the reverse of that of the western races. The Mongolian is a creature deeply imbued with religious but not theological influences. Man seems to him to require two forms of sustenance, physical and spiritual, but towards both he accords the same absolute liberty and toleration. Just as if a human being chooses to live on salt fish and mussels, that is simply his own affair. A Chinaman may suggest that flesh meat and rice is a more desirable food, but with the advice he is content. Neither he, nor a European, would ever subject a man to political and social disability, or persecute him because he chooses to eat potatoes in preference to tomatoes, but the Chinaman proceeds in a like manner in his attitude towards spiritual nourishment. He both teaches and preaches, but he declares every human being free to adopt his own special method of spiritual sustenance. The government holds a benevolent neutrality towards all, and only interferes if any form of teaching attempts to infringe the law of the land. This was

the cause of the crushing of the Taeping rebellion. The Mahommedans of that province, in their iconoclastic zeal, began to demolish the shrines and altars of other faiths. The government put down the perpetrators, not as followers of Islam, but because they attempted a breach of the peace. Now, that the Imperial law has been restored, they can and do worship in their Mosques with all freedom, and enjoy the fullest protection. No better illustration of the genial effect of this universal toleration can be given, than the fact that the Chinese have accomplished what no other power or people have hitherto been able to do. That is, they have quietly absorbed their Jewish element. The Jews of Kai Fung Foo, who have been located there from pre-exilic times, have step by step relinquished their time-honoured institutions, and they are virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the population in their habits and general demeanour. They are now simply a community of Chinese monotheists; they have always enjoyed absolute religious liberty and equality. This should be an object lesson to many so-called civilised European communities.

Religious uniformity does not exist in China. There are three distinct religious groups, besides other subsidiary forms, namely: the religion of Confucius; the religion of Laotse; and the religion of Fo, or Buddhism. Confucius lived about six centuries before the Christian era. He taught high ethical principles, and above all obedient citizenship. The great aphorism of Confucius, "Never do anything to others which you would not wish others to do to you," is inscribed on almost every public edifice in the empire. Confucianism, however, seems to be a religion void of sentiment, and does not appeal to the heart and sympathy of the poor and suffering.

The religion of Laotse, equally ancient, whatever may have been its original inception, as at present practised is

anthropomorphism pure and simple in its crudest form. It embraced some of the elements of Confucianism, and, later on, absorbed Buddhism, and possesses a well-disciplined priesthood, who appeal to the superstition of the ignorant classes, and attract converts by appealing to the latent after-death terrors of the uncultured masses, this being entirely foreign to the teaching of the Buddha. The priests of Laotse decorate their altars with flowers, light up innumerable candles, have paintings and statues of their holy saints. Their priests wear gorgeous vestments; they burn incense during the service; they mediate for pardon of sins; they encourage the adoration of relics; they receive large fees for repeating prayers for the repose of the souls of the departed; and, to devote themselves exclusively to their religious profession, they generally adopt celibacy. The religion of Laotse furthermore owes some success to the hold it has upon the women of China, and indirectly through them upon their husbands and children. Woman is flattered by the worship of a queen of heaven, which has no place in real Buddhism or in the Confucian system. The godhead is decidedly more personal in the Laotse worship than in either of the other forms of religion. Thus the unlettered classes flock to the altars and shrines of Laotse. Moreover, the priests of Laotse make it a point never to argue as do the priests of Buddha or the preachers of the Confucian doctrine. They simply practise imposing functions, and ask blind obedience from their followers.

The great bulk of the middle classes, the landowners, agriculturists, and skilled operatives, are followers of the religion of Fo, or Buddhism. The great teacher Buddha has won the affection and heart of the thinking portion of the Chinese people. Unlike Confucius who appeals to a sense of duty, and Laotse to unknown terrors of an after life, the Buddha is loved and venerated for his own sake. His life

speaks more eloquently to them than the Dhamma-pada itself. His followers see in the life of their teacher, a prince born to succeed to a kingdom, nursed in the lap of every luxury, with palaces, equipages, and all earthly pleasures, married to a beautiful wife, and father to a promising child; yet the prince gives up all for his unbounded love of mankind. He quits in the dead of night his past glories, he kisses his wife during her sleep, blesses his child, leaves them in possession of all his fortune, doffs his royal apparel, assumes the cotton shirt of a mendicant, and wanders penniless into the jungle to consider in solitude what are the real aims and objects of life. After a period of hunger and a long probation of poverty, he preaches a doctrine of universal brotherhood, abolition of caste regardless of colour or privilege, elevation of woman to equal social rank with man, kindness to animals, care and tenderness in the treatment of the deaf and dumb, the honour of honest poverty, the danger of wealth, the forgiveness of wrong, patience under tribulation, and love for their enemies. Buddha says, "A man who foolishly does me wrong I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love, the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me."

Forsaken by his own immediate race, repelled by all his ancient friends, except his wife and child,—the princess becoming a nun, and his son an apostle,—Buddha goes forth among strangers, among the poorest and lowliest, teaches, consoles, and comforts; he dies in his eightieth year calmly, surrounded by his followers, exclaiming, "Children, work out your own salvation." There exists in all Mongolian countries a deep popular love and veneration for Gautama the Buddha; to follow the Buddha is their watchword, to live and die as the Buddha did is their ideal. The priesthood of Laotse, feeling how widespread was the appreciation of Buddha, quietly absorbed his personage in their cult, and

have made the Buddha the supreme head of their countless saints, though their practices and teachings are altogether foreign to his teachings. The ignorant followers of Laotse quietly worship Buddha as one of their many gods, without any investigation, merely by the awe inspired by their priesthood.

We may thus classify the members of the three principal religious systems of China. The doctrine of Confucius is followed by the upper and ruling classes; the vast majority of the middle and respectable wage-earning classes follow the cult of Buddha; whilst the lowest and ignorant worship at the shrines and altars of Laotse. So eclectic, however, are the Mongolians that they each and all pay respect to one another's feast days, and followers of Confucius make obeisance to the shrine of Buddha, whilst the Buddhist looks upon Confucius as a wise father and a great teacher. Laotse quietly embraces them both.

In the political arrangements of the Mongolian world, however high the ethics and the beautiful life of Buddha are held up as the ideal, it is really the law of Confucius that keeps their social fabric intact. Buddha's contempt for wealth, his purely spiritual aims, his preference for celibacy as the highest state of human perfection, his toleration of the married state only as a concession to human weakness, his constant reiteration that life is merely a preparation for a blissful Nirvana, have won the adoration of the Mongolian masses; but the Chinese people being somewhat canny, hardheaded, and fond of accumulating wealth, are really guided in mundane affairs by the teachings of Confucius, whose practical insight into the exigencies of real life, so evident in all his laws, constitutes even for the Buddhist, although he is loth to admit it, the linchpin of his social and political organisation. Whilst Buddha for instance places woman on an absolute equality with man, Confucius takes

the Pauline view of womanhood, and the Chinese of every section of society follow the latter rather than the former.

I ought to mention that Mahommedanism does form a considerable section of the population in the border provinces, and it must be admitted is making marked progress. Teachers of Islam and the Jesuit brothers are the two exotic missionaries who make some headway among the followers of Laotse, both by appealing to the fleshly instincts of the Laotse believers. The Mahommedan induces him to enter his fold by the promises of a carnal Paradise, whilst the Jesuits inspire fear of a carnal infernal region and never-ending carnal torments. The Chinese followers of Islam are known for their sobriety, and general frugality.

An eminent Chinese official expressed to me, that the cultured classes have great admiration for our Bible and its ethics, but, he observed, the books contain the traditions of the people of Palestine who knew nothing about the Chinese or their history. He further stated that they had no antagonism whatsoever to what he termed the "folk-lore" of the Old and the New Testaments, but he maintained it only concerns those who derive their religious aspirations from the soil of Palestine. The Chinese treat our biblical history as a work of great literary value, and respect it accordingly, just as we do the ethics of Marcus Aurelius.

An extract from the Buddhist catechism, approved and recommended for use in the Buddhist schools by H. Sungamala Thero, High Priest of Sripada and Galle, and head of the Widyodaya College at Colombo, may not be without interest :—

Q. Of what religion are you ?

A. The Buddhist.

Q. What is a Buddhist ?

A. One who professes to be a follower of the Lord Buddha and accepts his doctrine.

Q. Was Buddha a god?

A. No.

Q. Was he a man?

A. In form a man, but internally not like other men, that is to say in moral and mental qualities he excelled all other men of his own or subsequent times.

Q. Was Buddha his name?

A. No; it is the name of a condition or state of mind.

Q. What is its meaning?

A. Enlightened, or he who has the perfect wisdom.

Q. Did he become Buddha in his splendid palaces?

A. He left all and went alone into the jungle.

Q. Why did he do this?

A. To discover the cause of our sufferings and the way to escape from them.

Q. Was it not selfishness that made him do this?

A. No: it was boundless love for all beings that made him sacrifice himself for their good.

Q. What did he sacrifice?

A. His beautiful palaces, his riches, his luxuries, his pleasures, his soft beds, his fine dresses, his rich food, his kingdom, he even left his beloved wife and his only son.

Q. Did any other man ever sacrifice so much for our sake?

A. Not one. That is why Buddhists so love him, and why good Buddhists try to be like him.

Q. How old was Buddha when he left his royal condition?

A. Twenty-nine years.

The proverbs and maxims of the Chinese, like those of most nations, are perhaps the truest reflection of the inner life of the community, for were an epigram not like a mirror wherein people at once recognise themselves the phrase would not survive the author, perhaps not the day of its utterance. Such accepted English epigrams as "Much cry and little wool," "A stitch in time saves nine," "One half-penny worth of bread to the intolerable amount of sack," "Look before you leap," etc., are current phrases in English speaking communities, as the French would say *hors*

de discussion, hence beyond criticism. Let us now observe how the Chinese express themselves in their aphorisms; for instance, we say "Happy as a king" or "Happy as a bird," whilst they have it "Happy as a fish in the water," a fish really requiring nothing but peace and tranquility, all his natural requirements being provided. We say "Union is strength," the Chinese express it "One single bamboo does not make a raft." Our aphorism "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak," the Chinese express "One is more or less willing, the other more or less weak." With the Mongolian the more or less comes in. We say "Carrying coals to Newcastle," they observe "He is like a blind man climbing up a mountain to admire the view." Our "Penny saved is a penny earned," is in China "A daily income is better than a fortune." We say "The walls have ears," they observe "Don't speak in the street, there are ears under the flagstones." For our remark of "A pill to cure an earthquake," they have "Like the clown who casts a net to catch a hurricane." I should observe that many of these sayings are to be found in the writings of Confucius. He credits them at his period with an antiquity of more than two thousand years, so that many of the maxims I have quoted date back to more than four thousand years ago. One proverb deserves special notice which declares the brotherhood of mankind. "In every human form you see your kindred and your brother." The charge of exclusiveness on the part of the Mongolian is decidedly more political than ethical. Our biblical proverb "Can a leopard change his spots or an Ethiopian his skin?" with them reads "Imperial dynasties may change, but human nature never." The reverse of our thoroughly English saying "Take care of yourself" is rendered by the Chinese "Warmth for all and cold for yourself." Our proverb "Heaven provides for all," they have "Every blade of grass

has its drop of dew." "When the water gets low the fish begin to show," is somewhat like our saying of "Rats deserting a sinking ship." The life of a miser they describe as a man who falls in the sea and grasps the foam. That ancient institution of the mother-in-law is not forgotten in the Celestial Empire. They observe "The glances of a mother-in-law are like the skies in early spring, very unreliable." Again, "An ugly woman may satisfy her husband, but she cannot conceal her ugliness from the critical view of her mother-in-law."

I shall now proceed to quote a few Chinese proverbs without comment :—

"Life has its destiny, but fortune depends upon Providence."

"Although the sea is immense yet oftentimes vessels meet."

"It is easy to make money, but not so easy to retain it."

"Pure gold is not afraid of the fire."

"An old bee will never touch a withered flower."

"A dotard's life is like the flicker of a candle in the wind."

"Endow not a son-in-law with overmuch money; if thy daughter is ill-treated she may return to thee, but if thy silver taels are ill-treated, they will never find their way home to thee."

"No matter how high a tree may grow, yet the leaves fall to the ground."

"A tree planted haphazard on the roadside often gives a welcome shelter."

"To understand the sufferings of others you must have suffered yourself."

"The hurricane has no chance against a well-rooted tree."

"A mandarin can easily equip a thousand soldiers, but he finds it a harder task to provide a single general."

"We should seek new apparel and old men."

"When Heaven creates a mouth the food is created to fill it; just as every blade of grass has got its little root."

"Sweet is the great metropolis, but sweeter still is my dear little village."

"A faithful man cannot be faithless even under fear of death."

"Of three familiarities observe two and avoid one: retain the

respectful familiarity like mandarin to mandarin; also the affectionate familiarity like brother to brother; but avoid the insolent familiarity that is like the ill-bred man whom your father accepts for a son-in-law."

"Mankind are not all good nor are all flowers beautiful."

"Do not be a slave to your children, they will find out their own path to happiness when they grow up."

"True charity is to send fuel to the suffering in cold weather, not in making presents to those who are rich."

"Train your child to help you when you are old, just as you fill a money-box to make use of it when you are in want."

"First listen to the speech and then give your judgment."

"The gates of the law are always open, but those who have rights only and no money had better keep away."

"A dead man has empty hands."

"An evil act is an evil act, and, however cleverly done, is sure to be found out."

"Charity that is done for the sake of notoriety is not worth much."

"If you think there is no power in Heaven look at the lightning."
(*This is a Laotse proverb.*)

"A good bottle of wine oftentimes elicits frank thoughts."

"Shame passes away but debts remain."

"To any one in a desperate hurry even his race horse seems to stand still."

"Through the chink of a door a human being looks very small."

"The hammer strikes the axe, and the axe strikes the wood."

"A near neighbour is better than a distant relative."

"A beggar does not succeed in climbing up a rotten bough."

"Take your own advice first and consult others afterwards."

"Many a soft speech conceals a vindictive mind."

"Ten rush-lights are not worth a single lamp."

"A man often shows his manhood after a long walk of sorrow."

"A clear conscience is better than a candle, for with the former you can walk in the dark."

"Jewels are seen at best when well set."

"A flower shows up better when it peeps through green leaves."

"To correct your neighbour is like attempting to cure leprosy."

"A stupid husband is afraid of his wife, a wise woman obeys her husband."

"One switch for a good horse; one word for a wise man."

"If men would only criticise themselves as they do others and exercise the same charity for others as they have for themselves."
(*This is a Buddhist proverb.*)

"It is not the use of wine that makes the drunkard but the abuse of it."

"When men are well-to-do they rarely burn incense, but the moment they are in trouble they fall at the feet of Buddha."

"The failings of the great are as a rule exaggerated by the small."

"Talent is like the muscle, the more you train it the more it develops."

"The mistake of the moment is oftentimes the sorrow of a lifetime."

"The anguish caused by envy is like a grain of sand in the eye."

"A wise man adapts himself to circumstances just like water takes the shape of the bowl that contains it."

The *Iliad* of the Chinese is the Book of Verses, and consists of a series of ballads, lyrics, and odes. They were first collected in the reign of the Emperor Houti, about seven centuries before the Christian era. They were subsequently edited by Confucius. The poem of the "Little Wife" is in this collection. A short ballad of this period is called the "Young Recruit." *

* I ought to explain that I have been obliged to paraphrase rather than literally translate the poetic effusions of the Chinese bards.

What Sir Edwin Arnold says of Japanese poetry holds good for the Mongolian on the mainland. I extract the following from a letter written by the author of the *Light of Asia*, dated Tmai-cho, Jan. 20th, 1890:—

"Where they will complete a thing, nothing can be completer; the microscope itself could find no flaw in the patient, faithful article turned out. When, again, they merely desire to arouse the imagination, one sweep of the brush, one turn of the dexterous wrist, and they have indicated twenty leagues of blue distance, or limned a bird's wing in the very act of beating. This latter manner also characterises their national poetry. Bear with one little scrap of it, in order to realise how the Japanese Muse can trust the quick fancies of her children in the domain of song. A Japanese girl, going to her well in the morning, finds that a convolvulus during the night has twined its crimson and purple balls and green tendrils round the pail. It is too beautiful to disturb! She abandons

THE YOUNG RECRUIT.

I climb the bleak and arid peak,
 And glance towards home that's far, yet nigh;
 Methinks I hear dear father speak,
 Methinks I hear dear father sigh.
 My lad is for a soldier gone,
 He marches all the day and night;
 My son is brave, he'll yet come home,
 He'll perish not in deadly fight.

I climb the green and verdant hill,
 And look tow'rs mother's holy ground;
 Methinks her voice is with me still,
 Methinks I hear its gentle sound.
 "My youngest boy's a-fighting gone,
 No sleep by night, nor rest by day;
 My lad is kind, he'll fain come home,
 His bones escape the deadly fray."

the bucket to the fragrant invader, and goes next door to fill her domestic utensils. Out of this simple incident comes a famous song, done in three lines and five words. These are:—

Asagao
 Tsurube torarete
 Morai midsu.

The literal translation of which is—

Convolvulus
 Bucket taking,
 I borrow water.

And every Japanese ear understands, and every Japanese mind can delight in, the photographic brevity with which the scene and the thought are thus flashed, as it were, into the music and into the heart. But, to convey these to a Western ear and understanding, it would be needful to expand the Japanese poem into at least as many words as the following:—

The 'Morning-glory'
 Her leaves and bells has bound
 My bucket-handle round.
 I could not break the bands
 Of those soft hands.
 The bucket and the well to her I left;
 Lend me some water, for I come bereft.

And so must all the finer and subtler specimens of Japanese art—outside as well as inside its classical poetry—be, as it were, translated and expanded for the general Western comprehension."

I climb the snow-clad mountain high,
 Afar lies elder brother's cot;
 Methinks I hear him gently say,
 "Alack, my younger brother's lot,
 To herd with fighting men and rude,
 To strive with ruffians night and day;
 But brother's bold, he'll brave the feud,
 He'll live to win a hero's fight."

Although this poem is pre-Confucian and of remote antiquity, we have vividly brought before us love of home, affection of child towards parent, respect for an elder brother, and a decided preference for peaceful village life, rather than the glorification of arms. Another specimen is a very simple lyric, somewhat in the style of Robert Burns or Heine, termed

TRUE LOVE.

An honest and a fair young maid
 Hath pledged her loving troth to me;
 She meets me at the Castle gate,
 I wait the hour with ecstasy.

She brings a dainty sweet blue-bell,
 The best, the rarest in the land;
 Oh, little flower I love thee well,
 For thou hast left my darling's hand!

There is a Byronic ring in this poem :—

LAMENTATION.

My pine-wood barque invites me now
 To glide along the placid lake,
 For sleep denies my fevered brow,
 And grief will ne'er my heart forsake.

Think'st thou my heart is mirror-like
 That thou can'st see what therein gnaws?
 Yea, e'en my brothers coldly speak
 With icy word that never thaws.

Think'st thou my heart is like a pearl
Which thou can'st fashion to thy will ?
Or like a curtain thou can'st furl,
Or hang it up a void to fill.

My friends despise and pass me by,
And shoot their venom shafts of hate ;
I kneel to Heav'n and there deny
The lying story they relate.

At times the sun we cannot view,
For clouds obstruct its radiant sheen ;
The silvery moon is covered too,
Its disc, now great, now small, is seen.

So too my heart, men read not right,
I tire of all the world's delay ;
Oh ! give me wings of Heavenly might
From this dull earth to fly away.

Another poem :—

THE TWO FRIENDS.

Two gallant youths did plight their word
To rest in friendship ever true ;
They parted and away they erred
To distant lands with tidings few.

In later years a haughty peer
Was riding on a prancing steed,
And saw a humble peasant near
Scraping the soil to pluck a weed.

The noble lord descended now,
And clasped the peasant to his breast :
" Oh ! brother found, oh, lift thy brow
And join thy friend that loves thee best."

The preservation of such poetry is the best living record of the pulsation of a people. We find ruins of Palmyra and some remains of Carthage, but these nations have left neither songs nor proverbs, hence we know nothing but

what their conquerors choose to tell us about them. If, for example, only a few English epigrams survive the wreck of our empire, such as "Time is money," "Fair play's a jewel," "Home, sweet home," "Let every man mind his own business," subsequent ages would have a literary lime-light thrown upon the ruined arch of Macaulay's prospective New Zealander.

The Augustine, Elizabethan, or, as the French have it, the Louis Quatorze and Golden period of Chinese classical poetry and literature was during the Thang dynasty, corresponding with between 618 and 917 A.D. Buddhistic influences then seemed to have penetrated the souls of their bards. The Chinese call Tou Fou their greatest poet; they rank him with Dante or Milton, and he is entitled the Prince of Poetry. I give an example of his writings. In the one entitled "Contemplation" we can observe the Buddhist spirit running through the effusion.

CONTEMPLATION.

Thou holy monk in silent cell,
Like me a speechless life lov'st well;
We've spoken every earthly phrase,
Exhausted blame, exhausted praise.
Are not the flowers as mute as we?
Yea, e'en the stars move quietly;
When thy great power, oh Heaven, I view,
I mutely say, "Thy work is true."

Another entitled

THE CELL.

The early dawn of summer's morn
Peeps through the ancient convent cell;
The golden sheen doth now adorn
The topmost trees where linnets dwell;
The flowers now greet the rising sun.
Their perfume scents the air;
The holy hymn has just begun,
The Monk bends deep in prayer.

Tseng Ming Tong has a style of his own. He alternates between grave and gay. I give a rendering of

SPRING.

Spring-time comes only once a year,
And life, if ten times ten,
It advent's rare enough, I fear —
It comes but now and then ;
So, friend, let's hail it with a glass,
A welcome twice and thrice ;
The wine-cup, onward let it pass,
Oh ! never mind the price.

Li-Tai-Pé, one of the great bards of China, has written many volumes of poetry. I select some of his poems :—

THE GUITAR.

The Cheng Yang stream, with gentle flow,
Would'st thou its sylvan borders know ?
Come, take my barque and glide along
Afar from city's busy throng,
Leaving strife and toil behind,
Thousand beauties there you find.
I loathe the busy hives of man,
Where house joins house ; where schemers plan ;
A poet I, I live another life,
Where nature smiles and peace replaces strife.
I once sought heated halls of revelry,
And fled, for no hearts there had sympathy.
Except one friend, whose heart and mind was pure ;
I cleaved to him, his love was ever sure ;
With him one eve I took my boat,
And as we gently onward float
We hear a voice so sweet, so soft at first,
Like heavenly tones on human hearing burst.
It louder grows, and then we hear the whole,
Like freedom's song from some erst shriven soul ;
And strings seemed strung by ne'er a human touch ;
Our glances speak, " Have ever ears heard such ? "

A light approaches on a vessel's prow,
And then we see a gliding form below—
A craft with silken sails and gilded helm,
Both harp and song our senses overwhelm,
And on a gilded couch, 'mid flowers bestrewn,
We see a woman's hand the lyre attune.
We stopped our barque and gently waved
A signal, and its import craved,
A moment's converse with the tuneful player.
Answer comes, the seraph grants our prayer.

Ecstatic moments, gliding swift and fast,
Lengthen and lengthen into hours at last,
Till I, who ne'er believed a woman's heart,
At length found one, and could not now depart.
Oh ! form divine, would'st thou but share my love,
Not wanton-like, but blessed from above,
In wedlock pure I crave with thee to rest,
Oh ! say not nay to this my heart's request.

The beauteous lady heaved a gentle sigh,
And dropping tears streamed from her sparkling eye
" Alas ! tis human like to find our fate
Meets us at last, and that, alas ! too late.
Would t'were my fate to be a poet's wife,
But listen well till I recount my life.
Tis years ago, thirteen I scarce could count,
My lyre I took, and soon began to mount
On fame's unsteady ladder, till I grew
A songstress queen that all the world then knew.
My soldier brothers died by foeman hands,
My mother winged her soul to better lands,
Though at my feet with all mankind as slaves,
Friendless I tossed like barque upon the waves.
Wild cheers of crowds and gems and flowers approve,
No kindly heart, none offer honest love.
I older grew, and then I saw full well,
How others of my craft in anguish fell ;
And then I feared my beauty might not last,
And what would be when face and voice had passed ?

One night, I think I just had left the play,
A missive handed in, 'twas thus to say—
'A man desired at some convenient time
To ask if yet the gift of heart was mine.'
I thought at length that some enamoured swain,
With sweet request to lead me to a fane,
With wedded love to grant that life of rest
Which they who live on frail applause love best.

"But lo, I saw a shrivelled form and old,
Who offered me his hoarded stores of gold,
And then I thought and thought: "Perchance ere long
I cease to please the ever fickle throng,
Nor love nor gold will then await my lot."
So I my better self for once forgot,
Consent I gave, and to the priest he led
The public's idol, and 'twas thus I wed.

"Oh! thrice accursed from above
Is wedlock unhallowed by love;
A wedlock that is like the filled-up grave,
The clod retains, but spirit cannot save.

"So is my ancient spouse who bought my life,
And has the lawful right to call me wife,—
I have the gold to purchase every whim,
All this I have, and yet my soul grows dim,—
He piles up wealth, but what for that care I,
When yearning for a life of love I sigh?
Some weeks ago he left to bargain tea,
And thus for gain of pelf he leaves me free.
A sudden thought came o'er my fevered brain
To take once more my old guitar again;
Fleeting along the moonlit stream,
Dreaming a brief, but happy dream.

"'Tis over now, so, gentle youth, farewell!
Would 'twere my fate 'mid happier spheres to dwell,
But that, alas, is e'er so far from me.
God speed thee, poet, think sometimes of me!"

Her barque rowed east, my barque rowed west,
 My friend now clasped me to his breast :
 "Alas, poor soul, thy life a blank appears."
 I grasped his hand and burst in bitter tears.

THE SPRING.

The flowers of spring around me spread,
 Radiant as the silken thread ;
 The mulb'ry sheds its verdant leaf,
 Yet why, Oh why, moan I with grief?
 Oh, dearest one, if you but knew
 How longingly I wait for you !
 A rustling sound, I think her near—
 'Tis but the zephyr's breeze I hear.

ABSENCE.

Beyond the snow-clad mountain peak,
 The golden sun sinks towards the west,
 And through the clouds from out the east,
 The silvery moon betokens rest.
 My latticè window now I rise,
 Unloose from folds my plaited hair,
 From water lilies wafts uprise,
 And zephyrs' wings refresh the air.
 From bamboo leaves, stirred by the breeze,
 The sparkling dewdrops gently fall,
 My mandoline straightway I seize,
 And string a dulcet madrigal.
 The water lilies answer not,
 The wind wafts on without reply.
 Oh, what a dull and cheerless lot
 Is all this world with thee not nigh !

There are many poems in China singing the beauty of spring-tide and flowers. The early season and the cult of flowers seem to be an ever-welcome theme with the Chinese poets. Pe Ku Hi is another poet whose writings possess

considerable dramatic force. I give you a rendering of one of his favourite poems, entitled

ETERNAL LOVE.

The Emp'ror Ming Noang desired to wed
 The best and fairest maid in all his land.
 He tarried, and he tarried long, 'tis said,
 Before he offer'd gift of throne and hand.
 He'd wed the girl whose highest aim
 Was love of truth and country's fame.
 He heard the ancient house of Yong possessed,
 With gold and lands and jewels rare,
 A maiden sweet, whom all the poor had blessed,
 Whose life was pure as angel fair.
 The monarch came with pomp and might,
 And straightway loved her there at sight.

Grand was the nuptial feast he had,
 The lowliest churl that day was glad ;
 The humblest folk throughout their lands
 Blessed the link of the regal hands.

Sweet were the days of early love,
 Like radiant sunshine from above,
 Yet as the Emperor older grew
 It seemed as though he had wed anew ;
 And all his kindly plans in life
 Were guided by his pious wife.
 He gave her bowers of marbles rare
 And jade and gems and jewels fair ;
 Her brothers to the highest posts enthroned,
 And countless districts now they owned.
 Her kindred of the time gone by
 Were classed with royal dignity.

But envy's tooth began to gnaw
 The hearts of nobles when they saw
 The Empress' kith and kin hold sway
 In lands that erst did them obey.
 At last a secret plot they hatch
 Their sov'reign lady to dispatch.

And rising in rebellion loud
With weapons they o'armatch the crowd.
They seize the queen, no help is nigh,
With prayer on lips doth Empress die.
The best beloved Queen, the fair, the good
A mass of clay lies waltering in her blood.

The rebels having now achieved their aim
Lay down their arms, and thus their King acclaim
" 'Gainst thee, O Sire, we wish to draw no sword,
We love and venerate thy princely word ;
So, Sovereign, mount thy throne anew to reign,
We fought to seek our ancient rights again."

Now years roll on, a monarch rules alone,
Lip-loyal peers cannot his loss atone.
His palace void, his hearth is cold,
His joys are gone, he thus grows old.
And day by day, like monk in convent's gloom,
The monarch kneels beside a silent tomb.

One night when long the Emp'rор vigil kept,
And o'er his ruined life with grief he wept,
A holy monk, absorbed in prayer,
Seemed to stand before him there.
" Oh, royal brother, dry thy tear,
Thy lost one's better there than here."
The monarch hearing words of holy love,
" I hope," said he, " but, brother, can'st thou prove ?"
" I can, nay, will—this very hour.
My prayers and fasts give me the power
To visit heaven from time to time,
To hear celestial music chime.
Wilt send a missive to thy long lost Queen,
To her that now mid angels' paths is seen ?"
" Oh, mock me not, thou holy priest,
Can'st for my soul prepare such feast ?
Can'st give a hungry heart a crumb
Of solace, that for years hath none ?"

The priest of Ling Kung travelled fast
Until the azure skies were passed,
And, whirling in ethereal space,
A golden mountain soon did trace,
Behind a rock a golden gate
Where countless angels, watching, sat.
The monk his errand now declared,
The Empress hither swift repaired,
And rising from celestial couch
With heav'nly smile, her sweet approach
Sheds light around, and all seems bright ;
But she ! whose face like snow was white,
With graceful move a veil unfurls,
A veil bestrewn with azure pearls,
And to the holy monk, with sweet incline,
Speaks : " Father, hail you now from husband mine ?
Oh ! thinks he still somewhat of me,
Retains he yet his dynasty ? "

The holy monk, with accents grave,
In pious tone his message gave :
" Would you, if it were heaven's desire,
Descend to earth, rejoin our Sire ? "
She gently tossed her graceful head,
A sighing " No " at once she said.
" The only spark of earth now left
Is lingering love of him bereft ;
All else is gloom, and dark appears.
Their smiles are false, and so their tears.
Here all is tranquil, never-ending peace,
From falsehood free, from sorrow all release.
Yet take this token to my love of old,
A bracelet made of thrice refined gold,
And say, if love of me rests pure as this,
In heav'n we'll meet with never-ending bliss,
Like tree whose branches interlace,
For all time one in pure embrace.
Tell him again, good monk, O say
I love him still !
Eternity may end, but my love
Never will."

The Chinese have forestalled Europe with many inventions. The manufacture of paper for ordinary uses, the art of printing, the telescope, spectacles and eye-glasses, the mariner's compass and gunpowder, have all been known in the Celestial empire from remote ages. There is, carefully preserved in the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, a bank note dated 1896 B.C., printed in blue ink on paper made from the fibre of the mulberry tree, and a notice of the pains and penalties following counterfeit. The note bears the number, date of issue, the name of the bank, signature of the official issuing it, indication of its value in figures, in words, and in pictorial representation, in coins or heaps of coins equal in amount to its face value. It was generally thought that the Venetians were the inventors of modern banking and bookkeeping and considered the triumph of modern commercial enterprise, but this the Chinese claim, and prove their claim.* The bank-note system at so remote a period in China, shows three distinct phases of civilisation, viz. :—the science of banking, the use of paper, and the art of printing. An extract from a lecture by Professor Hele Shaw, at the Marine Engineers' Institute in Liverpool, shews that the cantilever system of the Forth Bridge and the Eiffel Tower was known to the Celestials long before the idea reached us. The professor says :—

The late Lord Napier of Magdala, in going over the Forth Bridge some time ago while it was in an earlier stage of progress, had remarked to the engineer, "I presume you touch your hat to the Chinese?" The reply was "Certainly," because the engineer knew that the Chinese were probably the first to adopt this kind of bridge.

The observatory at Peking is the oldest in the world, having been founded in 1279 by Kublai Khan, the first Emperor of the Mogul dynasty. There are still in it three

* For an outline of the modern financial system of the Chinese Empire, see Appendix.

of the first instruments of observation. These were used for the observation of Halley's comet in 1788, and may also be used when twenty-two years hence this comet again appears. The oldest observatory in Europe is that founded by King Frederick III of Denmark on the Island of Hveen in the Sound, and where the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, carried out his celebrated observations about the middle of the sixteenth century, among others, that of the bright star in Cassiopeia. The Paris observatory was established in 1671, and that of Greenwich three years later.

A by no means partial critic on China writes in the October issue of the *Fortnightly* :—

The frugality, industry, perseverance and capacity which have enabled them to extend, in the course of centuries, from the basin of the Wei over the whole area of the immense empire which they now rule, and to elaborate a system of ethics and of government, a literature and a social organisation differing remarkably from our own, but efficient to maintain cohesion and national prosperity, whilst the kingdoms of Western Asia were rising and disappearing in periodic convulsions. Surely a race which has shewn this persistence, and which gives evidence to-day of the same qualities, will end by proving itself not inferior to its neighbours in capacity to adapt itself to the new conditions with which it is brought in contact.—B. S. GRUNDY.

Perhaps the most dignified rebuke given to the outer world by the Chinese Government was the unruffled manner with which they settled the dispute between the rival nations competing for the construction of railways in the Empire, a full account of which is given in the *Times* of October 19th, 1889.

The contractors of England, France, Germany, and the United States, all volunteered to send in competing plans, and used all the political influence of their home Governments to secure the contracts for their respective countries. The imperial Chinese Government very properly accepted all

the various European plans and diagrams that were so kindly sent for their inspection. They afterwards published an edict, August 27th, 1889, announcing that, after mature reflection, the Imperial Government would only construct railways throughout the Empire by means of Chinese Engineers, and with the aid of Chinese capital only, obtained through their own native bankers. Another symptom of their re-awakening, is the absence of any apologetic tone now assumed by Chinese statesmen. Not only do they keenly criticise European politics, but they now assume an attitude of perfect equality, and claim to be able to return Europe and America as many benefits as they receive from them.

General Tcheng Ki-Tong at the Ethnographic Congress in Paris, September, 1889, said :—

“ A wonderful assimilation of the peoples was now going on. The word “ foreigner ” was every day losing its value. It would soon have to be dropped out of the French dictionary. We were all melting into one great people, and would soon speak only of the East and of the West. At present America was an obstacle between the two, but what with river and lake steamers, railways and telegraphs, it was becoming rather a highway than a terminus.” General Tcheng Ki-Tong then gave a rapid sketch of Chinese history, referring to the introduction of Buddhism and ancestral worship. He dwelt on the influence of the latter on Chinese society, which it bound into family groups. He contrasted the family system of China with the European. In conclusion he remarked that the Chinese were learning the languages and customs of the West, and he expressed a hope that Europeans would devote their attention to the Chinese. They would perhaps find that they had more to learn from China than China had to learn from them. The speech of the General, thanks to his good delivery as much as to the interest of the matter, was received with great applause.

The fortunate geographical position of China has secured her many advantages not given to other races. For instance, the Jews were a puny people wedged in between a powerful

Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, to say nothing of the numerous kindred nomad Arab tribes. Thus they were physically unable to hold their own against their powerful neighbours, though from time to time they made a good stand, and of the many failings of the ancient Jews, want of valour was not one of them. The Chinese, however, ethnologically speaking, had almost the advantage of an island, bounded as they were on the east by the ocean, on the north by trackless ice-bound regions, and on the west by fierce, warlike nomads, forming an impenetrable wall to the eastward march of Hellenism and Latinism. They were for centuries isolated, and were thus enabled to work out their national idiosyncrasies.

Could anyone have imagined, at the time of Queen Elizabeth, when an embassy of semi-barbarous envoys from Muscovy, bowing low to the Virgin Queen in Asiatic form, and who were hardly credited with a better Christianity than the Abyssinians possess at present,—could anyone then have foreseen that the ruler of France two centuries later would be a fugitive vanquished by Muscovite arms, and that their legions would occupy Paris, and that the Muscovite capital would rival Paris itself in luxury? No philosophic thinker will dare to speculate rashly as to what history may or may not evolve.

Whether we shall be able to impress the Mongolian with any of the present forms of the religions which we take from the Old and New Testaments, is a problem which is no part of the present enquiry. An ecclesia of the Bible converted every other people that had no popular sacred book of their own. Thus it was with Greece, with Rome, the Gauls, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves; none of the cults of these people possessed a popular Holy Book. The followers of the Evangelists, drawing their ethics and psalmody from the Sacred Books of Palestine, spread

their influence and their teaching wherever they came in contact with a bookless community. But Islam, the Hindoo Church, and the Buddhist, each possess a popular and Holy Book of their own, hence to influence these religionists is a task of great difficulty. Sir Edwin Arnold addressed a meeting of Japanese students at Tokio in December last, and made use of the following words :—

"I must, indeed, be bold to say that, wherever the doctrines of the Great Teacher of India have passed, they bring to the people adopting them, or partially adopting them, more or less of embellishment and elevation. Nay, I believe it impossible that the religious tenets of the Buddha should ever enter into the life of any large body of people without stamping on the national character ineffaceable marks of the placidity, the kindness, the glad beliefs, and the vast consolations embodied in the faith of Sakya Muni. Nor, believe me, is it ever possible, in spite of the grave authorities which assert the contrary to me, that Buddhism once entering a land should ever altogether and finally depart from it. You will instantly think of India, and remind me that the professed Buddhists there are to be numbered by scores or hundreds, but I must answer that all Hindoo India is Buddhist in heart and essence. The sea does not mark the sand more surely with its tokens than Gautama has conquered, changed, and crystallised the religious views of the Vedas and Vedantas, and so far from encouraging anyone to hope that Buddhism will pass away from Japan, or from any other of its homes, I announce my conviction that it will remain here long enough to reconcile its sublime declarations with the lofty ethics of Christianity and with the discoveries of Science, and will be for all of you who love and serve the East no enemy, but a potent, necessary, and constant ally."

History seems to indicate that the Latin races, heirs of imperial Rome, are scarcely able to retain the leadership of the western world. Byzantium, Venice, Spain, France, each in its turn, enjoyed supreme recognition. Now it would appear to be the destiny of the Anglo-Teutonic families, represented by Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, to claim precedence in contemporary history. The

Slave is watching and preparing to come to the front should the Teutonic races fall back in their civilising mission. But behind the Slave is the Mongolian, to whom patience is almost a religion. What destiny history has in store for him lies concealed in the womb of time. The Marquis Tseng,* formerly ambassador to the Court of St. James', in an article previously quoted, uses these pregnant words:—"China will surely and leisurely proceed. . . . The world is not so near its end, that she need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done, that she will not have time to play the role assigned to her, in the work of nations."

APPENDIX.

A WRITER in the *Morning Post* of January 28th, 1890, gives some extracts from the *Chinese Times* with reference to the present financial position of the Empire.

A Chinese Budget is a novelty, so far, at least, as the Western world is concerned, and an interesting novelty, too, in its way. It is not, as most people are aware, the practice of the Celestial Government to publish an annual statement of its income and expenditure for the information of the people after the fashion of more progressive countries; for the Finance Minister of the Brother of the Sun and Moon is in the happy position of being accountable to no one save his Imperial Master for the revenues of the State. Still, the official estimates prepared come under the cognisance of the Peking Board of Control; and based upon the figures there available the *Chinese Times* gives us, for the first time, what may be regarded as an authoritative summary of the ways and means of the Dragon Empire. From the official returns made, it is estimated that the actual imperial revenue of China amounts to 85,000,000 taels, or, roundly speaking, £21,250,000 per annum—not an extravagant sum by any means when the extent of the Empire and its enormous population are taken into

* Since the above has been in type, the death of this distinguished diplomatist has been announced.

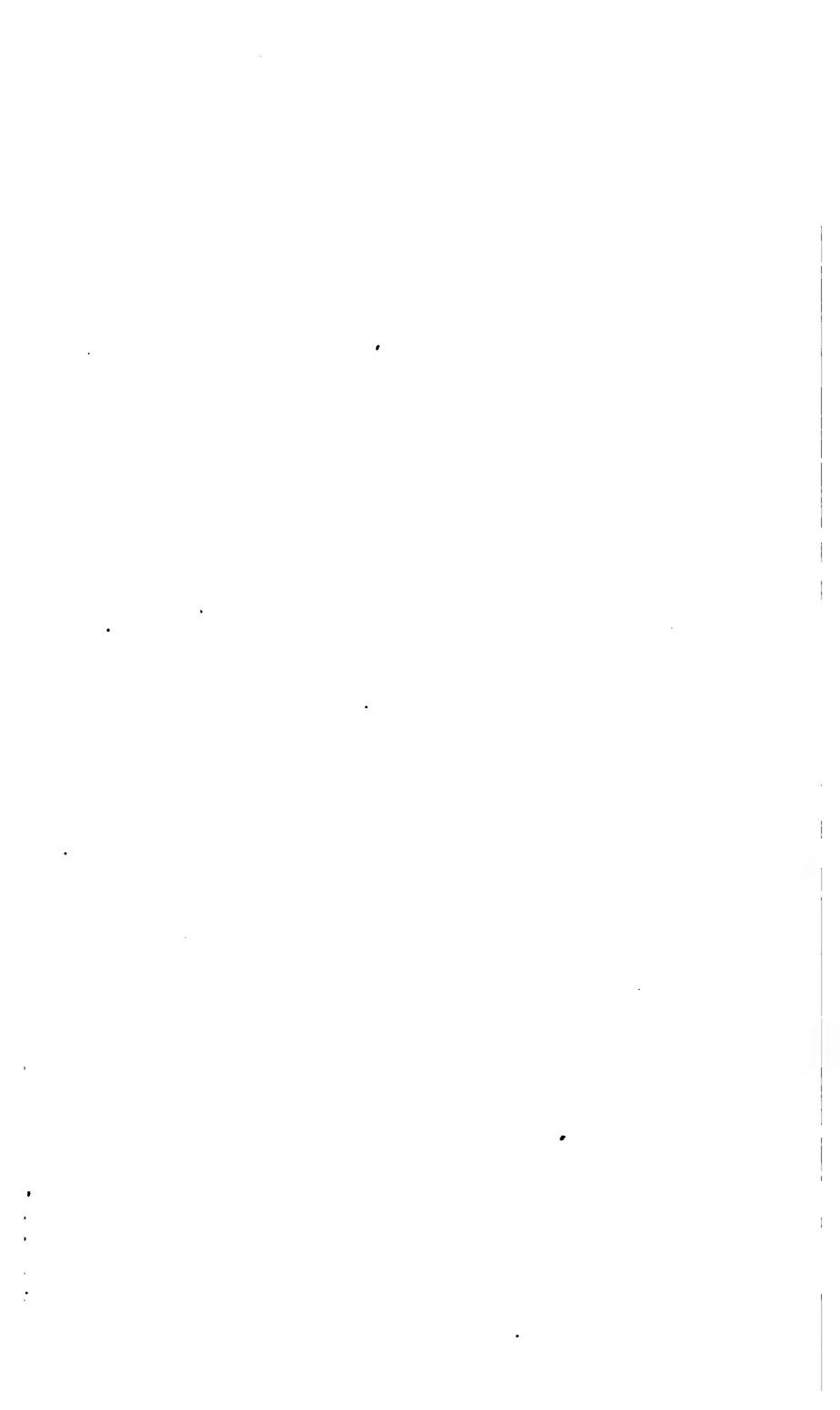
account. The chief items of income are the Maritime Customs, which yield just under £4,000,000; the opium duty, which yields about £2,000,000; the Inland Customs, from which £1,125,000 are derived; the "Likin," which stands for £3,200,000; salt, which is responsible for another £3,200,000; the land tax, furnishing some £2,600,000; the the tea tax, yielding £450,000; salt merchants' tax, £320,000; pawn-brokers' licenses, £180,000; and duties on sundries amounting in all to about £4,000,000. This £21,250,000 is the sum which, it is calculated, reaches the Imperial Exchequer, but it is believed that nearly twice as much is actually raised from the people by the provincial officials, the moiety being absorbed by these functionaries, for local purposes they assert, though it is to be presumed a goodly proportion sticks to the fingers of these personages. As regards waste that is alleged to go on in the provinces, it would be unfair to assert that the whole of the difference between the amount levied and that which reaches the Imperial Exchequer is lost to the people. The Chinese are quite content that a portion of the official "squeezeings" should find its way to the pockets of their provincial administrators, but, as the *North China Herald* remarks *apropos* of the matter, they are pretty sharp in seeing that a reasonable part is actually spent in the locality where the money is raised.

After the foregoing statement of revenue it will probably surprise most people in this country to learn that the great bulk of the Chinese people pay absolutely no taxes whatever, and contribute absolutely nothing to the expenditure of the state. This is a feature of the Chinese fiscal system which, for some inexplicable reason, has never been referred to by any of the many authors who have written about the Celestial Empire and its government. It is really only within the past six or eight months that this feature of the Chinese system of taxation has attracted the attention of an outsider, the United States Minister at Pekin, who deemed it so remarkable by reason of its contrast to modes in vogue elsewhere, that he addressed a communication on the subject to the Washington Government. In China there is absolutely no tax on personalty, and only one tax on land. The system of raising funds for the needs of the Government has been brought to its present shape in the course of many centuries, and operates in a very simple way. Take Pekin, the capital, which, in respect of taxation, is typical of Chinese cities generally. Inside the city there is no tax whatever on land, house, or personal property. Goods brought through the gates of the town pay a "Likin" tax, a

sort of octroi duty, but are exempt afterwards. The only impost paid in connection with real property is the duty on transfer from one party to another. When a change of property is registered before the registrar at the magistrates "Ya-men," the purchaser receives a "red deed," for which he pays 10 per cent. of the value of property transferred to him. But even this exaction is not uniform, since it is said it can be reduced, or even evaded altogether by official influence. And, further, a transfer can be made by "white deed" without any payment whatever, but the property stands in the original owner's name, so that it resembles rather a mortgage than sale outright. The only contributions besides this levied in the city are the pawnbrokers' license-fees of about £12 10s. per annum, wine-dealers' licenses about £12 a year, and other shops according to size. Pedlars pay nothing, carters and donkey drivers a fifth of 1 per cent. on their fares, which goes to the police for repairing roads and lighting the streets. But this is really an official "squeeze" rather than a tax properly so called. The fact remains that in the capital, as in all Chinese cities, the bulk of the people pay not axes whatever. The "man who owns his house and his lot, and his implements of labour, enjoys his earnings without toll or deduction" of any kind. The British ratepayer will probably be inclined to envy the position, in this respect, of the Chinese townsmen.

In the provinces, in the "Fu" or Prefecture, the bulk of the residents are similarly exempt from taxation. The case of the Prefecture of "Shuntien-fu," in which Peking is situated, is typical of the rural districts under direct departmental control. The only direct contribution such districts make to the imperial Exchequer is in the form of a land tax paid to the provincial or departmental magistrates. But this land tax is far from being levied on land or house property of every kind. It is entirely and solely levied upon arable land, all other real property being exempt. And even on arable land the tax is not always alike, but is strictly proportioned to its quality and producing power, so as to render its incidence fair and equitable to those engaged in any of the many branches of husbandry followed by the Chinese. The land is carefully surveyed by special officers appointed for the purpose from time to time, and returned as good or inferior in quality, high or low in situation, and the tax apportioned according to the crop-producing capabilities gauged in this way. It varies thus from 6d. to 6s. an acre. Beyond this impost on land, the rural and provincial cultivators pay nothing whatever in the shape of taxes. Outside the capital, Peking,

Chinese who are not "bannermen," that is, liable to military service, may be called out when deemed needful to repair roads, and convey chairs when the Emperor visits the locality, or other high functionaries of state travel through the country—but for a mere trifle exemptions can be secured. In other parts of China, the people have to help in shipping the annual tribute of rice and salt. In these cases the locality sends the quota of men needful, all liable to the service subscribing to pay the labourers so engaged. But the land tax for the whole empire reaches only, as the figures given at the outset show, the comparatively insignificant total of about £2,500,000 so that its incidence can scarcely weigh heavily upon the native agricultural interest. Beyond this amount, the revenue of the empire is derived exclusively from the salt monopoly, the "Likin," maritime and inland customs, and the proceeds of the sale of honours and dignities. To this absence of taxation of the body of the people it is, perhaps, only fair to ascribe the permanence of the Celestial government and the general tranquillity and contentment of the Chinese race; and many will, no doubt, agree with the United States Minister at Peking that the lesson of taxation the Celestials teach might be profitably studied by more than one of the states in the so-called civilised world.



THE ARYAN CRADLE-LANGUAGE.

By R. J. LLOYD, M.A.

THE following paper is indebted in a large degree, both for its origin and title, to the luminous paper on the "Cradle of the Aryans," read here last session by Principal Rendall, and since published by Macmillan. Having been then and since engaged in the perusal of Brugmann's excellent *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, I have been enabled and impelled to read it critically, in the light of the theories now advanced, and to consider their mutual bearing. For whilst I felt compelled by the force of Principal Rendall's exposition to entertain favourably the supposition of the North-European origin of this language and of its original speakers, it seemed to me that its final justification would only be attained when it had been consistently applied as a working hypothesis to the whole mass of Indo-Germanic speech-lore, and had been found capable of explaining at least its leading facts somewhat better than they had ever been explained previously.

The great work of Professor Brugmann will eventually present a complete conspectus of the facts in question, but as yet only the first volume and half of the second have appeared, and it seems better not to deal with the latter until we have it complete. The completed volume deals with phonology—the acoustic or phonetic character of the several daughter languages which in actual fact and history are first found flowing from the cradle-speech, and *inferentially*, that of the cradle-speech itself.

It seems fitting here to take the earliest opportunity of pointing out the difference in value between that which is historical and that which is inferential in a case like this. We know what are, in each daughter language, the most primitive historical words and grammatical forms. There is a great difference, it is true, in the date at which our knowledge of the various daughter languages begins; we can go back nearly 8,000 years in Greek or Sanskrit, and nearly 2,500 in Latin or Persian, but only 1,500 years in any Teutonic, and 1,000 years in any Celtic or Slavonic dialect; whilst in obscurer branches, like the Albanian or the Lettish, all effort fails to penetrate more than two or three centuries backwards. But our knowledge, so far as it goes, is real and indisputable.

And the conclusions which are immediately and entirely warranted by that knowledge are indisputable also. These conclusions are mostly of two kinds, which may be styled observed resemblances, and observed regular differences, respectively. It is usual to dignify them with the name of laws, but the word needs to be here used with very great caution. It is a gross logical error to apply the terms of physical science to phenomena which are only partly physical, and whose so-called "laws" are hence liable to all kinds of exceptions. It would be better to speak always of *rules*, rather than *laws*, of phonetic relationship.

When, for example, we place the Gothic pronoun *it-a* alongside of the Latin *id*, and the Anglo-Saxon verb *wit-an* alongside of the Latin *vid-ere*, two rules are at once illustrated by both words, the one a rule of resemblance and the other of regular or constant difference. The first is that the Latin and the Old Teutonic languages have usually an exact resemblance or equivalence in respect of the vowel *i*; the second is that the same two branches have an exact regularity of difference in respect to the consonants *d* and

t, the *d* of the Latin being consistently represented (Verner's Rule excepted) by *t* in Old Teutonic.

.. We are here still on very firm ground, and this first volume of Brugmann is a splendid monument to the industry and fidelity with which the philologists of the last forty or fifty years have devoted themselves to the discovery and tabulation of innumerable rules like these. They are the solid and knitted framework which not only holds together in a settled order the masses of our accumulated knowledge, but which also constitutes the sole foundation for any further-reaching conclusions.

But to reach further is not easy, because we are totally without any historical evidence or clue respecting the original relationships of the daughter languages one to another, either in time or space; and though in the long run it is possible that they may be put together, like the pieces of a dissected puzzle, in such a form as will vindicate its own accuracy and completeness, we are as yet on the very threshold of this reconstruction, and it is as yet doubtful whether our initial attempts have not been altogether wrong, and are not now the chief hindrance to the right arrangement of the pieces.

It has been assumed, for example, that in the two pairs of words just dealt with, the cradle-language agreed with the Latin rather than with the Teutonic, and that the reason why the two latter came to disagree was that the Teutons departed in process of time from the phonology of the cradle-race, and somehow gradually and unconsciously changed their *d*'s into *t*'s. But all this is pure hypothesis, and differs broadly from the more solid elements of Indo-Germanic speech lore, in that it is liable to be instantly swept away by any other hypothesis which better explains the facts.

It is evident that in this highly theoretical part of the

subject nothing is more likely to set us wrong from the outset than any erroneous prepossessions as to the original location of the cradle-race. So long as their home was imagined to lie far east, it was inevitable that the languages lying nearest to their supposed ancestral seats should enjoy a primacy in the estimation of the philologist, and should be assumed to hand down in greatest purity the actual sounds of the cradle-speech. And it is equally clear on the other hand, that right prepossessions respecting the location and spread of the cradle-race is likely above all things to put us in the right groove of investigation respecting both the phonology of the cradle-language, and the steps whereby it became differentiated in the various daughter tongues.

Recurring once more to the concrete examples already employed, and asking *why* it is assumed that the Teutons changed their *d*'s into *t*'s rather than that the Latins or their ancestors changed their *t*'s into *d*'s, we find that there are just two reasons of any real weight: the first being that the great majority of the daughter branches agree in supporting the Latin and repudiating the Teutonic form; and the second being that this majority includes within it all the most easterly and long-recorded members of the family—as witness in this case the Sanskrit *vid-má*; Homeric Greek *Fið-μεν* (= we know); Old Church Slavonic *věděti* (= to know), etc.

But the assumption of the Eastern origin of the cradle-race, which alone gives any validity to the second of these arguments, is here, *ex hypothesi*, inadmissible; nor will the assumption of the conclusiveness of the voice of the majority, which is the groundwork of the other argument, be found to bear serious examination. On the contrary, the very frequent exceptionalness of Teutonic phonology will be shewn to mark it out rather as the lineal phonetic descendant of the cradle-speech than any other.

But before plunging into the thick of this controversy, it seems fitting to establish a few preliminary positions, and to make some preparatory explanations. In nomenclature and alphabetic signs it has seemed best to adhere to those of Brugmann, except where these have not proved adequate, or have seemed to be faulty. But notice will always be given of any such departures. It will perhaps have been remarked already that the term Aryan is here but sparingly employed; the reason being partly that it is used by Brugmann and Rendall respectively in two quite different senses, and partly that it has inseparable geographical suggestions which unfit it to express theories which are totally inconsistent therewith. The colourless expressions, cradle-country, cradle-people, cradle-language, have seemed much more suitable to the present tentative stage of the inquiry.

It also seems necessary to premise that some attention, at least, ought to be paid in a matter of this kind to the principles of evolution, as being applicable to the development of speech, as well as to that of all other human capabilities. When one contrasts the dictum of Professor Sayce (*Academy*, Oct. 26, 1889, "Review of Brugmann"), that "the parent-speech was richer, and not poorer, than its descendants in the separate sounds which it possessed," with the doctrine advanced long ago by Professor Max Müller in his Lectures, that the differences in the daughter languages often resulted from the *divergent clearing-up* of obscure articulations in the parent-speech, one cannot help feeling that the latter view is strongly commended to us by the analogies of evolution in other departments of human culture.

Lastly and chiefly, it is necessary to follow out in some detail what we may fairly assume to have been the circumstances of the cradle-people and of their language in that period of growth and extension which planted their impress so widely over both the European and Asiatic continents.

Wherever the cradle-race may have grown up, it seems clear that they must have enjoyed a very considerable degree of isolation. The distinction, both in grammar and vocabulary, between Aryan and non-Aryan is very marked. On comparing it with any of the families of language which it has pushed back on every side—Turanian, Dravidian, Etruscan, Basque—the resemblances in any case discoverable are exceedingly few. In the case of Turanian, there is a certain resemblance in pronominal and numerical roots which is sufficient to preclude us from supposing that the Aryan cradle-speech grew up *quite* independently and apart—from the very origin of spoken language until the great era of Aryan expansion. But even from Turanian it must have separated when it had only attained the most rudimentary development, and it must also have *kept* separate, during an immense period, before it could possibly develope, from small identical beginnings, the enormous differences which separate the cradle-speech from any form of Turanian. A primitive savage community, acquiring a few root words, and using them almost asyntactically (more after the manner of interjections than of anything else which we are accustomed to in modern speech), wandering into a hitherto empty Scandinavia, and dwelling there apart, uninfluenced by the highly divergent growth of the languages from which they had derived their first tincture of speech, would certainly present as suitable and probable a matrix for the development of Aryan language as any which has yet been proposed.

There is no reason to suppose that at the outset of this long incubation-period the cradle-nation was either a large, or a widely extended, or a highly advanced community. Quite the reverse; for the vast space of necessarily intervening time would sufficiently admit of all the changes which the case demands. And even when this incubation-

period ended, and the expansion-period began, there are indications that the Aryan community was not exceedingly large. Every widely extended language tends strongly to split into dialects. It is true that this influence varies in strength; and the Ural-Altaic system of languages, favoured by nomadic habits and a vast extent of unbroken plain, is found to exhibit remarkable conservations of type over an enormous stretch of territory. But these conditions exist nowhere else in the same degree, and the community which from any cause falls into sections which have little opportunity of intercourse between each other, infallibly begins in course of time to speak a different dialect in every section. Now the fact that we are able to re-construct the cradle-language at all is evidence in itself of considerable homogeneity in the speech of the cradle-people; and it may be taken to preclude us from assigning as their ancestral seat any region sharply divided by nature into sections, or exceedingly vast in extent. Here, again, the southern plain of Scandinavia, to which at a later period the northern plain of Germany and Holland is assumed to have been added, seems fairly to satisfy this condition of the problem.

A third condition which may confidently be laid down is that the cradle-race at the epoch of their great expansion had somehow gained an overwhelming military superiority over the populations adjoining them on every side. Nothing less will account for the triumphant radiation of their language over various lands and races throughout half the world.

Wherein this superiority consisted is not easy to imagine; and the less so because the archæological evidence seems to shew everywhere, with remarkable consistency, that the regions over-run by the cradle-race were at least as well, and generally a good deal better, furnished with the material appliances of warfare than any region in which it is possible to locate the cradle-people themselves. Every

theory yet advanced on the subject depicts the cradle-people as advancing from a less genial to a more genial climate, over-running lands more suitable to human multiplication, and hence probably already more populous and more advanced in material culture. In the case of Scandinavia it seems certain (see Undset, *Das Auftreten des Eisens in Nord-Europa*) that the knowledge and use of iron, and probably also of bronze, were derived from more advanced races lying to the southward. It would be therefore inadmissible to suppose that Scandinavia ever enjoyed anything more at best than a bare equality in the material appliances of warfare with its southern neighbours.

This point might well be urged as a plea in opposition to the Scandinavian hypothesis, were it not just equally capable of being urged against every other hypothesis which has ever been put forward. Wherever we locate the cradle-race there can be but one opinion, that their military superiority lay, not so much in weapons or in numbers, as in a physical vigour and a love and aptitude for warfare vastly exceeding those of the nations by whom they were then surrounded.

We are here led back once more, by a totally different path, to the hypothesis of the long isolation of the cradle-race, already put forward. If we suppose that community to have grown up in some supremely isolated region, and to have there developed with great independence their language, their tactics, and their warlike spirit, it becomes more comprehensible how such a race, at last emerging from its solitude, found itself easily master of other races which had been contemporaneously pursuing the course of their evolution in neighbouring lands, but had failed to develop the same formidable military aptitudes.

If we ask where such a place and such a people are to be found, the record of history is again just as favourable as

that of archæology to the Scandinavian location. The dawn of Teutonic history finds the fair-haired, long-headed Teutonic race spread, it is true, far southward of Scandinavia; but their location is such as to indicate that their origin was from the north rather than from any other direction. They seem to be even then growing forward in an increasing mass across Central Europe, and pushing their Celtic neighbours further to the south and west; and the position at that time of the Celtic populations, disposed round the Teutonic mass in a hollow crescent, whose horns rested at Caithness and on the Upper Danube, seems rather to indicate that this forward growth of the Teutonic people had been great and long continued.

Later events tend only to bring out with greater emphasis the fact that this Northern race has exhibited pre-eminently, ever since it has been known to history, those very characteristics which we are compelled to look for in the cradle-race. Its historical conquests are contrasted with most other historical phenomena of the same kind, by the fact that they were neither the work of superior discipline nor of more powerful armament, nor of overwhelming numbers, but were frequently gained against nations of men better organised, better equipped, and far more numerous than themselves. In their case, more than in any other, we feel it possible to think that they might spread their power swiftly and irresistibly over surrounding races, even though stronger in numbers and more advanced in culture; for it is not hard to believe that what actually happened in the fifth and tenth centuries after Christ may have happened once before, under still more favourable conditions, two or three thousand years previously.

This being so, attention is at once invited to Teutonic conquest in general, and especially to those conquests which were accomplished under circumstances most nearly

approaching to prehistoric conditions. The conquests of the Goths, the Lombards, and the Franks are often triumphantly alleged to shew that barbarian conquerors always fail to impose their language on a more civilised people. But the more crucial case of England, where, if the conquered people were less civilised, the conquerors were in the same degree more barbarous, tells quite a contrary story; the conquered language vanishes utterly, even in those remoter regions where the conquered people must have survived in very large numbers. The Goth and the Lombard were largely Romanized before they settled in the south; they had also forsaken Thor and Odin, and been imbued by the missionaries of the Eastern Church with Arian Christianity. The Frank, too, had long been the neighbour of the provincial Roman, and in the moment of victory he became Christian too. Not so the rude heathen of the Teutonic North; and we are bound to see in his stern suppression of the conquered language a better index of the probable nature and linguistic effect of any prehistoric conquest, than in cases where potent causes had long been working to mediate a different result. Conquerors do not, as a matter of fact, adopt the conquered language unless they also adopt the conquered culture; and when the military barbarian chooses to despise and spurn the refinements of the conquered people it is easy for him to suppress their language and their culture at the same time. Such is the kind of conquest which the spread of the cradle-language points to, and it is the Teutonic race again, in their purest state and least modified circumstances, which affords an example of such conquest in actual fact.

But if we adopt the conclusion that the cradle-people, wherever located, was a military race of this kind, there are some important consequences to be inferred which will be found in the end to have a strong bearing upon the further

growth of their language. It is certain that such a race would not only grow forward in the slow and gradual manner already indicated, by simply pressing back and extruding its next neighbours on every side, but it would also sometimes embark upon undertakings of colonization and conquest, which would result in the imposition of its language upon large populations more or less alien in blood to itself. It may be taken for granted that the conquering wave would spread itself more and more thinly as it advanced, and that the admixture of alien blood would increase with distance in a directly contrary manner.

There is no reason to suppose that all these excursions were simultaneous; historical parallels would rather lead us to suppose that they were spread in a desultory manner over many ages. But the more its frontier expanded, and the further its excursions spread, the more would the cradle-race be exposed to those foreign influences from which it had been so long shielded by its location. These influences would, of course, be strongest in those regions where a conquered majority had been suffered to survive, but might be traceable even up to the outward bounds of the unmixed cradle-people themselves.

These considerations open out a prospect of identifying the cradle-people by a method far more convincing, though also far more laborious than any that has been yet employed. It is clear that, if the cradle-language was imposed in this way on surrounding peoples of alien race and speech, there might very easily arise a system of regular differences between the original language and the various new colonial dialects, whose traces, properly interpreted, might witness to the centrality and primitiveness of the languages descending most directly from the cradle-speech, and, at the same time, to the more indirect and perverted origin of the rest.

But, simple as this task might have been at the outset,

the facts are now so bedimmed and encrusted with antiquity that it is only by a very long, patient, and judicial consideration of them that we can hope to arrive at any result whatever. Brugmann's first volume opens out to us an opportunity of considering, with some completeness, all the leading facts relating to phonology. His subsequent volumes will in due course enable us to apply the same line of thought to the remaining masses of Indo-Germanic information.

It becomes at once interesting, therefore, in relation to the present branch of the subject, to inquire what differences, if any, are likely to have existed in phonology between the cradle-language and the others which it displaced. A full answer to this question can only be given at the end of that examination of all the leading particulars of the case on which we are about to embark; but it is important here to point out (1) that the hypothesis of long isolation, here put forward, makes it quite possible that the phonology of the cradle-language differed in the most radical manner from that of all the languages which it afterwards came to supplant; and (2) that it is not at all improbable that the phonology of the cradle-language, as compared with that of these others, would differ in the direction of primitiveness and less advanced evolution.

As reasons will hereafter be given for thinking that there *was* a most marked contrast in phonology between the cradle-language and its subjected tongues, it is profitable to inquire beforehand what would be likely to happen in such a case. In those early and extreme cases, of course, where not only the conquered languages, but also the conquered people, were simply deleted, nothing would happen; the cradle-language would continue to be spoken exactly as before, for its rivals would be dead, even to their ultimate echoes. But this result would never exactly follow in any other case;

however suddenly and rudely the conquered language might be suppressed, it would always leave a mark upon the pronunciation of the conquering language in that particular community ; and the more numerous were the conquered in proportion to the conquerors, the more certainly would the habits and peculiarities of the conquered phonology be grafted wholesale upon the conquering tongue.

It might be easy enough for savage and imperious masters to impose their vocabulary and, in part, their syntax on their trembling subjects, but it is beyond the power of any conqueror to compel human organs to produce the exact sounds of any unaccustomed language. The Ephraimite of old could not say "shibboleth," though he knew that his life depended on the answer ; and so accustomed are we to hear English pronounced with an Irish, or French, or German phonology, by men who, at the same time, are intensely anxious to avoid doing any such thing, that it seems needless here to enforce this point at further length. And the important thing is that what at the outset would be the phonology of the subject majority would assuredly in the second generation be that of the national speech.

Now, if Principal Rendall be right in supposing that the fair-haired, long-headed Teutonic man is the true type of the cradle-race, it seems certain that practically nowhere outside what are still recognised as Teutonic boundaries were the fair-haired conquerors a majority. This being so, the prevalent exceptionalness of Teutonic phonology, as compared to that of the sister branches, ceases to be any argument against its being accepted as the most direct lineal offspring of the cradle-speech. The comparative consensus of the remaining branches may easily be due to a unanimity of change, impressed upon all alike by the prevailing character of the conquered yet unconquerable phonologies of the various subjected races. Such a supposition would by no means

imply that the phonologies of all the subjected races were identical, but only that they differed perceptibly less from each other than they did from that of the conquering race. And it does not seem at all unlikely that such was the case. There had not been in their case any such possibility of isolation as in that of the cradle-race; so far as any border relics, such as the Finnish and the Basque languages, enable us to judge, they had all been developed on parallel though sometimes independent lines, with the same agglutinative structure; and we might naturally expect in them a fairly uniform standard of phonetic evolution, with differences of a local kind,—some radical and some fortuitous.

It is quite useless now to look for any traces of the minuter of these local differences; and if, as seems likely, the languages first pushed back or suppressed on the Eastern side were mostly of the Finno-Ugrian stock, it is very possible that most of their differences *inter se* were of this minuter order. But between these languages taken as a class and those other westward languages from which they were early divided by the advancing mass of the cradle-race, there may have been differences in phonology sufficiently substantial to be still recognised by their results.

Several items of evidence combine to indicate that such was the case. The languages which were crushed between the cradle-language and the Ocean have left but a single trace. But that trace is important. The Basque language agrees with the Finno-Ugrian and other Turanian types in possessing an essentially agglutinative structure, but its vocabulary is totally different, and irreconcilable with that of the eastern group, and it seems to possess, in the remarkable structural peculiarities of its verb, an indication that its growth, though parallel to that of the other agglutinative languages, has been radically independent.

Another noticeable fact is that, after the Teutonic speech

began, in its new Germanic location, to differentiate itself, the differences which present themselves earliest to our knowledge were not variations between North and South, such as are now most numerous and important, but between East and West,—marking, probably, a great and long continued divergence of foreign influences on its eastern and western frontiers.

But the most important fact of all is that remarkable phonological splitting, or fission, of the great family of Indo-Germanic languages which is briefly indicated by Principal Rendall on pages 58–61 of his book. This line of principal cleavage coincides remarkably with the physical division which we have inferred to have been effected by the southward progress of the cradle-race, and it will be the chief further business of this essay to shew how the results of this fission are found to permeate and explain the whole system of the phonology of the daughter languages.

In doing this it will be necessary to pursue a line of exploration almost directly contrary to that which has engaged the efforts of philologists until now. It has been naturally supposed that the correct way to arrive at the real radical types of the cradle-speech was to consult all the daughter branches, and to be guided largely by the voice of the majority. In this way, a theoretical account of the cradle-speech has now been arrived at, which is indeed free from the Sanskrit prepossessions of the earliest explorers, but which is manifestly inconsistent in its assumptions with the hypothesis which is being worked out in these pages. Such a summarisation of the daughter branches ought manifestly, if our views are correct, to yield a fair average, not of the phonology of the cradle-speech, but rather of that of its surrounding neighbours; and it might fairly be expected that this method, if it be as erroneous as is here presumed, would sooner or later find itself unable satisfactorily

to accommodate itself to the facts. It has, of course, been incumbent upon these same investigators to give some credible account of the process by which the theoretical cradle-forms thus arrived at by them might give birth to the known forms of the earliest Teutonic; and the most feasible explanations of this kind yet offered are faithfully summarised, so far as Grimm's Rule is concerned, by Brugmann in section 541. But it is not too much to say that these proposed explanations are so intricate, so cumbersome, and, after all, so unsatisfying, that they seem rather to invalidate the theory which they are intended to complete.

It is a signal testimony to the prime importance of this question of the original location of the cradle-race that, though Brugmann at the outset expressly reserves his belief as to their European or Asiatic origin, his exposition is coloured here and everywhere by the assumptions hitherto current; his account of the theoretical cradle-language is that which has just been indicated, and his conceptions of the filiation of Germanic to that theoretical language follow inevitably in the same track. This, however, is a thing which it was quite impossible, in the present state of the controversy, for the learned author to avoid, and it does not prevent one from paying the most unqualified tribute to the industry, impartiality, accuracy, and original power which he everywhere displays.

Seeing, however, that we here reject this filiation of Teutonic to the accepted type of the cradle-language, the next question is, what position do we really assign to Teutonic? Do we say that it must itself be taken as the true type of the cradle-language, from which all the rest have been metamorphosed? Not exactly; for it must never be forgotten that our knowledge of Teutonic runs back only a short way towards the cradle-time, whilst that of some of the daughter stems runs back the greater part of the way. The

most that we can say for our Teutonic forms is, not that they accurately represent the cradle-speech, but that they must be the direct lineal descendants of that language. In other words, if we can by any means arrive at the real forms of the cradle-speech there ought to be this marked difference between Teutonic and the other branches,—that the Teutonic forms ought to be such as would flow naturally and simply by the known laws of phonetic evolution from the cradle-forms, whilst all the rest would be tinged by the outward influences already sketched.

But philologists of the older school might here object that the assumed superior stability of Teutonic is in direct opposition to historical example, that so far from the stability of the Germanic people being any guarantee for the stability of their language, Germany has been the scene of the most radical phonetic changes, as, for example, those which in the Dark and Middle Ages gave rise to that High German dialect which is the basis of the modern literary language. But the exception proves the rule; not only is the actual fulfilment of this branch of Grimm's Rule most lamentably incomplete (see Skeat, *English Etymology*, vol. i, p. 37), but this High German dialect arose and spread in that corner of Germany which had been most and longest exposed to foreign, and notably to Roman, influences; and it is safe to challenge the production of any instances anywhere of profound modifications like these which have not been the result of foreign influence. The historical High German (like the supposed Low German) sound changes are a phonetic riddle which defies reasonable solution by any ordinary phonetic process, and leads us irresistibly to conclude that both changes were alike the effect of a more or less complete transference of the language to foreign, unaccustomed lips; and we are led to conclude, further, that the prehistoric (the so-called Low German) transfer

was more completely of this kind than the historical High German one.

The line of argument into which we have now been led ought to have a special interest to English readers, inasmuch as it tends to seat the old Low German family of languages in the place of honour as lineal descendants of the cradle-speech; and of this family English is the most vigorous and fertile, though not, perhaps, the most purely descended member.

But it is only fair to say, that all the partisans of the European origin of the cradle-race are not agreed in locating it in Scandinavia, or even within Teutonic territory. At the moment of writing (December, 1889), a new book, by Dr. Isaac Taylor, entitled *The Origin of the Aryans*, has just issued from the press, and sums up strongly in favour of the Celts being the cradle-race. And one shrewdly suspects that anyone who felt interested in putting forward a similar claim for the Slavs would not find the least difficulty in doing so, upon the archæological evidence only. The truth is that the archæological evidence, taken by itself, is totally inconclusive; and though we are bound, in a question like this, where there is so little light obtainable, to welcome every ray, it will only be possible to attain success by using all the rays simultaneously, so far as we are able to focus them upon the subject.

Canon Taylor's book is more archæological than philological, and is replete with valuable information of the former kind; but I must say that that information seemed to me to fall in quite as naturally with the Scandinavian theory as with any other,—and even more so. For the crux of any other theory is the problem of the Aryanization of Scandinavia itself; and, singular to say, Canon Taylor leaves this remarkable phenomenon unnoticed and unaccounted for. If, as he supposes, Scandinavia was Aryanized by Celts,

there ought surely to have been at least a Celtic skull or two put in as evidence that such was the case. But, so far as the evidence goes, archæology is as silent as history respecting any trace of such a connection.

And again, Canon Taylor may be anthropologically right in connecting the Celts with the Ugrians, but he hardly seems conscious of the immense philological obstacle which this conclusion offers to the acceptance of the Celts as the cradle-race. It is easy to believe that the Scandinavians, having somehow acquired a feeble tincture of Ugrian linguistic roots, developed out of them a language on practically new and independent lines; but it is nearly incredible that the Celts, if themselves Ugrians, should somehow miraculously give birth to a language without any Ugrian affinities.

I would here suggest to Canon Taylor, and to any others who favour the Celtic theory, that the facts which seem to point that way may possibly be susceptible of a different explanation. It is quite possible that the more distant Aryan conquests were not effected by the cradle-race themselves, but rather by the strongly Aryanized colonies which grew up along their borders. Teutonic languages are at this moment again spreading far and wide over the earth's surface; but it is not the pure, but the mixed, and, as it were, colonial Teutons and their language which are most strongly operative in this movement. Would it not be more feasible to suppose that the Celts also, though Ugrian in origin, became afterwards Aryan in language and also largely in blood, through some distant prehistoric conquest, and that then this new and powerful race became the vehicle of some at least of the further conquests of Aryan language?

Canon Taylor is obviously enamoured of the fine cranial developments of the Celtic people, and has a notice-

able, though probably unconscious, wish to prove that these noble skulls belonged to the equally noble Aryan race, but we can hardly be said to have any warrant for expecting to discover this kind of superiority in the Aryans. The argument derived from stature and osseous framework seems to be here very much more in point.

Reverting once more to the simile of a dissected puzzle, it seems after all to be most promising to begin the reconstruction by putting Teutonic, and not Celtic, in the middle. We have met with nothing yet, in this preliminary survey, to deter us seriously from that effort, and if it does not result in a complete success, it will then be for some one else to begin the same task from some other basis. It will be our duty to work out the present hypothesis calmly, moderately, and without blinking difficulties, and in that case the attempt cannot fail to be in some sense a contribution to the final solution, whatever that may be.

It will be the most convenient as well as the most thorough method of treating the subject, to take it up in the same order as it is treated by Brugmann, discussing successively the vowels, nasals, liquids, stops and sibilants, and finishing with the phenomena of combined sounds and of accent. But my present limits are already full, and this programme can therefore only be fulfilled in a further paper.

COPERNICUS AND HIS WORK.

By REV. S. FLETCHER WILLIAMS.

THE world's work is done in corners, by men intent on lesser ends. Of the five men of the fifteenth century whose birth was of the richest value to the human race, not one proposed to himself the mighty end which he accomplished. Gutenberg, intent on cabalistic arts and mysteries, invented the printing press, with movable types. Columbus, seeking straighter paths for commerce, discovered a new world. Erasmus, attacking the monkish orders, undermined the walls of the Supreme Church. Copernicus, computing astronomical distances in his lonely tower, overturned the astronomy of the civilised world. Luther, opposing a single abuse, established a religion.

Copernicus was seventy years old when he died. And forty years of a studious and secluded life he had lavished on one endeavour—to satisfy himself of the true planetary system. It seems now a small affair to have cost so much. Your glib schoolboy will demonstrate the positions of the heavenly bodies as easily as he rattles over the twenty-six prepositions that govern the accusative. But when the stern scientific conscience of Copernicus began to suffer doubts of the truth of the Ptolemaic system, it was one man against the world. For twelve hundred years that system had been universally accepted. To question it was to differ from the infallible interpreter of God's truth, and difference from that was not only isolation—it was death, temporal and eternal.

Till the revival of letters following Gutenberg's inven-

tion, learning was confined to the priesthood, who themselves filled all the secular offices of distinction, so that no practical issue of life could be divorced from the beliefs or from the interests of the clergy. Art was the willing and gracious handmaiden of Rome. Literature, save as her laureate, hardly existed. Science but preserved the traditions of an elder day, when the activity of the mind of man was measured by her swift advances. Astronomy was the servant of astrology; alchemy but prophesied of chemistry; botany, geology, electricity, magnetism—the modern circle of sciences—were undreamed of. Copernicus had been dead more than half a century when Kepler published his new astronomy, and gave it the prophetic title of *Celestial Physics*. Algebra was but a halting system; calculus and logarithms had not been guessed at; the telescope awaited Galileo's later coming. In so inhospitable an air, then, and with so meagre means, the first of modern astronomers came to his place and work.

It is one thing to have some faint perception of a great natural law, and quite another to establish and to utilise it. Yet the forerunner of a discovery is entitled to our praise, especially if he explored with doubtful steps and imperfect means in the early twilight of philosophy.

Pythagoras, to whom (in spite of much folly, of which more is attributed to him than he deserves blame for) be all honour, stands first on record, as having imagined, if not demonstrated, that the sun was the centre of our system, and that the earth and certain other planets revolved around it. This theory was entertained, if I may so speak, by Seleucus and Ecphantus, by Nicetas and Ponticus, by the Samian Clearchus, and by Plato. But long before the time of all those enquiring men, dusky Egypt still retained a shred of the old truth, and held a theory that may be briefly but substantially described, as making the sun central to some

of the planets, but not to others. That prince and scholar, Archimedes, pride of Syracuse, accepted the hypothesis of the revolution of the earth around the sun; and he invented a sphere representing the motions of the stars. Aristarchus, too, thought the idea a good one; but, for even admitting only so much, Cleanthes of Assos denounced him as impious. Hipparchus, of Bithynia, nevertheless, admitted the same hypothesis, notwithstanding the alleged impiety waiting on the supposition. In short, the idea floated painfully through many a philosophical and inquiring mind; but there was neither learning enough, nor helps to learning, to fix it; and for want of a better theory, Ptolemy of Alexandria, some seventeen hundred years ago, contrived to make the world accept one of his own. The well-intentioned old mathematician of Pelusium dogmatically fixed the earth in the centre of the universe, and made everything move around it in twenty-four hours; the moon leading the way, then Mercury, Venus, and the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars. Above all, he placed the first and second crystalline heavens, and his stupendously unintelligible *primum mobile*.

This was trying to make systems agree with sense, and pronouncing that things *were* so because they *seemed* so. The senses misled those who trusted to them accordingly; and, for something like fourteen hundred years, man submitted to be misled, or failed to struggle successfully against it. The remark of the puzzled Alphonso, King of Castille, to the effect that, had he been the Creator of the universe, he could have accomplished something more harmonious, was not intended to be profane. Such a remark sounded like profanity, however, in the ear of Copernicus. He, at once, came to the healthy conclusion,—that man, and not God, was wrong. All *was* perplexing, and unintelligible, and contradictory in the heavens, as men described them. The description, therefore, was erroneous; and *he* would

humbly, but with his whole soul, go in search of the truth. He had to think deeply of absolute, relative, and apparent motion, before ever *he* began to see that the fixed stars were not contained in one concave sphere, and that the *primum mobile* was not beyond it, with the empyreal heavens, abode of the blessed, and cubic in form, in the distance, still more remote! So said the followers of the old Egyptians; but there was a pupil of the older Egyptians who had declared something far more consonant to the ideas of Copernicus centuries before; and, to study this acquired wisdom of Pythagoras, Copernicus now devoted himself with prayerful zeal.

Before the character of Pythagoras can be properly appreciated, we must find a biographer who can decisively separate myth from reality. I do not pretend to do this. If we take both, indeed, there appears as much folly as wisdom in the character of this teacher—with a touch of knavery to boot. But, even in this mixture, there is no leaven of impiety. Pythagoras, were he as absurd as in some things tradition has described him, was eminently pure, both by precept and example; and he inculcated the practice of purity, both in word and deed, at a time when Roman female society was so *impure* that, because one wife was found who respected virtue more than life, she was raised to the rank of a canonised saint of history, and elevated for worship, as “the chaste Lucretia.”

An attempt has been made to show that Pythagoras was a Hindoo, and that his name was but the Hellenized version of Buddha Gooroos. He assuredly taught something of the Buddhist learning; but there is no reason to doubt his Samian birth, his noble descent, or his excellent training of body and mind. At eighteen he was one of the best wrestlers and most elegant scholars in Greece.

There is much that is agreeable to us in the tradition

that in his early years he travelled,—we may fancy, over the earth,—in search of religious knowledge. His noble spirit was restless under the unclean yoke of the theology of his days. From the Druids of Gaul to the altars of Egypt and the temples of India, he is said to have wandered, learning all he could by the way on the subject of the gods and the immortality of the soul. When he reappeared among his countrymen, he was publicly hailed by them as the “Wise Man” or “Sophist.” He modestly put aside the title, and adopted in its place that of “Lover of Wisdom;” and he was the first man who wore this appellation under its now familiar form of “Philosopher.”

The intellectual wanderer established himself in the dissolute city of Crotona. The gay inhabitants may have congratulated themselves, at first, on possessing amongst them so admirable a musician. But, to use a homely illustration, they little knew to what tune the minstrel would make them dance. Among the inhabitants he must have found some weary of profligate life; and, beginning with these, he founded a sect which became, for a season, the wonder and envy of the world; and Crotona was less proud of Milo the athlete than of Pythagoras his master. The whole city was reformed by his preaching. Pythagoras taught them, as well as he was enabled, to fix their minds on the highest things. His instruction may have been imperfect. He himself prayed at the altars of the gods; but his doctrine of the immortality of the soul was a prominent feature of his teaching. His denunciation of vice, in man or woman, was so effective that, in an incredibly short space of time, Crotona was celebrated as the dwelling place of all the virtues. Allowing for some exaggeration, the effect was, no doubt, unexampled. The drunken became temperate; the avaricious, liberal; the hard-hearted, sympathising; the men of violence, gentle; the women, worthy of their name and

mission ; and the missionary had good reason to be satisfied with his work. The sect spread rapidly ; but not all its members were of the initiated. These, as is well known, had to observe a two years' silence ere they could belong to the council of "the Master." An infringement of the rule extended the term to five years ; and a more excellent discipline could not have been devised to make a pupil familiar with new observances, while it forbade him to argue upon those he had promised to abandon. But of the rules of the order, of its extension, and of the political results connected with it, I am not called upon to speak. I may notice, indeed, that by their close application, the Samian was raised to the chief magistracy of the city. The intolerance of the sect, and its purely aristocratic spirit, caused its overthrow. But, even in the fall of the Pythagoreans, they effected some good. They were engaged with Crotona in a war against the Sybarites. The philosophical warriors proved that they could strike as strongly with battleaxe as with argument. They defeated their opponents, and turned the river Crathis over the site of the destroyed city of Sybaris. There was one unclean city the less on earth ; but the Pythagoreans refused to share the spoil with the democratic party among the Crotonians. A revolution ensued, and, as a political power, the sect of Pythagoras ceased to exist. The founder himself died soon after at Metapontum.

Few men have suffered more at the hands of adversaries than this Samian. Even his doctrine of the metempsychosis seems to me a struggling after a proof of life in another condition than the present. The Druids who, like Pythagoras, were not so absurd upon the questions either of astronomy or of a future state as they have been popularly represented to be, fancied they could trace the soul of man from an insect with which they were too well acquainted, to a state touching which they spoke but darkly. This, indeed, is

absurd enough; but there is in it a trace of the persevering struggle with which reason itself strives to hold on to immortality. How far Pythagoras was guilty of similar or worse absurdities, as a teacher assuming to be divine, or as a moral philosopher, I cannot say; but I strongly suspect a great portion of what is alleged to be pure invention. He has been probably as much misrepresented with respect to his theologico-astronomical system; and yet, in simple terms, it seems greatly in advance of any other system of his times. He held that the universe had been created out of chaos at the will of one powerful Being, who moved and inspired what He created, and of whose substance what he called the *souls* of mankind formed a portion. It is mere conjecture, indeed, that Pythagoras derived his philosophy from the Books attributed to Moses, and that he conversed with Ezekiel and Daniel in Babylon; but there are signs, in his system, of his having derived it from a better source than was known to many of his contemporaries. It was his maxim that wisdom was worth nothing if it did not bring man nearer to the Creator; and that such result would be effected, if man made unreserved surrender of his vices. He believed in angels, condemned images and their worship, and was accounted by his opponents a mere impious dreamer. But this dreamer was the first who demonstrated the forty-seventh proposition of the First Book of Euclid's Elements—the equality of the square of the *hypotenuse* of a right-angled triangle to the squares of its *sides*; and it was he who first declared that the sun was a great centre, around which the planets moved in elliptical orbits,—which was laughed at by some who accepted the metempsychosis.

“I thank thee, O Fortune!” exclaimed Zeno, “that thou hast compelled me to turn philosopher.” We have to be grateful to a more certain Power, that inspired Copernicus with the profession of a more absolute wisdom. The space

is wide that divides the Christian philosopher of Thorn from the pre-Christian philosopher of Samos.

At the latter end of the fourteenth century, the kingdom of Poland was, for once in its usually turbulent career, in such a condition of peace as to be able to afford an asylum to those who could not find rest or liberty in their native homes. When Ladislaus Jagellon was king, in the year 1396, a stout Bohemian crossed his own frontier, and making his way to Cracow, took up his citizenship, followed the vocation of a merchant, became easy in his circumstances, and had a son born in Cracow, who pursued the humble but useful calling of a baker. This baker married a bishop's sister, Barbe Wasselrode, sister of the Diocesan of Warmia, in 1464. Nine years subsequently, the most illustrious son of this union was born in the then Polish city of Thorn, when Casimir was king. He was the Nicholas Copernicus—or Kopernik, as the name was more correctly given—who has more lasting homage from the world than all the Jagellons and Piasts put together.

The only truly nobleman is he who achieves his nobility. Some biographers of Copernicus have sought to trace his descent from a noble source; but had they succeeded, they would not have exalted him above the height at which all men regard him. The best that can be said of his social position is, that he was the son of a baker, the grandson of a merchant, and the nephew of a Bishop. But, above all, he was Copernicus, and no device of heraldry can add rank or splendour to his starry fame.

Nations themselves have contended for a share in his renown. Since political circumstances made of the birth-place of the great astronomer a Prussian city, Germany has been meanly daring enough to describe him as a Prussian. But it has been well observed that Germany has glory enough in Kepler and Leibnitz, and need not wish to rob

Poland of her noblest son. Humboldt himself has declared that the name of Copernicus is the possession of Poland solely ; but his triumphs have added lustre to the universal world.

In his earliest school days, when he studied elementary principles at the school of St. John, he was a grave and thoughtful little scholar. He was as enquiring as he was thoughtful ; and, as Leibnitz said of the first Hanoverian Electress and her daughter Sophia Charlotte, he was not content to know the reason for a result, he would also demand the ground for the reason.

He was not above ten years of age when he lost his father. A baker's son may become a famous sculptor, as in the case of Flaxman, but the chances are not so favourable for his becoming an astronomer. At all events, the young fatherless scholar, grave, thoughtful, inquiring, seemed in his proper place when he became the ward of his uncle, and had the run of the library of the Bishop of Warmia. The good prelate was a faithful guardian and tutor ; and when Nicholas was eighteen, he sent him to the University of Cracow, there to struggle for and win his first scholastic honours.

Cracow University was then one of the most famous in the world. To it, as to the noblest and brightest shrine of learning, pilgrims resorted from the remotest nations. Its especial glory at this moment was in the person of the great Brudzewski, who occupied the chair of astronomy, and endeavoured, with what success he might, to explain and illustrate that time-honoured Ptolemaic system, which, nevertheless, gave the honest man much perplexity.

The professed object of Copernicus was to become a proficient in philosophy and medicine ; but he was more indefatigable as a student of astronomy. Under Brudzewski he studied the higher mathematics, and learned, for the

first time, with much joy, the use of the astrolabe. His assiduity was equal to his immense power of application; but he had his hours of relaxation, too, and these he passed in first studying and then practising the art of painting. He intended to travel; and ever looking far beyond the limits within which he stood, he designed to fix upon canvas all the scenes which gave most delight to the mind through the eye. He would probably have been a great painter had he fallen short of his other aspirations.

At the close of his four years of huge but happy toil at the University of Cracow, he repaired to Thorn to visit his widowed mother, and then turned his face towards Italy, and never paused on his way till he knocked at the gates of the University at Padua. "Learned Padua"—the echo of the name is all its existing glory. It boasts of nothing now but the cenotaph of Livy, and the swarms of mendicants who piously beg in the name of St. Antony.

His three years' residence at Padua was a term of uninterrupted intellectual glory, which may be said to have culminated when he was crowned for his proficiency in philosophy and medicines. But his especial love and particular zeal were all for astronomy, and the intensity of each was manifested by the ardour with which he listened to the teaching of the famous Regiomontanus. It was the period when there was that universal agitation of thought which is said to result in the discovery of truth. The mind's eye of Columbus had discerned the sphericity of the globe, and it had distinguished the western shores long before these had risen to his actual sight. The eye of Columbus, the weaver's son, was fixed upon the earth; that of Copernicus, the baker's son, had darted through the heavens. To the earth the great Admiral had (by discovery) added a fair portion; Copernicus would give a new position to the earth itself. He became possessed of the one absorbing idea;

and, with a dream-like conviction that he was destined to give a new revelation to man, he proceeded to Bologna, where he sat at the feet of Dominic Maria, of Ferrara, the most celebrated Italian mathematician of his age. Pupil and master consorted like brothers, for their tastes assimilated, and their dwelling-place may almost be said to have been among the stars. There, at least, was the abiding-place of their thoughts. They were anxious seekers after truth, for the progress of thought had rendered some of the greatest astronomers irritable at having to propound a system in which they were beginning to lose faith. The great difficulty was in establishing a system which should take the place of that which had been so long-enthroned, and had the protection of that authority which cannot err—the infallible Church.

From the garden of Dominic the two sages nightly perused the glittering page spread above their heads; and, if many nights were passed without any great end being realised, not an hour was so spent without acquiring means to accomplish that end. Copernicus was enabled to confirm his subsequently made hypothesis of parallaxes, by the calculations which he had “heaped up” in the gardens of Dominic. The latter dismissed his friend with joy; for he sent him to Rome, where, by his recommendation, Copernicus occupied the professorial chair of Astronomy, and was listened to with an enthusiasm almost too ardent in pupils of a science so profound.

Honest Copernicus! His lectures must have been wonderful things to listen to. For now, totally ceasing to comprehend the time-honoured system, and too high principled to propose to his hearers alleged facts which he did not believe, although they were supported by the authority of sages and divines, he endeavoured to turn his pupils’ thoughts to enquiry. This course excited uneasiness, adding

to that generally uncomfortable sensation of which the authorities at Rome were beginning to be conscious. Earth, heaven, and the firmament seemed heaving at the impulses of a dangerous reforming spirit. Should we be astonished, therefore, that Copernicus suddenly withdrew from Rome in the year 1502? Had he received a peremptory hint to withdraw? This has never been proved, but it appears to be exceedingly probable. The "chair of St. Peter" was then disgraced by the infamous Alexander VI; and the Pontiff who had burned Savonarola was not likely to spare an audacious Pole who was evidently disinclined to teach astronomy in a way which had satisfied the world for so many centuries.

As yet, however, Copernicus himself could only suspect, or, perhaps, feel convinced of error; but he taught nothing contrary to received facts. His fault, in the eyes of the orthodox, lay in his directing the minds of men towards inquiry.

It was because as yet he felt he could do no more that he declined the offer made to him to occupy the now vacant chair of Brudzewski at Cracow. That he would have occupied it worthily, and to his own renown, there can be no doubt. He equally declined the opportunity afforded him to become rich by practice as a physician. For philosophy and medicine he had as much respect as ever. But his whole heart, his entire love, his unreserved self, all were devoted to astronomy. To him the wide heavens were a chaos of inextricable confusion; the music of the spheres fell on his ears "like sweet bells jangling harsh and out of tune"; but he knew that if beauty and harmony had ceased to be perceptible, it was not because they were not existent, but because the ignorance of man had veiled the beauty, and, as far as ignorance *could* do so, had destroyed the harmony. Accordingly, he declined all honours and active employments,

while he besought God that the darkness which stood between him and his Creator might be removed.

Under what conditions could he more easily reach his desired object? Under none so easily, he thought, as the office of a priest. He did not consign himself to the cloister, where, for the sake of future benefit, he might be passingly useless. He desired to be beneficially employed; but in such a way as to afford ample opportunity for leisure enough to permit of his pursuing his inquiries uninterruptedly. He was ordained priest by Konerski, Bishop of Cracow; and in 1510, through the influence of his uncle, he was presented with a canonry at Frauenberg, a little town on the Haff, between Dantzic and Königsberg.

He was the most lively Canon that the Chapter had ever possessed, and he became the most popular man who had ever earned the good will of the community. He fulfilled a triple duty. He was indefatigable and exemplary as a priest; he was a charitable and efficient physician to the poor; and, when he could spare time from these avocations, he went into close study of the heavens, and became daily more convinced that the mist between the Creator and his glorious object was clearing off, and that there was in store for him such a triumph as never yet had made ecstatic the feeble heart of man.

The uninterrupted peace, however, which he expected to enjoy at Frauenberg, was not his. There was a mighty body of rulers then in Germany, who went under the name of the Teutonic Order; and who seemed bent upon nothing so much as appropriating to their own use the property which belonged to others. Their spirit of aggression reached the territory of Frauenberg, which they loved so well that they would fain have kept it. This spirit was stoutly resisted by Copernicus; and he, in his turn, was accused of every species of infamy by his opponents. His uncle, by protesting

against such charges, procured for his nephew some degree of tranquility; and, from 1502 to 1507, the baker's son pursued the train of thought which was to end by dethroning the earth, and giving to the sun the central place within our solar system.

This amazing task was accomplished only by painful gradation. Many a wide waste of thought had to be retraversed, when the object pursued eluded the pursuer; many a weary calculation was re-constructed in order to attain a desired result; many an epistolary conference with learned friends was held; and many an hour was snatched from sleep, ere Copernicus was satisfied that the goal was in view; and that he, humble man, was to be honoured as a revealer of God to disclose the harmony, unity, and beauty, of the sidereal system to the world.

Let it be remembered, too, with what poor, and seemingly inefficient means, this great end was achieved. The Middleburg optician had not yet invented the telescope, bestowing a far-seeing eye, which enables mortals to penetrate the infinite depths of space. The laws which regulate the pendulum were not yet known. Copernicus stood gazing at the heavens, with nothing in his hand but a rude parallax instrument, consisting of three pieces of wood, looking a mere child's toy, but to him the wand wherewith he made the whole universe to change in the astonished gaze of man. As he waved it, the earth descended from its usurped eminence; the sun assumed its rightful place. The former, ceasing to be inert, started upon its revolving race; the sun, checked in its career, ceased to pursue the circle round which it had so long been driven by the Ptolemaic astronomers, and became grandly still; while the planets, in newly recognised harmony, and in rare simplicity, revolved around the glowing common centre. But not yet, not suddenly, was all this triumph accomplished; nor was its accomplish-

ment at last effected without some attendant error. But the miracle is, not that there was so great a truth revealed, but that it was presented with so little fault. As a Polish biographer says of him: "He planned the edifice and left others to count the stones."

Convinced now of the position and motion of the earth, he scanned only the more eagerly, with eyes and mind, the opening heavens before him. By patient but uninterrupted degrees, he revolutionised the whole Ptolemaic system. Now, he was making observations on lunar eclipses; anon, marking the place and orbit of Mars. From these tasks, the work of years, he turned to address himself to observations on the autumnal and vernal equinoxes. In 1520 he had fixed the places of Jupiter and Saturn; and, after two years more of thought and labour, he completed his great and imperishable treatise, the *De Orbium Cælestium Revolutionibus*; but having finished this important work he put it by. It was not that he doubted his own conclusions; but rather that he feared the misconstruction of the world, perhaps the hostility of the Church; and it may be, that he had a modest doubt, not of the end which he had reached, but of some of the means by which he had arrived at it.

While his manuscript rested within his desk, the priestly author resumed, or continued, his activity of life. Although the greatest of philosophers, he was also one of the most practically useful of men: a union which is not always to be found in the same person. He was thoroughly a man of business. Had he been Archimedes, the enemy would not have found him at his books when the town was burning, but working some military engine which he had invented or improved. Nothing can be more erroneous than the idea of Copernicus immured in his study, and permanently contemplating the heavens through a hole in the roof. He was selected by his Chapter to represent the College of Canons at

the Diet of Grudziowz ; and bishops intrusted to him the administration of their diocesan revenues. He was the most acute-eyed of stewards ; and detecting the Teutonic Order in an attempt, momentarily successful, to get unlawful possession of some Church lands, he attacked them through a process of law with such vigour that they were compelled to make restitution. He did not regret this victory, even when it was followed by such malicious persecution that he was compelled to surrender the office of administrator.

He was indefatigable at the Diet, where, perhaps, his most useful labours were directed to a dry, but most important question of currency, which he handled with the dexterity of a man whose whole life had been devoted solely to the study of matters of finance. Locke and Newton were once similarly engaged. In the case of Copernicus, his success was not equal to the credit he gained in the attempt to achieve it. Cities privileged to mint coin had inundated Germany and Poland with base money. The philosopher's simple plan was to withdraw such privilege, and to establish one or two mints under jealous and efficient supervision. The holders of vested interests, of course, clamoured. The philosopher was silenced, and prince and potentate, as before, passed their washed copper as pure silver coin.

The treatise in which Copernicus developed his project is still, I believe, in the library at Königsberg ; and though it is *now* seldom, perhaps never, read, yet a tradition has come down to us from the editors who incorporated it in the works of the great astronomer, whereby we learn that it gave a lucid history of money ; exhibited a profound political, and wonderful general knowledge ; was argumentative and philosophical ; and was marked by a strongly suggested (rather than pronounced) feeling in favour of the people, who suffered not only from the baseness of the coin, but also from the arbitrary value affixed to it by the powerful coiners.

It is impossible to say whether it was because of this especial service rendered in the matter of the monetary question, or because of the merit of Copernicus generally; but the Polish King Sigismund was so ready to reward such service and merit that, although he could not make of this priestly astronomer a bishop, he ordered him to be placed in the list of four candidates from which the highest ecclesiastical authority was to select a prelate.

He had greater honour conferred on him by the learned. These, among whom his opinions were widely circulating, with conviction of their truth, spoke of him as the "New Ptolemy." Had the Pope thought of him as an improved Ptolemy, the astronomer would, probably, not have been invited by Rome to take part in the reformation of the Calendar. But who was more suited to such a task than he who had demonstrated the increase and decrease of the solar year, and had proved that the length of year was greater than it had been declared to be by Ptolemy, and less than it had been pronounced by Albategnius? He accordingly sent his Tables to Rome, and the astronomers there liberally profited by these imported results of his investigations.

Meanwhile, his *Revolutions* were still silent and motionless. Something like fear must have rested upon the author's mind. But the new prophet was encouraged by the accession of many a follower. Professors descended from their chairs to study in rapt humility at his feet; and soon a whisper went from them and spread abroad over the world, implying that Copernicus was the divinely inspired interpreter of a new and glorious truth.

But he was modest withal; and, in the praise showered down upon him, he would allow no mixture of censure upon the great Ptolemy. The latter, he said, was the first of mathematicians; and that in the age of Ptolemy it was impossible that the world should produce a greater. All

that had since been effected, argued the liberal Copernicus, was but a step made upward by means of that already planted by Ptolemy: an effect of the natural progress of human thought and knowledge, pursuing its way in spite of censure and obstacles. He himself was still aiding that progress in one of its paths, while his manuscript, proving how miraculously he had illustrated it in another path, was sleeping in his desk, or was timidly exhibited only to the initiated. His volume *De Lateribus et Angulis Triangulorum*, published in 1552, proves that spherical trigonometry owes to him its greatest and most valuable development.

Of the learned disciples of Copernicus, none was more celebrated; none acquired greater honour for himself, none was of more assistance to the renowned Pole, than George Joachim Rhœticus, the young Professor of Mathematics at Wurtemberg. He was among the first to be convinced that Copernicus had discovered a great truth; and, in doing the discoverer justice, he did not fail to render the same meed to similar searchers into the astronomical system. Rhœticus, in comparing his master with Regiomontanus, accounted the latter as the less lucky of the two, simply, as he remarked, because he had not lived long enough to rear the lofty columns he had constructed. But it was God's good will, he said, to intrust the sceptre of astronomy to Copernicus, deeming him alone worthy to restore, explain, and develop what Divinity had established.

When Rhœticus spread abroad the discovery asserted by Copernicus, the world did not, however, pay the latter the compliment of declaring that he had worked out to perfection the conjectures and essays of other men. The wise few, indeed, waited ere they pronounced; but, generally, the people, appealing to what cannot be trusted, the evidence of the senses, loudly ridiculed the idea that the earth which they beheld and felt, firm and fixedly set, immovable, and

the centre of the system, was really careering at a rate which made them breathless to think of, round a stationary sun, which they every minute saw in motion. As for the monks, especially those attached to the Teutonic Order, they hired strolling actors and buffoons to be merry themselves, and to make men merry, at the profane suggestion of the wretched dunce, Copernicus. Good-natured friends imparted to Nicholas the sounds of the popular criticism; but he only calmly answered, *Nunquam volui populo placere; nam quæ ego scio; non probat populus; quæ probat populus, ego nescio*. It was the reply of a philosopher, conscious of his strength, and caring less for the popular criticism than he really did for the people.

This affection and sympathy were ever in activity. Lady Bountiful was never more useful in her village than he in his locality. Human suffering drew him away at once from the remotest recesses of the starry heavens to relieve the anguish of a brother on earth. In medical practice he was, indeed, so successful that physicians most eminent consulted him on questions of delicacy and difficulty connected with their divine art.

But his aim was not merely to relieve effects, but to remove causes. One of the causes of the ill-health prevailing at Frauenberg was itself the effect of a scarcity of water. The town is built on a hill, and the people were compelled to go for the water they needed to the river Bauda, a mile and a half distant. Copernicus, by a simple contrivance, the construction of sluices, brought the water to the very foot of the hill. There, procuring sufficient power to turn a mill, he made it, as it were, raise itself to the height of the steeple in the town above. The grateful people engraved his name upon the machine by which this result was effected. If they saw little greatness in the man who affected to place and displace the stars at his will, they

recognised a practical greatness in the public benefactor who saved them trouble by filling their cisterns.

To this water work may be owing the grand display which enchants the visitors at Versailles; for the famous *Machine de Marly* is said to have been constructed, by order of Louis XIV, from the hint conveyed by that built by Copernicus at Frauenberg. And thus,—so strangely are men and things connected in this world,—the innkeepers of Versailles are, at this day, indebted to Copernicus for half the guests who fill their gay rooms.

It was a wise counsel that suggested to the timid Copernicus the propriety of publishing his celebrated treatise. In the course of his calculations he had been encouraged by Gisius, Archbishop of Culm; and now the Archbishop and the Cardinal of Capua, jointly and severally, urged upon him to deliver his work to the world. Other friends and patrons similarly urged him; and they sought to move his reluctant spirit by intimating that the more the idea of the motion of the earth *now* seemed absurd, the more the author of such an assertion would be admired when he had proved the assertion to be unassailable, and had established the fact.

At length he placed his manuscript in the hands of the Archbishop, and with it an introductory Epistle addressed to Pope Paul III by way of apology, or authority, for having made such a work public. He could have been content, he says, to have gone on making only oral communications to the learned of what he had effected, after the manner of the Pythagoreans, who only imparted the mysteries of science to instructed adepts, and not to an unskilled multitude, unable to comprehend, and ever ready to misrepresent; but, he adds, holy churchmen had been his advisers in this matter, and, therefore, his work was published, with the submission of the author to the wisdom, and his hope of the approval, of the Church.

The Archbishop of Culm transmitted the manuscript to Rhæticus, then in Saxony, with strict injunctions as to holding the deposit sacred, and looking to the correctness of the proofs. Rhæticus hastened with the inestimable treasure to Nuremberg, where resided the scholars Schoner and Osiander, who shared with him the office of editor, and revised the proofs. To this task the author himself was now unequal; he lay helpless on a sick bed at Frauenberg, while his stronger friends watched the press in distant Nuremberg.

The spirit of timidity was not confined to Copernicus. Osiander was himself so alarmed at the conclusions in the volume that he even apologised for them. His apology is too long for extract, but his purport was in this wise. He anticipated the astonishment of the wisest men, he said, at the results asserted by the author of the volume; men who very properly thought that the well recognised basis of established sciences ought not to be shaken. Nevertheless, he deprecated censure against Copernicus. The latter had only observed the stars, and noted down what he believed he had observed. He had seen circumstances there for which he had sought the causes. He had imagined such hypothetical causes as had occurred to him. If he could not discover the true reasons, he might be permitted, perhaps, to suppose those which best fitted themselves to his calculations. There was so much the eye beheld for which the mind could not account. Astronomical doctrine was itself, he insinuated, a mass of contradictory absurdities, and poor astronomers must do the best with them that they could.

Thus humbly, cap in hand, as it were, Copernicus was made to stand asking pardon, and apologising for having first revealed to men the starry system as the Almighty had created it, and for having elicited unity and harmony where before there were universal confusion and discord.

Meanwhile, Copernicus himself, fearing that he might be internally guilty of heresy, and convinced that he would be regarded as a heretic, was thrown into a painful sickness. Messengers were despatched from the printing-office to carry the printed sheets safely into his hands, for jealousy tracked his doings, and the voice of enmity had been heard muttering, as the prelude to a storm. "May God have pity on us!" wrote the Archbishop of Culm, "and avert the blow which now threatens thee! Thine enemies and thy rivals combined—those that charge thee with folly, and those that accuse thee of heresy—have been so successful in exciting the minds of the people of Nuremberg against thee, that men curse thy name in the streets; the priests excommunicate thee from the pulpits; and the University, hearing that thy book was to appear, has declared its intention to break the printing-press of the publisher, and to destroy the work to which thy life has been devoted. Come and allay the tempest; come quickly, or thou shalt be too late!" The threatened riot assumed a most formidable aspect. Thrice an attempt was made to enter the premises, and once the power of fire was tried. The printers worked with pistols at hand, and the friends of the Archbishop, of Rheticus, and of Copernicus, kept watch and ward by day and night. The manuscripts of the book were stolen by a compositor from the office, and the leaves were burnt in the public market place. As day by day the knowledge of all these doings reached the ears of Copernicus, his mind became more and more subjected to excitement, and his anxiety became intense. Alas! too intense, as the issue proved! He received notice that in three days more a messenger would be sent with the finished volume. His frame, already strung to the highest pitch, yielded; he burst a blood-vessel; paralysis succeeded, and memory and life began to fail. In the indescribable

agony of this uncertainty, which had unnerved his frame and almost overwhelmed his mind, he lay nursing hope even in the embraces of despair. And yet the ominous words, "too late," would keep sounding in his ears, and booming through all the avenues of thought. Life began silently and stealthily to ebb away. The torpor of death was closing the gateways to the palace of the soul, when, suddenly, sounds were heard—the rapid tramp of a horse's hoofs brought a strange sensation to the half-shut ear. It stopped: it was the messenger from Nuremberg! He dismounted, hastened in: the eye of Copernicus sparkled with renewed life, the cheek flushed, the pulses of his heart revived. He raised himself slowly, grasped the precious volume, touched "the great legacy he was to bequeath to mankind," turned his ardent gaze on its still damp pages, and smiled. The hour was come. The book fell from his hands: "the common safeguard against oppression" was *here*; a faint voice rose on the quietude of the sickroom: "Lord, *now* let thy servant depart in peace." Copernicus rested from his labours in the kindly care of death. It was the 23rd of May, 1543. The evening of the 22nd had passed away, and taken her stars with her, the morning of the 23rd had brought the rising sun and the glory of a new day; but before the shadows again fell, Copernicus had gone to yield up his account to the Ruler of that creation whose mysteries, while acknowledging their inscrutability, he had attempted in part to know, to interpret, and to describe.

It would be an impertinence to this audience to describe the system of Copernicus, and to state the facts and arguments by which it is established as the true system of the universe. My purpose has been to trace the career of Copernicus in fuller detail than has yet been done, I believe, in any English treatise.

The death of Copernicus was unmarked by the world

generally; a circle of friends and scholars, who recognised the majesty of his intellect, and loved him for his individual worth, alone honoured the memory of the man whose decease they deplored. The hour of his great fame and the season for statues had not yet arrived. A humble stone over his grave among the Canons of Warmia bore an inscription worthy of the unpretending man. "I ask not," it said, "for the grace accorded to Paul, nor demand that which was given to Peter. I only implore the pardon which thou didst not refuse to the thief on the cross." Thirty years after, the then Bishop of Warmia (Kromer) set aside this stone, and raised another, on which there was an inscription which said as much about Martin Kromer as about Nicholas Copernicus.

Early in the present century, Czacki, the historian, and Molski, the poet, made a pilgrimage to Warmia. They found the dwelling-place of the astronomer occupied by a Lutheran pastor. Some relics of the great man had only recently perished. A copy of verses, written with his own hand, and pasted by him over the chimney piece, had but lately disappeared; and an oval opening above the door, which Copernicus had made use of as an astronomical gnomon, had been filled up. The neighbouring tower, which had been employed as an observatory, had been converted by the Prussian Government into a prison for criminals. The sepulchral stone which marked the resting-place of the philosopher had nearly lost all trace of its original inscription. A few letters of the name, and of another word or two, were all that remained. The grave itself was not held sacred by these explorers. They had it opened, and, says the historian, "we discovered nothing but a few scattered and decayed bones. The Chapter retained a sixth part of the mortal remains of Copernicus, and we carried off the rest, with a certificate in due form, signed by the chief

Prelates of the Chapter. We forwarded to the Church of Pulawry (belonging to Prince Czartoryski) a third of these precious relics, and we kept two-thirds for the Society." These gentlemen, who fancied they honoured the illustrious dead by thus despoiling his tomb, were commissioned by the Society of the Friends of Science at Warsaw.

The first Emperor Napoleon visited the room in which Copernicus was born. The Emperor bowed at the shrine of the philosopher, and committed a robbery as he went away. His Imperial Majesty carried off with him a portrait which had long been the most highly prized ornament on the humble walls. It was placed in the Louvre, in 1807; but let us do Napoleon all justice,—he surrendered it, at the urgent request of the compatriots of the astronomer. Some carvings in wood and some wood-engravings were still preserved as evidences of the handiwork and recreation of Nicholas; it was a recreation that did not distract thought. It is further said by travellers that every successive occupant of the house in which the philosopher was born has left his portrait on the walls, proud of having been permitted to reside under a roof so ennobled. Thirty years ago the building was in decay, and it would be interesting to know whether it still exists. It is to Napoleon that is owing the restoration of the fountain in front of the house, and of some of the various monuments which have been raised in memory of the astronomer. The inscription in front of the tomb at Frauenberg has, however, been nearly obliterated beneath the feet of those who pass over it.

The observatory of the tower of the philosopher is still an object of curiosity and veneration. The watching-point of the astronomer was a mere garret in a high brick-building, shaken by every vehicle which moved near it. But as Colonel Szyrma observes, it is the oldest astronomical observatory in Europe. Here the first instrument

was set on the meridian, there having previously "been no regular observatories in Europe; the next was erected at Cassell, in 1561." It was here that, with rude means, Copernicus overthrew all the systems that had been raised, from Hipparchus to Ptolemy, and restored the respect that was due to the name and merits of Pythagoras.

The Poles did themselves honour when they resolved to erect a bronze statue to their great countryman, in 1890. The Russian authorities demanded a copy of the inaugural oration intended to be delivered on the occasion; but Niemcewicz, the poet-orator, dropped it into the fire, and then declared that he should speak, and not read, his oration. To an attentive audience he delivered a noble speech; and when the work of Thorwaldsen was uncovered, every head was bent for a moment, as if in humility before the gigantic mind that had established a gigantic truth. The sage is represented as seated; his right hand holds a compass, with which he is pointing to a sphere in his left hand. "A grateful country to Nicholas Copernicus," is the simple yet ample inscription.

Tradition tells us that Copernicus was taciturn in society, as several great thinkers have been; but he was active in speech and deed when duty required it. He was slow to make friendships, but sure in maintaining them, and his discoveries only rendered him the more unpretending in the presence of his fellowmen. He was quick in replying to objections, and his answers were sometimes prophetic in their application. "Your theory must be false," said some of these disputants to him on one occasion; "for the phases of Venus and Mercury do not appear. If Venus and Mercury revolved in an orbit around the sun, and *we* revolved in a wider circle, we should see them sometimes full, sometimes increasing and decreasing." "And that is precisely what happens," said Copernicus; "and so you will see whenever

helps to sight are discovered for us." And, fifty years later, his words were confirmed by means of the newly-invented telescope. On being reproached for not having entered into details, he remarked that "the herdsman in Æsop, by running after some birds, not only did not catch them, but lost his cow into the bargain."

The famous astronomical clock which was once the glory of Strasburg, may be said to be, if not the work of Copernicus, at least one achieved in honour of his name. Just after the Church had condemned his follower, Galileo, the Strasburghers set up this astronomical clock, shewing the sidereal movements as laid down by Copernicus. The University of Strasburg did itself honour by this exercise of honest daring.

Rome herself, so forward to condemn the astronomer, and so eager to repeat the condemnation,—denouncing him, his theory, and his books, as in antagonism against Heaven and Scripture,—has rescinded her own sentence. The advocates of Rome assert, indeed, that the condemnation of Copernicus by the "Congregation" was never authorised, as the sentence was never signed, by a Pope. But this is mere special pleading. *Qui facit per alium facit per se* is here especially applicable. And besides, if a Pope had never fulminated a sentence against Copernicus, why was his justification considered necessary? There assuredly was a Papal excommunication of the astronomer, the alleged ground of which was the publication of his system of the heavens. The proof of this is, that the excommunication was quietly revoked in the year 1820; and now Rome permits the world to believe that the earth *has* a revolution round the sun! Thus, too, is Galileo made to triumph,—punished as he was for his assertion, *E pur si muove!* So may Truth ever have her triumph!

BROWNING'S VIEW OF THE SHADOWS AND MINOR KEYS OF LIFE.

By H. LONGUET HIGGINS.

IN one of the most striking visions recorded in the Old Testament, the prophet Ezekiel is carried to a valley that was full of bones, very many, and very dry. In response to the enquiry, "Can these bones live?" there was a great shaking, and the bones came together, "bone to his bone," and were clothed with flesh. But there was no Life in them till the breath was called from the four winds of heaven and breathed upon them, and lo, they stood up upon their feet—an exceeding great army.

We now stand in the broad valley of Modern Knowledge, full of the bones of facts collected by Science, very many, and—to the heart of man—very dry. We too, like Socrates, make anxious enquiry of those who profess to be wise, and we too ask, "Can these bones *live*?" Philosophers, such as Herbert Spencer, group the facts into systems, and thus, as it were, clothe them with flesh, and fit them to be the abode of Life. But the living element, the breath of Life, can only be breathed into them by Poetry, a word which I employ in its widest sense, as including all literature, whether in prose or verse, expressing, or tending to produce, noble thought or emotion. For Poetry, as Wordsworth finely said, is "the *breath* or finer spirit of all knowledge, the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science."

We are assured by Matthew Arnold that "more and more, as the years roll on, mankind will discover that we have to

turn to Poetry to interpret life for us ; to console us, and to sustain us." And it is noteworthy that whilst Browning wrote in the light of modern science, and the doctrine of Evolution—both of which are optimistic in their teachings—he "at least believed in soul, was very sure of God." †

Each of us can see but a little portion of Browning's teaching, and the present short paper must necessarily be incomplete without that which is immediately to follow it. For it is not mine to speak of what this great thinker has told us respecting the sunshine of Life and its crowning prize of Love—the diamond keystone of the bright arch of his teaching,—of his joy in life as such :

How good is man's life, the mere living ! how fit to employ
All the heart and the soul and the senses in joy ! ‡

or of his tender feeling towards all that has life and breath :

God made all the creatures and gave them our love and
our fear,
To give sign, we and they are his children, one family here.§

Nor is it mine to tell, last and best, of Browning's unshaken belief in a future when "joy shall overtake us as a flood," and in a glorious destiny for Man :

If not on the homely earth,
Then yonder, worlds away,
Where the strange and new have birth
And Power comes full in play. ¶

But mine it is to endeavour to indicate the nature of Browning's view of the Shadow and mystery from which, for a brief space, our life emerges ; of Pain and Sorrow, Imperfection and Failure,—the cloud-shadows that flit across the sunlit landscape of life. And I shall attempt to compare

* *Essays in Criticism* (2nd series), p. 2. † *La Saisiaz*. ‡ *Saul*. § *Ibid.*
¶ *Asolando*, pp. 141, 155.

his teaching on these subjects with that of one or two other great thinkers of our day, whose intellectual influence on this generation is unquestionable.

How refreshing it is to turn from the somewhat gloomy philosophy of Carlyle* to the bright views and true helpfulness of Browning! For Failure, according to Browning, is both the evidence and the promise of future attainment, Imperfection the necessary condition of growth, Error the means by which we must arrive at Truth, and Sorrow and suffering the moral training through which alone man can attain to his highest life.

First, let us see if we can discover any self-revelation of the mental nature of the "seeker after God," whose "guesses at truth" we are about to consider. Yes, Browning himself, in his earliest poem, gives us a deeply interesting piece of self-description :

I am made up of an intensest life,
Of a most clear idea of consciousness
Of self, distinct from all its qualities,
From all affections, passions, feelings, powers ;
And thus far it exists, if tracked, in all :
But linked, in me, to self-supremacy,
Existing as a centre to all things,
Most potent to create and rule and call
Upon all things to minister to it ;
And to a principle of restlessness
Which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel, all—
This is myself ; and I should thus have been
Though gifted lower than the meanest soul.†

And in the same poem we see the dawn of the poet's bright view of the sorrows of life :—

* Browning's view of Carlyle's philosophy may be found in the "Parleying" with Bernard de Mandeville.

† *Pauline*, p. 14 (new edition.)

Thou wilt remember one warm morn when winter
 Crept aged from the earth, and spring's first breath
 Blew soft from the moist hills ; the black-thorn boughs,
 So dark in the bare wood, when glistening
 In the sunshine were white with coming buds,
Like the bright side of a sorrow, and the banks
 Had violets opening from sleep like eyes.

In his next work, *Paracelsus*, published when Browning was but twenty-three, his life-teaching respecting failure and evil is distinctly foreshadowed. The youthful poet had already looked with tender sympathy upon the pathos of human life and its sorrows, and had learned :

To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,
 To know even hate is but a mask of love's.
 To see a good in evil, and a hope
 In ill-success ; to sympathise, be proud
 Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim
 Struggles for truth, their poorest fallacies,
 Their prejudice and fears and cares and doubts ;
 All with a touch of nobleness, despite
 Their error, upward tending all though weak.

Browning's Teaching Drawn from Light, Colour, and Shadow.—The increased attention given to Nature in modern times, and the results of modern science, of which Browning was an earnest student, are reflected in his writings. Browning draws much of his teaching from the phenomena of light, shadow, and colour. His chief interest being in the study of the development of the individual soul,* he frequently refers to the effect produced upon the white light of Truth by the prism of the human mind, by which we obtain the spectrum of the soul. And we find him often alluding to the beauty of the "bow born of the storm-cloud,"—the arch of promise, bright and tremulous

* Preface to *Sordello*.

with the glowing beauty of colour,—which marks the passage from shadow and storm to sunshine and the “clear shining after rain.” “Look upon the rainbow,” said one in the old time before us, “and praise Him that made it—very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof. It compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hands of the Most High have bended it.”* Here, indeed, was at least true appreciation of the splendour of light. But it was reserved for modern times to fully appreciate and to explain the *colours* of the rainbow, and for Browning to draw the deepest lessons we may learn from them. Browning knew, for science has told us, that even Light is in itself absolutely invisible, and cannot be seen but where its rays are obstructed by matter. But for the motes we could have no sunbeam.

It is here that we have the keynote of Browning's teaching respecting difficulties and hindrances. In the following short poem he tells us that only through the interference of the prism do we discover the lovely secret of the sunbeam in the soft iridescence of the spectrum :—

DEAF AND DUMB.—*A Group by Woolner.*

Only the prism's obstruction shows aright
 The secret of a sunbeam, breaks its light
 Into the jewelled bow from blankest white ;
 So may a glory from defect arise :
 Only by Deafness may the vexed Love wreak
 Its insuppressive sense on brow and cheek ;
 Only by Dumbness adequately speak
 As favoured mouth could never, through the eyes.

In these lines, addressed to a sculptured group, we have one of the poet's crowning lessons of life—the glory of defect, the power arising from limitation ; and his deep feeling for

* The apocryphal book *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. xlii. Compare Ezek. i, 28.

the pathos of the eloquence which can speak only through the eyes.

So, too, the prism of the human mind breaks up the white light of Truth into a band of many colours; but the stronger rays, which fall upon the intellectual powers of man, and which we call Science, dazzle us, and render us incapable of rightly perceiving the softer and variegated beams. In our haste to conclude that there can be no higher truth than that which appeals to the intellect, we forget that even Science as yet sees but as through a glass darkly, whatever her pretensions may be. We forget, too, the need of partial light for the revelation of the highest beauty and truth. For light conceals as well as reveals; darkness reveals as well as conceals. Think of what we learn from the *dark* lines in the spectrum! But for the soft decrease and increase of the light of day we should never see the beauty which the sun's last rays are spent in creating, or the "orient pearl" of the hour when the morning breaks and the shadows flee away. "To me," says Pomilia, speaking of the close of life,

To me at least was never evening yet
But seemed far beautifuller than its day.*

But for the tender grey of the twilight we should never see the trembling radiance of the single star-diamond which Evening wears on her breast. But for the darkness of Night and the "silence of the sleep time"† what should we know of the clustered constellations of the starry universe, that wonderful city of God in which our tents of a night are pitched? We then feel the eloquence of "the silence that is in the starry sky," and of the teaching of Darkness and Shadow. Not "at noonday in the bustle of man's work-time,"‡ but on a grassy bank on which the moonlight sleeps,

* *The Ring and the Book.* † *Asolando*, p. 156. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

does Lorenzo talk with Jessica of the heavenly music which human ear hath not heard. Thus, too, soft stillness and the night become the study of the sweet harmony in which the shadows and mystery of life have their necessary part, according to the view of Browning,—the Shakespeare of our century. With how gentle and loving, and yet how firm a hand he leads us through this cloudy region! Perhaps no poet has shown us so well how necessary to beauty and completeness of harmony both in music, and in the music of life, are the minor keys—the discords followed by concords, the suspensions—doubts are such—the rests, the imperfect cadences and closes—death is one of these—and lastly, the lovely sudden enharmonic changes by which, even while we knew it not, minor melts into major, sorrow into joy, doubt becomes assurance, and admiration or sympathy are kindled by a word, a look, or a touch, into a love over which time and death have no power.

II.—SHADOW AND STORM.

Shadow in Nature and Art.—One of the most helpful portions of Browning's view of life is that from which we learn how needful to man are the Shadows of life. To realise this, let us glance for a moment at Nature, and her mirror, Art. Take away from mountain scenery the mystery and beauty of shadow and gloom, and you take away at once, not only half the majesty and glory of the mountains, but also most of the impressiveness of their teaching. Ruskin has well called them the great schools and cathedrals of the human race: "full of treasures of illuminated manuscript for the scholar, kindly in simple lessons for the worker, quiet in pale cloisters for the thinker, glorious in holiness for the worshipper . . . with their gates of rock, pavements of cloud, choirs of stream and stone, altars of snow, and vaults of purple traversed by the

continual stars."* The frown on their fronts tells of the storms of untold centuries, and of how in ages past they have been upheaved and rent by earthquake and cataclysm, till, seen from above, one could fancy that, in the morning of time, a tempest-tossed ocean had been suddenly changed to rock and stone, to cliff and scar. Yet the tender violet and oxalis nestle in the dark crevices where the shadows of centuries are sleeping, and "mosses and lichens lay quiet finger on the trembling stones, to teach them rest."†

So, too, in Architecture, which is frozen poetry and music, we know that much of the majesty of a cathedral arises from the right disposition of shade, of dimness suggestive and emblematic of mystery, of things never to be seen completely by man.

And the same is the case with Music—Browning's most loved art, of which he speaks as being an

. earnest of a heaven,
Seeing we know emotions strange by it
Not else to be revealed. ‡

and which the poet's emotional nature leads him to regard as the bright crown of the arts :

To perfect and consummate all,
Even as a luminous haze links star to star,
I would supply all chasms with music, breathing
Mysterious motions of the soul, no way
To be defined save in strange melodies.§

What would Music be without her minor keys, her "lesser thirds so plaintive, sixths diminished, sigh on sigh,"|| her quiet whispers of rest for the weary after the burden and

* *Modern Painters*, vol. iv, part v, chap. 20.

† *Ibid.*, vol. v, part vi, chap. 10. ‡ *Pauline*. § *Paracelsus*, part 2.

|| *A Toccata of Galuppi's*.

heat of the noon-day, and the discords that do but add sweetness to the concords into which they melt :

Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized ? *

How true this is to nature and life was long ago noticed. Lord Bacon asks, "Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet accord, alike true in affection ?" † and again, in another work—

The division and quavering, which please so much in music, have an agreement with the glittering of light, as the moonbeams playing upon a wave. Again, the falling from a discord to a concord, which maketh great sweetness in music, hath an agreement with the affections, which are reintegrated to the better after some dislikes. ‡

Each art, indeed, owes its greatness and beauty to its being a faithful mirror of Nature, and of our chequered life, its sorrows and joys, its tempest and calm.

THE CLOUD-SHADOWS OF LIFE.

Half the nobleness and beauty of Life itself is due to the presence of shadow and storm. "That may be so," it will be said, "but are they *needful* ?"

Browning's answer is, that Life must be taken as a whole, that Sorrow is the necessary complement of Joy, Evil of Good. Take the following, from a poem in which he views Life, as it were, from a point outside our planet :

Over the ball of it,
Peering and prying,
How I see all of it,
Life, there, outlying !
Roughness and smoothness,
Shine and defilement,
Grace and unconthness ;
One reconcilement.

* *Abt Vogler*. † *Advancement of Learning*, book ii, v, 2. ‡ *Sylva Sylvarum*.

Orbed as appointed,
 Sister with brother
 Joins, ne'er disjointed
 One from the other.
 All's lend-and-borrow
 Good, see, wants evil,
 Joy demands sorrow,
 Angel weds devil.*

Yes, "*all's* lend-and-borrow." In music, some of the most inspiring and cheering strains ever penned are written in the plaintive minor mode, while we find one of the greatest composers choosing, for his most solemn and affecting Dead March, the major key of C,—"*the C major of this life*," as Browning calls it. Let us now glance at some of the principal Cloud-Shadows of life.

Drawbacks and Hindrances.—These are but aids to progress :

Much drawback! what were earth without?
 Is this our ultimate stage, or starting-place
 To try man's foot, if it will creep or climb,
 'Mid obstacle in seeming, points that prove
 Advantage for who vaults from low to high
 And makes the stumbling-block a stepping-stone? †

We are bidden to welcome temptations and trials :

. . . . Was the trial sore?
 Temptation sharp? Thank God a second time!
 Why comes temptation but for man to meet
 And master, and make crouch beneath his foot,
 And so be pedestalled in triumph? ‡

Sin, Sorrow, and Pain.—These dread sisters are but the divinely appointed means—

. . . . to evolve,
 By new machinery in counterpart
 The moral qualities of man—how else?—

* *Piegan Sights*, i. † *The Pope*, 408-413. ‡ *Ibid.*, 1183-1187.

To make him love in turn and be beloved.
Creative and self-sacrificing too,
And thus eventually God-like.*

So, too, Rabbi Ben Ezra exclaims :

Be our joy three parts pain !
Strive, and hold cheap the strain ;
Learn, nor account the pang ; dare,
never grudge the throe !

We must " painfully attain to joy," † for
When pain ends, gain ends too.‡

Failure, its Success.—Browning thus introduces us to the idea of the Success of Failure :

For thence,—a paradox,
Which comforts while it mocks,—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail :
What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me,
A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale.§

For what men reject is that which is pleasing to God :

All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God.||

Everywhere in Browning's writings we meet with the glory and nobleness of unsatisfied aspirations, unrealised successes.

'Tis not what man Does which exalts him,
But what man Would do.¶

And again :

Life is probation and the earth no goal,
But starting-point of man, compel him strive,
Which means, in man, as good as reach the goal.**

* *The Pope*, 1878-1883.

† *Paracelsus*.

‡ *A Death in the Desert*.

§ *Rabbi Ben Ezra*.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Saul*.

** *The Pope*, 1486-1488.

In every human soul, however mean or imperfect, there lies a capacity for good, could it but be reached by Love's penetrating ray. What can be wanting to success, if every face, no matter how unbeautiful, gives evidence to some one heart that, warm below the surface,—

. . . there hides a spark of soul
Which, quickened by Love's breath, may yet pervade the whole.*

And each imperfect soul

. . . goes striving to combine
With what shall right the wrong, the under or above
The standard, supplement unloveliness by love.†

Evil.—This, with Browning, is but a word expressing the absence of good,—a mere negative, as, for example, what we call shadow and cold are not positive, but merely the greater or less absence of light and heat respectively.

The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound.‡

So also in the poet's latest work :

Yet since earth's good proved good
Incontrovertibly
Worth loving—I understood
How evil—did mind descry
Power's object to end pursued
Were haply as cloud across
Good's orb, no orb itself. §

The function and use of Evil is its moral teaching :

. . . When a soul has seen
By the means of Evil that Good is best,
And through earth and its noise, what is heaven's serene,
When our faith in the same has stood the test—

* *Fifine at the Fair*, p. 49. † *ibid.*, p. 50. ‡ *Abt Vogler*.
§ *Asolando*, p. 145.

Why, the child grown man, you burn the rod,
 The uses of labour are surely done;
 There remaineth a rest for the people of God :
 And I have had troubles enough, for one.*

Death.—The last, and the darkest and longest, of the passing cloud-shadows of life is, of course, Death.

This is the last imperfect close or cadence of life, the dark storm-cloud which we must enter when we have climbed the lofty mountain of life, and stand on the lonely summit. It is here—

. . . . where meteors shoot, clouds form,
 Lightnings are loosened—†

that lovers through life must part, and brother unclasp the hand of brother. But we lift our eyes and lo, the radiance of the heavenly arch, and above all, of its keystone of Love, is but tenfold enhanced by the extreme darkness of the cloud, and the heavenly lamp of Hope shines brightest through the gloom. "If I stoop," says the dying Paracelsus,

If I stoop
 Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud
 It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
 Close to my breast, its splendour, soon or late,
 Will pierce the gloom, I shall emerge one day.‡

In this cloud the chief transfiguration of Science by poetry and religion must take place.

Browning knew the necessity of constant Change to life and health, both physical and mental :

. . . . Rejoice that man is hurled
 From change to change unceasingly,
 His soul's wings never furled.§

And Death is but a great and *necessary* change.

* *Old Pictures in Florence*, xxii.

† *A Grammarian's Funeral*.

‡ *Paracelsus*, the closing lines. See also the noble poem entitled *Prospice*.

§ *James Lee's Wife*.

"Why should we," said Browning to a friend, "why should we not change like everything else? . . . You know as well as I that death is life, just as our daily, our momentarily dying body is none the less alive and ever recruiting new forces of existence. Without death, which is our crape-like, churchyardy word for change, for growth, there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. . . . I deny death as an end of everything. Never say of me that I am dead!"* Turn these thoughts into poetry, and we have the beautiful Prologue to *La Saisiaz*, the *In Memoriam* of Browning:

Good, to forgive;
 Best, to forget.
 Living, we fret;
 Dying, we live.
 Fretless and free,
 Soul, clap thy pinion!
 Earth have dominion,
 Body o'er thee!

Wander at will,
 Day after day—
 Wander away,
 Wandering still—
 Soul that canst soar!
 Body may slumber:
 Body shall cumber
 Soul-flight no more.

Waft of soul's wing!
 What lies above?
 Sunshine and Love,
 Skyblue and Spring!
 Body hides—where?
 Ferns of all feather,
 Mosses and heather,
 Yours be the care!

* Sharp's *Life of Browning*, p. 195.

The Philosophical Aspect of Browning's View of Failure and Evil.—If the idea of the Success of Failure is to be deemed a mere paradox, let us at all events remember that much of the highest moral teaching in all ages has been conveyed by means of seemingly paradoxical assertions, and especially in the case of the Founders of Christianity. It has been well remarked that "Browning treats obscure subjects deeply, not deep subjects obscurely," and that "lofty mountains enshroud their heads in clouds."

Then, too, Browning's view of failure, and the great problem of Evil,—his assertion of its negative character,* and of its necessity for our education in what is good,—agree remarkably with the philosophy of the late James Hinton. This truly scientific thinker held that Negatives are practically positive things to us—practical existences influencing our feelings or producing manifest effects without us. Man arrives at truth not directly, but through the teaching of failure and error.

"A poor and superficial view it is that finds mere discord and disorder in this destined interlinking of truth with error, and co-operation of disaster with achievement. Seen with a clearer eye, does it not reveal itself rather as the very mystery of life? of life which finds its basis in decay, and draws support and progress from its ceaseless interchange with death. That is the perfect order from which no element of human weakness or human error is excluded, which absorbs and turns to its own purposes all that most seems to threaten it. A truth that lives and grows through error, a success which makes failure tributary—before what obstacles shall they succumb? The progress of man's thought, the achievement of his ends, are most assured in this, that they are served by their enemies, strengthened by that which seems to undermine them.†

* This was also Kingsley's view: "Evil, as such, has no existence." *Life*, vol. ii, p. 56.

† *The Art of Thinking*, p. 193.

III.—IMPERFECTION—THE CONDITION OF GROWTH.

We know from science that imperfection is essential to growth, but for the "breath or finer spirit" of this knowledge, viz., the full apprehension of the nobleness, beauty, and hope arising from Imperfection in knowledge, art, and life, we are, I venture to think, chiefly indebted to Browning and Ruskin.

Imperfection in Knowledge.—In acknowledging the necessity for man's moral advancement that his knowledge should be partial only, Browning's teaching strongly coincides with that of Ruskin, who tells us that—

Our whole happiness and power of energetic action depend upon our being able to breathe and live in the cloud; content to see it opening here and closing there; rejoicing to catch, through the thinnest films of it, glimpses of stable and substantial things; but yet perceiving a nobleness even in the concealment, and rejoicing that the kindly veil is spread where the untempered light might have scorched us, or the infinite clearness wearied.*

There is always "a point where a noble dimness begins,"† and this applies even to Science.

Again, Ruskin speaks of Truth as—

That pillar of the earth, yet a cloudy pillar, that golden and narrow line which the very powers that lean upon it bend, which policy and prudence conceal, which kindness and courtesy modify, which courage overshadows with his shield, imagination covers with her wings, and charity dims with her tears."‡

Browning tells us that Progress is man's distinctive mark, and that man could not progress if all his doubts were at once changed to absolute certainties:

God's gift was just that man conceive of truth
And yearn to gain it, clutching at mistake,
As midway help till he reach fact indeed.§

* *Modern Painters*, vol. iv, part v., chap. v. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Seven Lamps of Architecture*—The Lamp of Truth.

§ *A Death in the Desert.*

Doubt.—This springs from partial knowledge, and is necessary to our moral welfare :

I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark. *

Surely we are here reminded of Tennyson's well known lines :

There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds. †

The following is pure Browning philosophy :

What if the breaks themselves [in knowledge] should
prove at last
The most consummate of contrivances
To train a man's eye—teach him what is faith? ‡

We need, in fact, just so much of Doubt as will break the "torpor of assurance," § and enable us to "plant a sure foot upon the sun-road." || Unquestionably :

. . . . You must mix some uncertainty
With faith, if you would have faith be. ¶

Surely such teaching as this is helpful to some of us in these latter days when the evening shadow of Doubt is falling across the western fronts of those glorious monuments of the faith and fear of nations—"those vaulted gates, trellised with close leaves, those window-labyrinths of twisted tracery and starry light, those misty masses of multitudinous pinnacle and diademed tower."** In place of these Browning pictures for us the sadness of a sceptic wandering in a

. . . . desolate fane; the arches dim,
The crumbling columns grand against the moon. ††

* Rabbi Ben Ezra. † *In Memoriam*. ‡ Bishop Blougram's *Apology*.

§ *The Pope*, line 1854. ¶ *Paracelsus*. ¶ *Easter Day*.

** Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*—The Lamp of Sacrifice.

†† *Paracelsus*.

IV.—IMPERFECTION IN ART AND LIFE.

"To banish imperfection," says Ruskin, "is to destroy expression, to check exertion, to paralyse vitality. All things are literally better, lovelier, and more beloved for the imperfections which have been divinely appointed, that the law of human life may be Effort, and the law of human judgment, Mercy." *

So Browning :

'Tis a life-long toil till our lump be leaven
The better ! what's come to perfection perishes, †

Browning's *Andrea del Sarto* is based on the need for imperfection in Art :

A man's reach should exceed his grasp
Or what's a heaven for ? All is silver-grey,
Placid and perfect with my art : the worse !

According to Ruskin, the glory of Gothic Architecture is in its noble Imperfection, and "it seems a fantastic paradox, but it is nevertheless a most important truth, that no architecture can be noble which is *not* imperfect." It must shew human weakness together with its strength. "Accurately speaking, no good work whatever can be perfect, and *the demand for perfection is always a misunderstanding of the ends of art.*" †

Musical Beauty arising from Imperfection.—I have already referred to Browning's deep love for Music, of which he has written more worthily § than perhaps any poet since Milton, whose exquisitely contrasted allusions, in his *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, to the beauty of

* *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii, ch. 6.

† *Old Pictures in Florence*.

‡ *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii, chap. 6.

§ See *A Toccata of Galuppi's*, *Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha*, *Abt Vogler*, and the "Parleying" with Charles Avison.

Music, in (as it were) light and shadow respectively, have never been equalled, to say nothing of the splendid descriptions of angelic harmonies * by that "voice whose sound was like the sea."

But I would here especially point out that the beauty due to Imperfection is nowhere more strikingly shewn than in Music.

The variety and freedom of the modern style of harmony has been attained by an ever-increasing sense of the beauty of so-called discords, and of "imperfect" intervals and harmonies. Modern ears could no longer tolerate the so-called harmony of mediæval times, when the use of only the (theoretically) most perfect intervals—the octave and fifth—was allowed. The adoption of the modern "free" or chromatic (coloured) style of harmony has thrown on to the white marble pavement of the ancient strict or "pure" style, the gorgeous dyes cast by sunshine streaming in through richly stained windows, and Music is now indeed a true mirror of human life in all its varied and ever-changing aspects. So, too, the characteristic individuality of the major and minor keys—each has its own unmistakable character and peculiar beauty—is due to the inevitable imperfection or inequality of our present so-called "equal temperament" system of tuning fixed-toned instruments.

V.—SUNLIGHT AFTER STORM: CLOUD-COLOURS AFTER RAIN.

As we turn from the consideration of the Cloud-shadows of life, let it be with the reflection that but for Clouds we should never see the fairest colours ever granted to mortal sight, and that Cloud-colours, again, are never so lovely as after rain, so emblematic of sorrow. I am not fortunate enough to remember any passage in which Browning specially refers to cloud-beauty, but he speaks frequently of

* See, for instance, *At a Solemn Music*.

the iris-zone of colour which is seen in "the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain." In one poem in particular* his pen must have indeed been dipped in the "drops of the urn the rainbow paints from."† And when he alludes to—

. . . . scarlet, purple, every dye of the bow
Born of the storm-cloud

—it is plain that the poet is thinking not so much of the brightness of the arch as of its exquisite colours, so typical of the life of man. And he loves to look beyond them to their *cause* :—

. . . . Light, thwarted, breaks
A limpid purity to rainbow flakes.‡—

It is in the deep feeling for lovely colour that modern Art, including Poetry, differs chiefly from ancient Art. The modern sensitiveness to colour-beauty has been but slowly evolved. The gradual change which, as we saw, humanized, as it were, the art of Music, has had its counterpart in each great art, including that of Poetry. In the bards of ancient Greece we find great perception of light and shadow, but little or no sense of the loveliness of colour, except as a greater or less degree of light. Homer never names the colour of a flower, nor calls the skies blue; and even when he speaks of the "purple" rainbow (πορφύρεη ῥοις, *Iliad* xvii, 547), it is its light,§ not its colours, to which he means to call attention. So the Greek or *chiaroscuro* school of Art—that of Light and Shadow—is sorrowful, being connected with the unwearied intellectual search for Light, and the deep dread, common to all ancient nations, of the supposed powers of darkness, and the sense of the mystery that

* *Nympholeptos*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Sordello*, Book V.

§ Ruskin, *Queen of the Air*. But Mr. Gladstone thinks that the bow, to Homer's eye, was dark. *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1877, p. 374.

surrounds our life. Then came the long, grim winter of ecclesiastical mediævalism, with its selfish ascetic ideal of life, and its hatred of healthy human beauty, and of intellectual freedom. During this glacial epoch the arts and sciences slept, icebound. When, at the Renaissance, knowledge and beauty were once more confessed to be good, and a sense of a corporate humanity at last dawned upon our race, we find the influence in Poetry of the new light, and of the modern social and useful ideal of life. But as in Painting so in Poetry, the highest art is attained by the union of the school of Colour with the school of Light and Shadow, the sense of the mystery of Shadow joined with a most vivid perception of the beauty of the many-coloured woof of life. Hence the greatness of such poets as Shakespeare and Browning.

We can but glance at a few of the instances in which Browning shows us what is, as it were, the surpassing loveliness of Colour (which is partial shadow) in human life; namely, in the superiority of Feeling over Knowledge; the idea that Duty arises not from Necessity, but from beauty and love; the need for self-sacrifice; and lastly, the crowning grace of Reverence.

(1) *Feeling and Knowledge*. — Browning constantly asserts the superiority of Feeling over Knowledge, as in his *Paracelsus*. But the thought is perhaps nowhere more beautifully expressed than in the following passage, in which the aged Pontiff is addressing Pompilia :

I see in the world the intellect of man,
That sword, the energy his subtle spear,
The knowledge which defends him like a shield—
Everywhere; but they make not up, I think,
The marvel of a soul like thine, earth's flower
She holds up to the softened gaze of God.*

* *The Pope*, 1013-1019.

Science, as yet in the early days of her aspiration, has not "attained" to the acknowledgement of this. Huxley indeed speaks of "the wisdom of which knowledge is only the servitor,"* and tells us that "the great end of life is not knowledge, but action."† But it is surely remarkable to find the greatest philosopher of the present day on the side of the poets :

Life is not for learning, nor is life for working, but learning and working are for life. When there is fully recognised *the truth that moral beauty is higher than intellectual power*, when the wish to be admired is in a large measure replaced by the wish to be loved, that strife for distinction which the present phase of civilisation shows us will be greatly moderated."‡

(2) *Duty*.—Browning acknowledges that the *fulness* of Beauty and Truth can only be realised in a future life—here we can but strive :

I looked beyond the world for truth and beauty,
Sought, found, and did my duty.§

But he is very far from regarding Duty in the aspect in which she appeared to Wordsworth, who addresses her in his Ode to Duty as a "stern daughter of the voice of God," and as a "stern lawgiver." Let us listen to the manner in which Browning arrives at a very different conception of duty :

O world as God has made it! All is beauty;
And knowing this, is love, and love is duty. ||

Surely this is more akin to the modern spirit which regards Duty as best performed when least felt to be such, and regards happiness and cheerfulness as a duty which we owe to others as well as to ourselves.

* *Science and Culture*, p. 29. † *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Herbert Spencer, *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1883.

‡ *Ferishtah's Fancies* (new edit.), p. 89.

|| *The Guardian Angel*.

(3) *Self-Sacrifice*.—Browning strongly advocates self-sacrifice, *e.g.*,

Renounce joy for my fellows' sake? That's joy
Beyond joy. *

In this his teaching is strongly contrasted with that of Matthew Arnold and Tennyson. Matthew Arnold's well-known ideal of culture is "to *know* the best that has been said and thought in the world;" and self-dependence is prominent in his teaching, whether in verse † or in prose :

To walk staunchly by the best light one has, to be strict and sincere with oneself, not to be of the number of those who say and do not, to be in earnest,—this is the discipline by which *alone* man is enabled to rescue his life from thralldom to the passing moment and to his bodily senses, to ennoble it, and to make it eternal. ‡

So, too, Tennyson :

Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three *alone* lead life to sovereign power.§

Ruskin founds the need for mutual self-sacrifice upon the great principle of Brotherhood—

. . . not by equality nor by likeness, but by giving and receiving; the souls that are unlike, and the nations that are unlike, and the natures that are unlike, being bound into one noble whole by each receiving something from and of the others' gifts and the others' glory. None of God's laws are, in one sense, greater than the appointment that the most lovely and perfect unity shall be obtained by the taking of one nature into another. ||

In the following passage Browning connects self-sacrifice with another seeming paradox : the power of gentleness and

* *Ferishtah's Fancies*, p. 50.

† See the poem entitled *Self-Dependence*.

‡ *Culture and Anarchy*, Preface. § *Ænone*.

|| *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii, p. 19.

the *strength of weakness*—the strength by which it calls forth man's noblest feelings :

What but the weakness in a faith supplies
The incentive to humanity, no strength
Absolute, irresistible, comports ?
How can man love but what he yearns to help !
And that which men think weakness in their strength,
But angels know for strength and stronger yet—
What were it else but the first things made new,
But repetition of the miracle,
The divine instance of self sacrifice
That never ends and aye begins for man ? *

Both Tennyson and Ruskin lay strong stress on submission to restraint and law. "It is his Restraint which is honourable to man, not his Liberty. . . . From the poisoning of the planets to the gravitation of a grain of dust, the power and glory of all creatures, and all matter, consist in their obedience, not in their freedom."†

Browning certainly acknowledges the "Reign of Law" in the Universe :

I spoke as I saw,
Reported, as man may of God's work—all's love, yet all's law.‡

But with respect to the individual soul, Browning lays stress not on self-control, but on enthusiasm and passion for noble objects. We remember that, in the most celebrated Greek school of philosophy, moral control was inculcated by means of a cold submission or conformity to a supposed law of nature—hence the well known maxim, ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν, whereas Christian morality invokes the purifying and kindling influence of a noble *enthusiasm* for virtue.

(4) *Reverence*.—I do not find that Browning has laid stress upon the violet ray of Reverence, so far as regards the lovely light it sheds upon human love, of which it is the

* *The Pope*, 1649-1658. † Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 208. ‡ *Saul*, xvii.

safeguard, by preserving the sensibility to, and respect for, the feelings of others. But nowhere, I think, has this most beautiful of the rays of the soul been more finely described than by Browning in its relation to the Author of the Universe :

. God is seen God
 In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and the clod.
 And thus looking within and around me, I ever renew
 (With that stoop of the soul which in bending upraises it too)
 The submission of man's nothing-perfect to God's all-complete,
 As by each new obeisance in spirit, I climb to his feet.*

Tennyson's testimony, in the introductory verses of *In Memoriam*, to the need for Reverence, is well known ; and I will only add that of Mr. Ruskin, who tells us that in reverence is the chief joy and power of life—reverence for what is pure and bright in youth, for what is true and tried in age, for all that is gracious among the living, great among the dead, and marvellous in the Powers that cannot die.† As in the spectrum of light the violet rays are the most refrangible and delicate, and form the borderland beyond which there are rays invisible to human sight, but most potent in their effects, so I think we may draw from the Mind-spectrum its deepest lesson—that *all* its rays, visible and invisible, are needed to make up the *Unity of Truth*. Science can deal only with those more brilliant hues which are perceptible only by man's Reason. In these there are, as in the Light-spectrum, very significant dark lines. She is not, therefore, at liberty to say that the more subdued—but not less potent—rays which are perceptible as yet by the emotions only are of no account in arriving at a true philosophy of the universe. The work of Poetry in the future will be the transfiguration of Science by shewing her that she is but a part of Truth, and therefore of true Religion, and

* *Saul*, xvii.

† *Lectures on Art*, p. 62.

that the entrance to the temple of the Invisible is illuminated only by the subdued yet tremulous and glowing brightness of the violet rays of Reverence.

EPILOGUE.

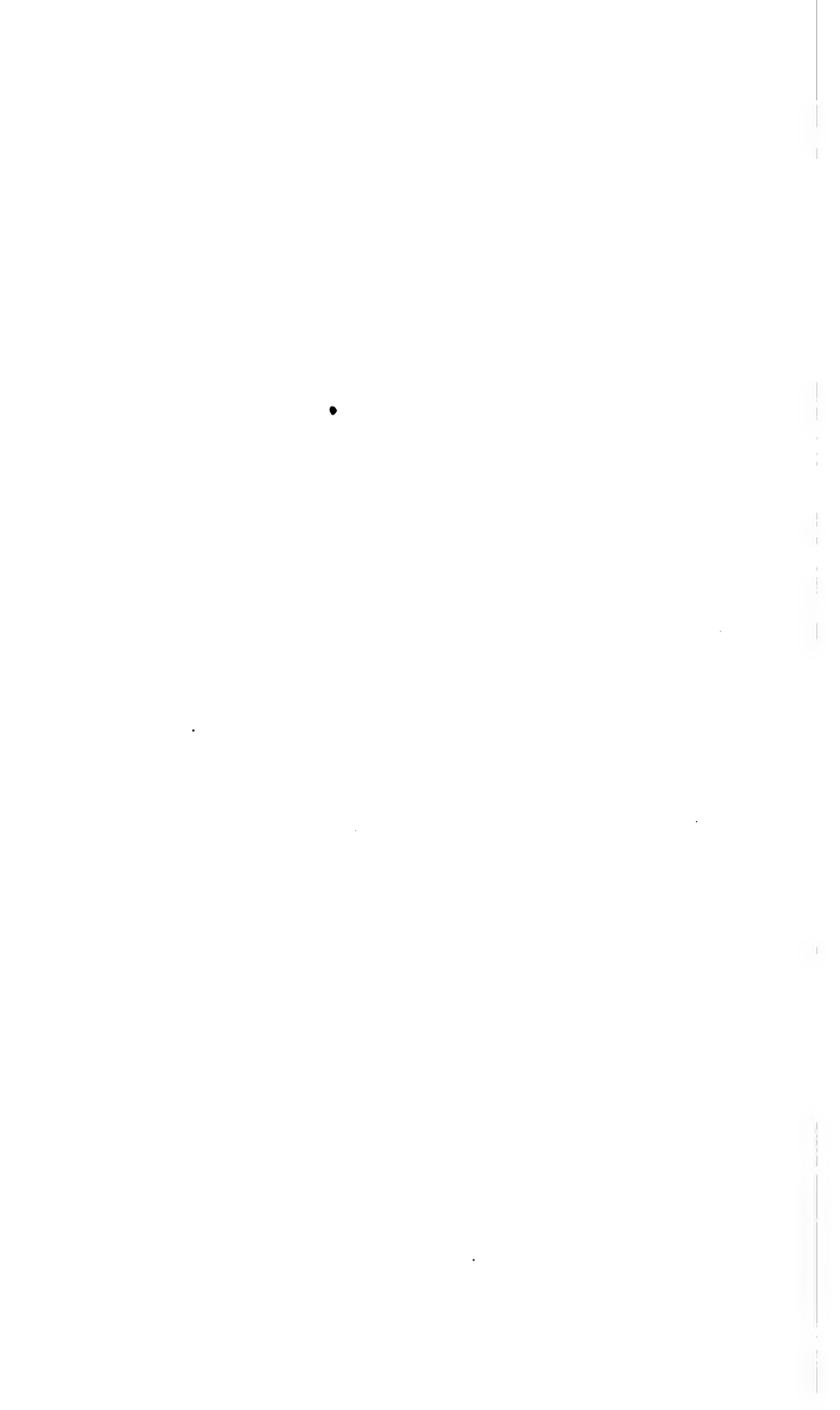
When in various parts of this paper the "teaching" of Browning has been alluded to, it is not meant that the poet wrote with any distinct intention of conveying ethical instruction, or was conscious of any "message to men." As the standard of morality and civilisation rises, the highest moral teaching is conveyed less by direct precept and more by indirect influence. Moral injunctions, in the days of Sinai, are represented as delivered among all the thunders and terrors that could strike the imagination of an awe-struck people. Centuries pass, and the highest moral teaching ever vouchsafed to men is delivered from a peaceful mountain-top to multitudes thronging the Master. Again a lapse of centuries, and in our day, new ethical precepts are no longer needed, but most great writers are, indirectly, moral teachers who, by the influence of their works, strengthen our aspirations after whatever is good and lovely—our ideals, those "winds of the soul" (*ψυχῆς ἀνεμοί*), which give us energy and enthusiasm. And they help us to become architects of that inner thought-life which each one of us lives, and which we can do so much to adorn by training the mind to dwell habitually on pure and noble things. We learn from Ruskin "what fairy palaces we may build of beautiful thought—proof against all adversity. Bright fancies, satisfied memories, noble histories, faithful sayings, treasure-houses of precious and restful thoughts, which care cannot disturb, nor pain make gloomy, nor poverty take away from us—houses built without hands, for our souls to live in." *

* *The Eagle's Nest*, p. 198.

At the close of his life—in the very last poem from his pen—the poet writes, as it were, from his own tomb, his noble *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*, and truly describes himself as—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

Brave Robert Browning—true soldier of Humanity—
God send the world more master-spirits such as thine, and
us the power to recognise and worthily appreciate them !



ROBERT BROWNING.

By G. H. RENDALL, M.A.

[With the passing of the old year, England mourned one of her greatest poets. It was felt that the Literary and Philosophical Society should devote a special meeting to his memory, and the following paper was written by request. Its aim was simply to enforce some of the most salient characteristics of his work, and perchance to win a hearing from some on whom his writings had not as yet laid hold. By arrangement, quotation was limited, as far as possible, to the two volumes of *Selections* and to *Asolando*.]

* * * * * * *

THE hold of Browning on his countrymen has in recent years been widening and deepening with unlooked for rapidity. For not a few his poetry possesses a fascination beyond all others. It has a character of its own, that differentiates it from all else; it meets special needs; it creates votaries; it has given rise to Browning Societies more numerous and more strenuous in their interest than have ever arisen round the works of any great contemporary. And those who have once caught the contagion would say, not so much that Browning is the prince of poets, or that *qua* poet he exhibits the most consummate power over his chosen vehicle, but rather that for them he has a voice and a message and a music all his own, and that for it they would surrender much or all, to which they could not deny more rhythmic art, more melodious and proportioned excellence, and poetic genius far more instinctive and infallible.

Primarily Browning is an *intellectual* poet. His mind is always busily, restlessly, inquisitively active. I am not

thinking only or chiefly of his language, of his subtlety and exactitude of phrase, of his compendious and often elliptical syntax, of his rapid transitions of thought, of his ingenuity in simile and metaphor, of his over-curious elaboration of fancies, but of an inwrought character deeper and more pervading than these externals. His whole outlook is intellectual, not sensuous or emotional. His expression of a mood is precise, determined, sharp in outline. The more passionate, coherent, and uncompromising the mood is, the more successful is the poet's rendering. The moods of mixed and wavering sentiment, shot lights and shades, the languors of desire, the gladness charged with melancholy, the grief that whispers undertones of solace, the wistful, the pensive, the mystic, the illusive, the inconsequent, the whole range of sensuous but largely unreasoning emotion, in the expression of which the Laureate displays his most supreme and unerring tact, are virtually absent from Browning. Love itself, his most fruitful and various theme, seldom if ever finds utterance as pure and unselfconscious passion, but even in its utmost vehemence is busy with self-analysis of justification or apology. So with the queen of *In a Balcony*, and so even with Ottima, the incarnation of animal passion cast in a queenly mould. For this reason he breaks seldom or never into song. The notes he warbles are often rich, and sweet, and rare; but he lacks the spontaneous, unquestioning self-utterance, the subjugation or rather the annihilation of intellect by feeling, the rush, the abandon, the effusion of the sensuous and emotional faculties, which are of the essence of lyric. Intense as was his delight in Shelley, the "sun-treader" of his earliest poem (*Pauline*), there is not a note of "The Skylark" in his own composition.

For diversion he can write a character-song:—

Marching along, fifty-score strong,
Great-hearted gentlemen, singing this song—

but the intention of it is humour and jollity, not lyric self-utterance. Even Pippa's song, one of the few fragments of Browning that has been set to music, blithe as it is and innocent-hearted, is neither in language nor motive true lyric:—

The year's at the spring,
And day's at the morn ;
Morning's at seven ;
The hill-side's dew-pearled ;
The lark's on the wing ;
The snail's on the thorn :
God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world.

The nearest perhaps that Browning could come to song was in fragments such as *Misconceptions*,* where (beautiful as it is) not only metre and vocabulary, but the vein of disinterested fairness removes it at once from genuine lyric, which must rise and fall on the wings of its own mood, whether they soar, or flutter, or droop :—

This is a spray the Bird clung to,
Making it blossom with pleasure,
Ere the high tree-top she sprung to,
Fit for her nest and her treasure.
Oh, what a hope beyond measure
Was the poor spray's, which the flying feet hung to—
So to be singled out, built in, and sung to !

This is a heart the Queen leant on,
Thrilled in a minute erratic,
Ere the true bosom she bent on,
Meet for love's regal dalmatic.
Oh, what a fancy ecstatic
Was the poor heart's, ere the wanderer went on—
Love to be saved for it, proffered to, spent on !

* An interesting parallel to this will be found in the fragment *Humility* in *Asolando*.

The intellectual demand he makes is correspondingly large and exacting. Some poetry depends for its effect on sympathy of mood, rather than on quickness or precision in apprehension. It is positively better read in the more listless mental moods, or when sense is receptive rather than the intellect alert. The charm is in the melody or the tone, and depends far more on conveyance of a mood than on truth or force or accuracy of expression. Most, if not all, of Swinburne or of Rossetti would be ruined by analysis, which is one of the prime and profitable delights in the study of Browning. With him there is little of mere colouring. Each word has a significant intention, and is required for appreciation of the whole. To drop a troublesome word or phrase is fatal. You cannot rest in general effect; you must either understand or miss. And this is partly what people mean in speaking of Browning as obscure. As a matter of fact, it is easier on the whole to be sure exactly what Browning does mean, than it commonly is with Shelley, Swinburne, or even Tennyson. But it often takes time and trouble to find out, and an inattentive or uneducated reader, if he misses the exact and right sense, will carry away nothing, while with the others you cannot fail to catch the general note, and may actually lose rather than gain by pressing scrutiny too close. We may go further. His genius is of the analytic not the instinctive kind. And so far he fails of the supreme *art-power*. His fertility and variety of fancy on the one hand, and on the other his freshness and keenness of interest, are amazing, but in strictly creative power there is some weakness. His creation of types seems always conscious, not intuitive. He does not, like the greatest dramatists, identify himself with his creations. He stands outside them, critic as well as creator, and does not work from within, merging for the time his own personality in theirs, and letting it carry him whither the free genius of

creation moves. In so far he is *undramatic*. True he elects to speak, and speaks best, through the mouths of other men or women—the *form* chosen is dramatic: but in all his *Dramatis Personæ* the gesture, the idiom, the method of regard are unmistakably Browning's own; they are seen as it were through a Browning medium, as projected upon his mind, and everywhere the 'master-thread of subjectiveness' runs through and through the fabric. Caliban, Paracelsus, Lazarus, St. John—it is impossible to attach the Browning presentment of them to the actual personalities, however much his studies of them illuminate their meaning in the universe. This is the reason why Browning's women are dramatically so inferior to his men; the man-medium through which they speak and think clashes more violently with fidelity to experience and life. Signs of the tool are too obtrusively apparent. Pompilia, far the completest of his women, is rendered descriptively rather than dramatically. Even the limited power of creation which, after travail with Pauline and Sordello, produced Paracelsus and the splendid fragments of which his *Dramatis Personæ* are built up, failed as the years went on. Renouncing creation and the drama, he sought his subjects in history, in anecdote, in the newspapers, in all odd holes and corners of life or literature, in which his swift and searching vision espied some jewel that he could facet. More and more, to the hazard and often the abandonment of poetry, he became the student, the expounder, the interpreter, rather than the poet of human life.

From the first he made psychology his field. In youth he schemed 'a series of monodramatic epics, narratives of the lives of typical souls!' "My stress," he says, writing his dedication to Sordello in 1868, "lay on the incidents in the development of a soul; little else is worth study. I at least always thought so; you, with many known

and unknown to me think so, others may one day think so." His present position in literature proves the surmise true, and Browning has won for psychology, for study of soul, a place and a domain in poetry to which it never attained before, and of which he first divined and in measure realised the possibilities. In this turning to the study of a soul—a single soul, be it observed, by way of anticipation—he taps a new vein of poetic inspiration; it is a fresh enlargement of the field. His work is complementary to that of Wordsworth and to some extent of Shelley. Wordsworth perceived the divine in nature, and by it interpreting the world and man, created a new poetry. Browning embodies and assumes the results of Wordsworth, but turns for his exposition of the Universe direct to the soul of man, in effect to the old "Know thyself" of Socrates. He studies in every conceivable phase and type the individual soul, convinced that *every* soul is a microcosm, in which is immanent some life-giving efficacy of the divine and the eternal. "Mr. Browning," says a French critic, "regards every human soul as a new and variant phase of the ever-changing Divine Idea." To this belief he unflinchingly holds fast, however fallen or aberrant the type by which he tests it.* The poetic converse is declared in lines of rare beauty in *Paracelsus*.

'Tis only when they spring to heaven that angels
 Reveal themselves to you; they sit all day
 Beside you, and lie down at night by you
 Who care not for their presence, muse or sleep,
 And all at once they leave you and you know them!

This immanence of the divine in man he works out with splendid subtlety and force in every conceivable variety of

* For instance, *Apparent Failure*, and still more violently, *Halbert and Hob*, *Ned Bratts*, &c.

phase, and does not shrink from introducing in poetic form thoughts on the doctrine of the Incarnation as its loftiest expression.

The very God! think, Abib; dost thou think?
 So, the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
 So, through the thunder comes a human voice
 Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
 Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself,
 Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of mine,
 But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
 And thou must love me who have died for thee!"

And so again more at length in *A Death in the Desert*, and in *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*. But this is only a part, and in bulk a small part of his study of soul. He delights to explore each labyrinth of motive and feeling, fathoming all depths and shoals of human thoughts or passion, and handling such themes in the concrete, personal, dramatic, imaginative forms, which constitute them poetry, quite independently of the language, metre, and other poetical accessories with which they are invested. Thus Robert Browning, perhaps for the first time in the history of literature, converts deliberate and analytic psychology into material for poetry. Others have done it indirectly and by implication in drama, and Shakespeare forestalled the line of Browning's work in experimenting with soliloquy. In a Hamlet soliloquy pure introspection is utilised for poetic ends, and I doubt if anything has been written more closely analogous, both in style and in intention, to Browning. Only with Browning it becomes habitual, and is divorced from the dramatic setting. This introspective study of soul, combined with preference for dramatic form, produces what is virtually a new form of poetry—the dramatic monologue—which deserves a paper to itself. It has enlarged the borders of poetry, and is a genuine outgrowth of

the introspective tendencies of our century. Any one who finds literary interest in the study and analysis of character, who derives genuine pleasure and zest from the fiction—especially the later fiction—of George Eliot, or from the works of George Meredith, can hardly fail, unless he labours under some natural distaste for poetry, to read Browning with avidity.

One further point deserves explicit emphasis. Browning ennobles his psychology and dignifies his work somewhat as Dante and Milton dignified theirs, by constant reference to its eschatological end. It is the poet's gift 'to see the infinite in things,' and in this spirit Browning habitually treats the earthly and the temporal as an expression of the heavenly and the eternal. Life looks forward to a life to come; and the development of a soul is but the first act of a drama that transcends terrestrial vision. His poetry gains hereby the same pomp and imaginative grandeur as a drama of *Æschylus*—the *Persians*, say, or the *Prometheus*—which treats a particular historic or mythologic incident as a manifestation in time and place of the eternal and theocratic order of the universe. So with Browning, the eternal and spiritual issues of given actions or behaviour are—perhaps, for the first time with success in English verse—used essentially and avowedly as poetic motives, and he becomes the poetic exponent of the faiths, hopes and aspirations of his day.

His reading of life and of the universe is optimistic.

Nature, at worst, always implies success.

Two central verities, the Unity of the World and the Progress of the World, find too irresistible a confirmation in history and in consciousness to leave room for doubt. All are parts of a great order; the order is beneficent and progressive. The apparent exceptions are but modes of fulfilment, out of

which growth in wisdom builds new assurances of faith. This central creed is the conclusion set forth in *Paracelsus*, and in the later works is matured and written out at large.

Paracelsus, at the point of death, has learned the secret.

I knew, I felt, . . . what God is, what we are,
What life is—how God tastes an infinite joy
In infinite ways—one everlasting bliss,
From whom all being emanates, all power
Proceeds; in whom is life for evermore,
Yet whom existence in its lowest form
Includes.

In my own heart love had not been made wise
To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,
To know even hate is but a mask of love's,
To see a good in evil, and a hope
In ill-success; to sympathise, be proud
Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim
Struggles for truth, their poorest fallacies,
Their prejudice and fears and cares and doubts;
All with a touch of nobleness, despite
Their error, upward tending all though weak,
Like plants in mines which never saw the sun,
But dream of him, and guess where he may be,
And do their best to climb and get to him.

.
I press God's lamp

Close to my breast; its splendour, soon or late,
Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge one day.

These lines contain all the great affirmations that make Browning's poetry a perennial well of strength and reassurance. They affirm:—

That the heart of all being is in God.

That the energy of life is love—and all such life is progress.

That the meaning of life is discipline, achieving ultimate redemption.

That no true life, however imperfect, is wasted—but has in it seeds for eternity.

That death is the entrance into fuller life and clearer vision.

In dealing with these moral affirmations, at once the most reverent and the most efficacious course will be to let the poet speak for himself, adding to the chosen extracts the few words necessary to make their significance intelligible.

Browning asserts, then, in the most unqualified terms, the supremacy of feeling or emotion over knowledge. Such is the main argument of *Paracelsus*. To love, not to know, is the end of man's being, and the ultimate measure of his capacities.

For life, with all it yields of joy and woe,
And hope and fear,—believe the aged friend,—
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,
How love might be, hath been indeed, and is.

A Death in the Desert.

There is no good of life but love—but love !
What else looks good, is some shade flung from love :
Love gilds it, gives it worth. *In a Balcony.*

Love, be it observed, is not set forth as a law of life, as an ethical or moral obligation, but as an account, a philosophy of life.

Love is the highest life—one, supreme, infinite. It is the spring of lower manifestations of life—an energy, an inner impulse, which calls them into being, and gives them an eternal significance.

We (lovers) live and they experiment on life—
Those poets, painters, all who stand aloof
To overlook the farther. Let us be
The thing they look at !
. . . . You are, I am ; let Rubens there
Paint us ! *In a Balcony.*

Love is soul-life, "soul-proficiency." Love to the soul is what art is to the senses.* By virtue of love it lives, longs, sustains itself, and from the imperfect hints accorded can reconstruct the absolute intention of the Divine Idea. In *Fine at the Fair* the philosophy of love is thus worked out upon Platonic lines.† It is in truth the measure of a man's capacities, of his spiritual endowment. Thus in *By the Fireside*, when the declaration has been made of love avowed and love accepted—

How the world is made for each of us !
 How all we perceive and know in it
 Tends to some moment's product thus,
 When a soul declares itself—to wit,
 By its fruit, the thing it does !

I am named and known by that moment's feat ;
 There took my station and degree ;
 So grew my own small life complete,
 As nature obtained her best of me—
 One born to love you, sweet !

So, the earth has gained by one man more,
 And the gain of earth must be Heaven's gain too ;
 And the whole is well worth thinking o'er
 When autumn comes: which I mean to do
 One day, as I said before.

Love, true love, is *one*—a unity. It does not mimic, reproduce, reduplicate itself, as sense impressions do. Once found and energised, it is an abiding power, trifle with it how we will. Such is the charge of the dying wife to the husband, whose superficial fickleness she knows and mistrusts.

But now, because the hour through years was fixed,
 Because our inmost beings met and mixed,
 Because thou once hast loved me—wilt thou dare

* The argument is developed in *Fine*, § 50-52. † *Fine*, § 59.

Say to thy soul and Who may list beside,
 "Therefore she is immortally my bride;
 Chance cannot change my love, nor time impair."

.

What though new surface loves may seem to supersede
 the old!

Love so, then, if thou wilt! Give all thou canst
 Away to the new faces—disentranced,
 (Say it and think it) obdurate no more,
 Re-issue looks and words from the old mint,
 Pass them afresh, no matter whose the print
 Image and superscription once they bore!

Re-coin thyself and give it them to spend,—
 It all comes to the same thing at the end,
 Since mine thou wast, mine art and mine shalt be,
 Faithful or faithless, sealing up the sum
 Or lavish of my treasure, thou must come
 Back to the heart's place here I keep for thee!

Any Wife to Any Husband.

Love is eternal—for it shows no sign of decrepitude.
 Age cannot dwarf or diminish it. Body may fade, and the
 delight of sense—

But the soul
 Whence the love comes, all ravage leaves that whole;
 Vainly the flesh fades; soul makes all things new.

Any Wife to Any Husband.

And similarly, at the close of *The Last Ride Together*,
 where as a final grace the lover is permitted to ride for the
 last time with her whose love he had failed to gain.

What if heaven be that, fair and strong
 At life's best, with our eyes upturned
 Whither life's flower is first discerned,
 We, fixed so, ever should so abide?

What if we still ride on, we two,
 With life for ever old yet new,
 Changed not in kind but in degree,
 The instant made eternity,—
 And heaven just prove that I and she
 Ride, ride together, for ever ride?

Again—Love is creative, literally creative. Knowledge can only receive, absorb, appropriate; love creates. A soul in loving creates new force and new existence; and its right to that which it creates is indefeasible, eternal.*

Love stated and interpreted in these terms is obviously not the brief fever-fit of youth and sense, which has so usurped the arena of modern imagination as to have all but monopolised the name in the fiction or the poetry of to-day. The love of Browning does not depend on age or sex or circumstance. It is a function, active or potential, of every human soul. He dwells little on the erotic amatory vein—he is the poet of married rather than pre-nuptial love. For the theme of his choice is a permanent energising of soul, whether in union with another or apart. It may be from a man to his kind, as in *S. John*—

If I live yet, it is for good, more love
 Through me to men—

or mystically, and with perversion, towards the spirit of the Universe, as in *Johannes Agricola*—or from the patriot towards his people, as in *Luigi* inviting doom.

Escape? To even wish that, would spoil all.
 The dying is best part of it. Too much
 Have I enjoyed these fifteen years of mine,
 To leave myself excuse for longer life:
 Was not life pressed down, running o'er with joy,
 That I might finish with it ere my fellows
 Who, sparerlier feasted, make a longer stay?

* *Fifine*, § 57.

I was put at the board-head, helped to all
 At first; I rise up happy and content.
 God must be glad one loves his world so much.
 I can give news of earth to all the dead
 Who ask me.

Pippa Passes.

Or, again, from friend to friend, as of Paracelsus dying,
 saved—because

Hand in hand with thee, Aprile.

It may be reciprocated or not—that is an accident.
 Whether it finds or is denied requital, it yet lives in its
 effect. In *Evelyn Hope*, for instance, the love is unrequited,
 because the fulness of time had not come, and she died too
 young to grasp the secret and the revelation of love. But
 not for that is the self-surrender, the devotion of the lover
 lost

And, just because I was thrice as old,
 And our paths in the world diverged so wide,
 Each was nought to each, must I be told?
 We were fellow mortals, nought beside?

No indeed! for God above
 Is great to grant, as mighty to make,
 And creates the love to reward the love:
 I claim you still, for my own love's sake!
 Delayed it may be for more lives yet,
 Through worlds I shall traverse, not a few:
 Much is to learn and much to forget
 Ere the time be come for taking you.

So, hush,—I will give you this leaf to keep:
 See, I shut it inside the sweet cold hand!
 There, that is our secret: go to sleep!
 You will wake, and remember, and understand.

In *Cristina*, the lady was unworthy, a frivolous coquette.

But the forfeit was *hers*, not that of him who mistrusted her with his affections. He was of those who had caught God's secret.

Such am I : the secret's mine now !
 She has lost me, I have gained her ;
 Her soul's mine : and thus, grown perfect,
 I shall pass my life's remainder.
 Life will just hold out the proving,
 Both our powers, alone and blended :
 And then, come the next life quickly !
 This world's use will have been ended.

Love to be potent, or efficacious, must take effect in action. Love lives best in its effect, else it is atrophied, or stagnates into dull respectability.

Each life unfulfilled, you see ;
 It hangs still, patchy and scrappy :
 We have not sighed deep, laughed free,
 Starved, feasted, despaired,—been happy.

And nobody calls you a dunce,
 And people suppose me clever :
 This could but have happened once,
 And we missed it, lost it for ever.

*Youth and Art.**

The like moral is set forth yet more audaciously in *The Statue and the Bust*. There, love never found its way—not because it went counter to conscience, but because the coward love dared not trust its own sanction, in despite of convention and respectability. For such timorous apostasy to love, Browning has no mercy, and fearlessly, in the true spirit of Luther's *Pecca fortiter*, writes—

The counter our lovers staked was lost
 As surely as it were lawful coin :
 And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
 Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin.

* *Dis Aliter Visum* and *Respectability* are variations on the same theme.

Love, then, in life has sovereign efficacy. It is a motive and transfiguring power. But its effect passes beyond life. In it, it only, is redemption. Of none does Browning despair, in whom capacity for love is not killed out. That is the hope, even for Count Guido himself.

His philosophy of love leads on to his favourite thought of the *solidarity* of life—the common tie that throughout the universe binds each to each. “We do not live unto ourselves.” Each individual is essential to the universe; though his part and import in it is not visible to himself, yet nevertheless his work bears fruit of its own.

Be hate that fruit or love that fruit,
It forwards the general deed of man,
And each of the Many helps to recruit
The life of the race by a general plan;
Each living his own, to boot.

This is the main motive of *Pippa Passes*. At each phase, the little work-girl's passing, little as she could dream it, incredible as it would appear to her, is crucial for the highest destinies in Florence.

All service ranks the same with God—
With God, whose puppets, best and worst,
Are we: there is no last nor first.

This solidarity is not limited to human kind; it binds man to nature in ties of conscious fellowship. A weird and mystic sympathy of natural powers with some crisis in a human destiny, gives the key to Browning's most intense and most poetic interpretations of nature. In *James Lee's Wife* the wind, “still ailing,” voices her desolation; the “good gigantic smile o' the brown old earth” makes faith possible. In *Porphyria's Lover*—

The rain set early in to-night,
 The sullen wind was soon awake,
 It tore the elm-tops down for spite,
 And did its worst to vex the lake.

Nature unruly and diseased portends the lover's mad murderous frenzy, just as her charged electric atmosphere interprets best the pent emotions of the *Serenader at the Villa*. Her very silence may thunder sentence on the guilt-stained.

Life will try his nerves,
 When the sky, which noticed all, makes no disclosure,
 And the earth keeps up her terrible composure.

Before.

Instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but nowhere is this vein more explicit or rendered with finer imaginative sympathy than in *By the Fireside*. Love pauses on the verge of utterance.

Oh moment, one and infinite!
 The water slips o'er stock and stone;
 The West is tender, hardly bright:
 How grey at once is the evening grown—
 One star, the chrysolite!

.

Heart reveals itself to heart, and finds response—

A moment after, and hands unseen
 Were hanging the night around us fast;
 But we knew that a bar was broken between
 Life and life: we were mixed at last
 In spite of the mortal screen.

The forests had done it; there they stood;
 We caught for a moment the powers at play:
 They had mingled us so, for once and good,
 Their work was done—we might go or stay,
 They relapsed to their ancient mood.

Finally, that life is probation, preparation, is the constant reiteration of faith. This has appeared fully in the poet's doctrine of love. One quotation must suffice, applying the same doctrine not less confidently to the sphere of knowledge. It comes from that poem, which is the charter of every scholar, or of every student who is called to the drudgery of work, seemingly useless, in faith upon the larger issues and the ennobled standards to which it is a discipline.

Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
 Heedless of fair gain,
 Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
 Bad is our bargain!
 Was it not great? did not he throw on God,
 (He loves the burthen)—
 God's task to make the heavenly period
 Perfect the earthen?
 Did not he magnify the mind, show clear
 Just what it all meant?
 He would not discount life, as fools do here,
 Paid by instalment.
 He ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success
 Found, or earth's failure:
 "Wilt thou trust death or not?" He answered "Yes!
 Hence with life's pale lure!"
 That low man seeks a little thing to do,
 Sees it and does it:
 This high man with a great thing to pursue,
 Dies ere he knows it.

 Lofty designs must close in like effects:
 Loftily lying,
 Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
 Living and dying.

Browning's views of the shadows upon life—of the lessons to be drawn from sorrow, from imperfection, from

failure, from evil, and from death—have been garnered for us by my predecessor, and I will not touch them further.

It is in the enunciation of these great moral affirmations that Browning's poetry attains its most majestic notes. Rhythm and melody grow stately and satisfying; emotion fuses thought in poetry; matter and form are matched in adequate and eternal oneness.* What is the value, it may be asked, of such affirmations? What are they after all but assertion? True. But great things, said worthily, carry their own irresistible authorisation. They have a virtue of self-evidencing power. It has been so with heroes and martyrs: it is ever so with the prophet and the poet. They have a twofold virtue.

First, they are a re-assurance. They tell us that our thoughts, our aspirations, our spiritual or emotional experiences do not stand single. They are shared by others, a possession of our brother-men, bearing the stamp of a common heritage, by which we cry *Abba! Father.*

And, secondly, they say to us and for us the thing our hearts yearned to say, but lacked clearness of vision or gift of utterance. They find their confirmation in the echo of our best self. "The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies." They "have hands and feet." For us they are numbered among the words proceeding out of the mouth of God, by the which we live.

And these great moral affirmations sufficed our poet for his full tale of more than three-score years and ten. The last utterance of age reiterates the earliest of youth, as it were from the gates of the unseen. The world does not guess how much the little volume *Asolando* means to the reader and lover of Browning.

* Passages were quoted from *Abt Vogler*, § 9-11, on the meaning of failure, and the eternity of the temporal; from *Rabbi Ben Esra*, § 24, 25, on God's acceptance of man's imperfect best; and from *Old Pictures in Florence*, on discipline culminating in redemption.

We that had loved him so, followed him, honoured him,
 Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
 Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
 Made him our pattern to live and to die—

we had perceived, or seemed to perceive, in our master's
 latter work, some apparent faltering of voice, some dimming
 of the eye, some stammering of lip.

Oh, but they say the tongues of dying men
 Enforce attention like deep harmony—

and here from the Pisgah of the earthly life he has testified
 in his last message of unabated force, the *verba novissima* of
 a rounded life. Youth, looking forward to old age, had
 dared predict, as the summary of life experience,

I, who saw power, see now love perfect too.*

Age, looking back over youth and the long spaces of the
 middle years, did at the last veritably record—

From the first, Power was—I knew.
 Life has made clear to me
 That, strive but for closer view,
 Love were as plain to see.

When see? When there dawns a day,
 If not on the homely earth,
 Then yonder, worlds away,
 Where the strange and new have birth,
 And Power comes full in play.†

And his last epilogue writes the epitaph of

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
 Never doubted clouds would break,
 Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.

* *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, § 10. † *Fancies and Facts*. *Asolando*.

THE PHYSICAL NATURE OF VOWEL SOUNDS.

By R. J. LLOYD, M.A.

THE following is a brief and untechnical account of some doctrines put forward by the writer in the *Phonetische Studien* for the current year, and there supported in detail by calculations and experiments.

There are few departments of science which have been more thoroughly investigated, and are now more completely understood, from a physical point of view, than the doctrine of musical sounds; and at first sight it seems strange that speech should not be to us the subject of the same exact acoustic knowledge as music and song. We know perfectly well that the vowel *e* and the note *b* ♮ are both auditory sensations, and that both must in the last resort be due to some more or less definitely assignable modes of aerial vibration; but, whilst we are able to say most exactly and positively what are the conditions of vibration which produce the sensation of *b* ♮, we are only able as yet to speculate very doubtfully as to the conditions which produce the sensation of *e* or any other vowel. And yet it is perfectly clear that until we have attained this knowledge the whole science of language is without any thoroughly scientific foundation. It is true that a science of Phonetics, or of spoken sound, already exists, and that it has succeeded in arranging and classifying the phenomena of speech in a very useful way for many practical purposes, but we shall hardly be able to say that our knowledge is completely scientific until we are able to express the sounds of speech, like the

sounds of music, arithmetically, in terms of matter and motion.

I make no apology, therefore, for endeavouring in the present paper to penetrate a little further into the essential nature of vowel-sounds than has hitherto been attempted by practical phoneticians. The most useful of the existing expositions of speech-sounds is probably that of Alexander Melville Bell, the author of *Visible Speech*, and father of the inventor of the telephone. His system has been very successfully applied to the purposes of linguistic science by his disciples Sievers and Sweet. But it is purely empirical; for it does not concern itself in the remotest degree with the *nature* of vowel sounds, but only with the comparatively accidental consideration—how they are commonly produced or articulated by human organs. In other words, it classifies sounds according to their usual organic origin, and not at all according to their acoustic essence.

There are other systems, it is true, already existing, which attempt to classify speech sounds in a fundamentally more scientific manner,—according to essence rather than origin,—but so little is the essential nature of vowel sounds yet understood that these classifications are in effect much less serviceable and precise than those of the empirical Bell system.

The first thing which struck early investigators of the vowels was the fact that they have notable degrees of affinity in nature between themselves; and vowels have been tabulated in many different ways, by many successive observers, with the view of expressing most fitly the direction and distance of these relationships. We may easily bring this thought home to ourselves by pronouncing in slow succession the following series of English words, and carefully prolonging the vowel of each word, as though it were being sung to a long note: *fiend*; *fin*; *hate*; *care*; *men*; *man*:

path ; pall ; pole ; pull ; pool. But in doing this, there is special need to caution English observers to refrain from *finishing* their long vowels, because the English have a habit of squeezing the ends of long vowels so as to make their respective terminations differ perceptibly from the main body of the sound.

When this is done, there will be no difficulty whatever in recognising, by the ear alone, that the above set of words contains a series of graduated vowel-sounds in which every member differs more or less from its next neighbour on either hand, but nevertheless differs much less from either of them than it does from the remoter members of the series. It will be felt at once, however, that though the gradations of this series are continuous, they are by no means equal ; the difference in vowel quantity between *fin* and *hate* is at once felt to be far wider than that between *care* and *men*, or *fin* and *fiend*. But though this irregularity of difference is easily *felt*, it is not easily *measured*, or brought to be in any way the subject of exact science, so long as we simply judge the sounds by their subjective effect, or respective aggregate impression on the ear.

Hence it happens that the treatment of vowels from this point of view remains even now in a very backward and unsatisfactory condition. Professor Trautmann, of Bonn, has recently taken a step in the right direction by insisting that the only satisfactory way to study speech sounds is to study them in their acoustic nature, rather than in their organic conditions. He has also done good service in insisting that it is the *whispered* vowels which first demand scientific attention. But his final conclusions, that every whispered vowel has a certain absolute pitch, that its quality as a vowel is determined by that pitch, and that it confers by its concomitance that same vowel-quality upon the loud glottal tones which it happens to accompany, are not only not

established by the proofs advanced in his book, but ran directly counter to much that was best known respecting speech sounds previously.

For though the above sketch summarises nearly all that the professed phoneticians or philologists have to say about the essential nature of vowel-sounds, there is something to be learned about them from physical investigators also, and especially from Helmholtz.

But it cannot be too distinctly stated that that great philosopher has nowhere put forward any comprehensive and thorough-going theory of the physical nature of vowels. His great work treats primarily of *musical* tones, and is only concerned with vowels incidentally, and here and there. What he has to say about them is to be read rather as a record of facts and impressions arising at various stages in his principal task. Hence it happens that he has been *thought to think* various things about vowels, which are by no means consistent with each other. But however his theoretical impressions may have vacillated, his experiments and observations are invaluable, and will have to be continually instanced and appealed to in the following pages.

The first position which I shall endeavour to illustrate and defend is that a loud vowel, as uttered by the ordinary speaking or singing voice, is musical tone *plus* resonance; that each of these two phenomena, though indissolubly associated by the facts of human organisation, both in speech and hearing, are very nearly independent in their physical origin and operation; and that it is with the latter only that vowel-quality is essentially conjoined.

The apparatus of human speech consists briefly of three parts, the lungs, the vocal chords, and the short passage or tunnel which leads thence to the external air. The chief office of the first, in relation to our present subject, is to provide mechanical power; of the second to produce musical

tone; and of the third to confer vowel quality. That this is the case is witnessed by the facts; (1), that alteration of the shape of the tunnel alters the vowel quality but not the musical pitch; (2), that alteration of the length and tension of the chords alters the musical pitch, but not the vowel quality; (8), that the chords may cease vibrating in a musical manner altogether, and yet the production of distinct vowel quality will remain unimpaired. This last is what happens in *whisper*, and the acoustic conditions then involved may be very cogently illustrated by comparison with an organ pipe. The way in which an organ pipe is made to sound or "speak" is as follows:—The air proceeding from the bellows is directed through a narrow slit, and therefore in a broad thin stream, upon the "mouth" of the tube. This mouth is provided with a straight sharp-edged lip, which is so situated as exactly to encounter and break the advancing edge of the thin broad stream of air. Then the pipe speaks, promptly, if it is a small one, but with a perceptible sluggishness in other cases.

Why does it speak? The theoretical explanation, the only possible explanation, is that when the broken and fluttering stream of air at the mouth of the tube had thrown the inward air into all manner of random vibrations, some of these just happened to synchronize with the proper tone of the tube, and exerting that cumulative effect which is known to our ears as resonance, raised the tube by a few exactly-timed pulses into a state of powerful vibration on its own proper note. In the small tube these pulses were so short and quick that they were all over before our ears could perceive the delay, but in the long tubes there was a perceptible sluggishness.

The case of human whisper is exactly similar, except in inessential details. There is a crooked tunnel whose resonance needs to be animated, and there is a feebly hissing

stream of air which succeeds in animating it. This feeble hiss and flutter of air is produced *between* the vocal chords, but not by them. They are slackly juxtaposed, and the air is allowed to fizz out between them, creating just the same kind of mixed medley of fluttering vibrations which were used in the other case to animate the resonance of the organ pipe.

The power of such a source of sound lies essentially in its heterogeneity. It hardly matters how feeble it is, so long as it possesses among its multifarious vibrations some which will animate every kind of resonance. That such is preeminently the case with human whisper is palpable from the fact that in the course of one very short sentence the human vocal cavities may pass through a score or more of different shapes, each of which is practically a different tube for acoustic purposes, and yet the hiss and flutter of the whispering glottis is able with equal efficiency to animate them all.

But if this be the true theory of vowel sound, how can it be applicable to the loudly-spoken and singing vowels? For we know that in their case the whispering hiss of the glottis is totally abolished, the chords are placed firmly together, and the inward air can no longer fizz out quietly between them, but is compelled to burst its way with an energy which sets the chords themselves into strong musical vibration. These vibrations are so loud and impressive that we are apt to think of them as the whole and sole result of the glottal action in this case. And yet nothing can be, theoretically and practically, more certain than that the more musical the tone the more utterly unfitted it is to arouse the resonance of an infinitely variable tunnel or cavity.

Our organ-pipe, which responded so readily to a few stray vibrations of the feebly hissing air-current at its mouth, would have steadily refused to respond to the most vigorous

musical vibrations, unless they just happened to synchronize with its own. And on like grounds we may conclude that the voice tunnel is altogether deaf, in the great majority of cases, to the main or musical vibrations of the vocal chords.

It fortunately happens that the means of verifying this conclusion is afforded by a fact of the commonest occurrence. No one who has ever strained his ears to catch the words of a public singer can have failed to observe that the singing voice fails to afford anything like the same satisfactory basis for speech sounds as the ordinary voice does. And why? Simply because it is more musical, because every asperity has been smoothed down, and speech sounds are founded, not on the music, but on the asperities! So striking is the relative impurity of the speaking voice, that Helmholtz concludes that there is some essential difference in the mode by which the vocal chords are approximated in either case. He suggests that in singing they meet evenly, edge to edge; but that in speaking they overlap a little, and strike each other, so as to exaggerate all the frictional effects. It is these multifarious frictional effects, then, which replace in the singing, and still more in the speaking, voice that hissing glottal noise which we have seen to be the foundation of vowel resonance in whisper. The *musical* tones of the voice, on the other hand, are debarred by their own nature from being effectual causes of resonance, because that very uniformity of pulsation which makes them musical, unfits them at the same time to animate any but a very limited class of resonances.

The initial attempt of Helmholtz, therefore (p. 103, Ellis' edition), to establish some essential connection between the vowel resonances and the musical tones and overtones of the speaking voice, is, at least, supererogatory. The vowel resonances not only do not need to be prompted by the

musical tones with which they are generally associated, but in many cases positively could not be aroused by them.

We conclude, then, as announced at the outset, that vowel-quality is resonance; and that resonance is something which in ordinary speech accompanies the main musical tones of the voice, but which, in its origin and development, is nearly independent of them.

Such is the proof of our first position; and its chief practical result is to enforce Trautmann's advice about the whispered vowels. For it is clearly advisable to study the vowel resonances in that case where they are conjoined only with a weak heterogeneous rustle of foreign elements, rather than in those cases where their effects are always crossed by those of a powerful musical tone.

It might, perhaps, be thought, upon a superficial view of the question, that we are now bound to accept Trautmann's further doctrine about absolute pitch. If vowel resonances are really so independent and self-determined, it seems, at first, hard to imagine what difference can exist between them, except that of absolute pitch. And if a vowel configuration were just as simple in form, and if the resonance which it is adapted to yield were as simple in quality as that of the organ pipe to which, for simplicity's sake, we just now compared it, there would be really no escape from Trautmann's conclusion. There would be no criterion of distinction between them available to human ears except absolute pitch.

There are two considerations, however, which forbid us to accept Trautmann's theory as entirely satisfactory, and compel us to look round for a better. The first is that this theory postulates in all men a much keener ear for absolute pitch than they are actually found to possess. It is simply incredible that the same men, who could not possibly identify within several semitones the principal tone of a

speaking voice, habitually recognise, with ease and precision, the various vowel resonances which are merely ancillary to it, and whose differences, one from another, only amount, according to Trautmann, to three or four semitones at most.

The second consideration is based upon an implicit contradiction which is found to arise between this theory and some of the best authenticated results of the organic phoneticians. These latter investigators must fairly be held to have established the principle that identical articulations produce identical vowel sounds, quite irrespective of the *absolute* size of the organism. Let us now imagine the case of two individuals, a man and a boy, and let us suppose that though their organs are exactly of the same form or pattern they differ in actual linear dimensions in the proportion of five to four. We are entitled to assume that, if they both now attempt to utter an identical vowel, they will go through exactly the same articulations, and will each create in himself a voice tunnel precisely similar in shape, though differing as to magnitude in the above proportion. Professor Trautmann says that the pitch of the boy's resonance, or whispered vowel, will be just the same as that of the man's; but theory and experiment both alike affirm that the vibrations of the two given cavities will differ by a Major Third, or four full semitones, which would be quite enough, on Trautmann's system, to change the result into a totally different vowel.

Seeing, then, that it seems necessary to look around for a better theory, I venture to put forward a second set of propositions, as follows:—That all whispered vowels, or vowel resonances, with one possible exception, are essentially compound, and that their character as distinct vowels does not depend on their absolute pitch, but on the relative pitch of their elements.

These positions are at once seen to be free from the two

objections which have just been urged against Trautmann's theory. The perception of *relative* pitch is in all men many times keener than their so-called perception of absolute pitch—and that for a very obvious reason; for the former consists in the comparison of two pitches which are both present or fresh to the sensorium, whilst the latter is really a comparison of some present sensation with an ideal or absent standard. Experiment strictly confirms the doctrine thus theoretically stated.

And the second objection is obviated at the same time; for in the case supposed, *every* resonance generated in the boy's vocal tunnel would be alike raised a Major Third, and the *relative* pitch of the several components of his whispered vowel would therefore remain undisturbed.

The proof of the positions just laid down may be approached either from an organic or from an acoustic point of view. The organic evidence will be found to afford a comprehensive *a priori* presumption of their truth, whilst the acoustic evidence, though of a more scattered and fragmentary kind, will be found to afford satisfactory confirmation at numerous points of fact. It will be natural to take the former first.

There is a very interesting passage in Helmholtz (p. 107) respecting the resonance of bottles. "When a bottle," he says, "with a long narrow neck, is used as a resonance chamber, two simple tones are readily discovered, of which one can be regarded as the proper tone of the *belly*, and the other as that of the *neck* of the bottle." There seems to be a slight fault of expression here; there are indeed two resonances, and one of them is the resonance of the *neck*, but the other is not the resonance of the belly, but of the *whole bottle*, neck and all. This distinction is of the highest practical importance, for it has been shewn conclusively, both by Sondhauss experimentally and by Rayleigh theoreti-

cally, that if the neck be lengthened or shortened, this so-called belly-note will be deepened or heightened in an exactly assignable ratio. This resonance, therefore, is strictly due to the whole bottle, and not to any separate part of it; and it will be henceforth advisable to speak of it as the resonance of the totality; or, seeing that the resonance of the totality is always deeper than that of any separate portion, it may also be spoken of as the *fundamental* resonance of the bottle.

There are one or two passages in Helmholtz which shew that he had not given deep attention to the obscurer facts of vowel-articulation, otherwise he could hardly have failed to perceive the very immediate bearing of these observations about bottles upon the resonances of *all* the vowels. The resemblance of the *i* and *e* configurations to a bottle struck him immediately; and so it will strike anyone who gives to the matter even a cursory consideration. The articulations of all the *i* and *e* vowels consist simply in the formation of some kind of tube or neck, running in a roughly horizontal manner between the palate and the tongue. Behind this hangs vertically the large cavity of the pharynx or top of the throat, forming altogether a configuration which in every case bears a striking resemblance to a chemist's retort, varying indeed in size of neck, but having a tolerably constant body. The resemblance of this configuration to a bottle becomes almost perfect for our present purpose, when we learn that the great bend of the neck is almost negligible in its acoustic effect.

But when we pass on to examine the configuration of the *a*, *o*, *u* articulations, we do not find them fairly describable as bottle-shaped. If we run through the scale of English vowels already given, we shall find that the differentiation of each of them from its next preceding neighbour is effected very regularly, up to a certain point in the series, by simply

enlarging the neck of the configuration, either in length or in breadth, or in both simultaneously. But when the vowel of *care* and *men* is reached, we find that the limit of this kind of differentiation has been attained, for in these vowels the neck occupies the whole length of the human mouth, and opens widely at both ends.

We therefore scrutinise somewhat narrowly the articulation of the vowels of *man* and *path*, which stand next after *care* and *men* in the series. We find that the required end is attained by new movements, exactly similar in both cases, but exerted, as we might have expected, more forcibly in the second case than in the first. Two such new movements are seen to come into play, the one a retraction of the tongue, and the other an advancement of the point and edge of the uvula part way across the tunnel, like a curtain or shutter. As to this retraction of the tongue, it is well at once to observe that it continues to take place in an increased degree at *each* remaining step in the vowel-series, and that its chief effect upon configuration is to increase at each step the air-space of the mouth at the expense of that of the throat-cavity, into which it is withdrawn. The effect of the uvular movement, on the other hand, is to cut the voice-tunnel somewhat sharply into two portions, of which the hinder one, though diminished, may still be called the inner cavity, but the outer one can no longer fairly be called a neck. Yet, as this marked doubleness of structure will be found to pervade all the configurations of our vowel series, it seems desirable to give a general name to each of the two essential portions into which they all thus seem to fall. I propose to call the outer one the *porch*, and the inner one the *chamber*; but it must not be forgotten that in the later members of the series the tongue is at last so effectually retracted into the chamber as to make it smaller than the porch.

It appears, then, that the porch of the *man* and *path*

vowels is no longer a neck, but a tulip-shaped cavity, opening widely at front, but closing bluntly at the back, except where a somewhat cross-bow-shaped orifice admits the vibrating stream of air as it issues from the chamber. The difference between the "*man*" porch and the "*path*" porch is, that the latter is both wider in bulge and narrower in the back orifice than the other.

It will be convenient now to examine the remaining vowel porches, before the existence and effect of the inner chamber are taken into account. The next key-word on our list is *pall*, and an examination of the porch of its vowel reveals further tongue-retraction as before, but an incipient difference in two other respects. A new movement, in the shape of lip-contraction, begins now to diminish the *front* orifice of the porch, and a change is simultaneously to be noticed in the position of the uvula. The retraction of the tongue has now been carried so far that there is no longer room for the point and edge of the uvula to stretch themselves in an exactly transverse plane across the tunnel. They still divide the tunnel into two, but are now obliged to lie obliquely across it. The porch of this vowel, therefore, represents a transitional formation between the tulip-shaped *a* porches and what we may call the bulb-shaped *o* and *u* porches.

For all the remaining vowels are produced by graduated increases of the same two movements. In respect of lip-contraction, the graduation is patent to any external observer who watches carefully the articulation of the key-words *pall*, *pole*, *pull*, *pool*; but the parallel change which is at the same time taking place in the form of the junction between the porch and the chamber is not so easily realised.

The position of the uvula in the configuration of the *pall* vowel was already an indication that the figure of the inner chamber was becoming very much constricted at its upper

end ; and we are not surprised to find that when, in forming the *pole* vowel, another slight step is taken in tongue-retraction, the uvula ceases altogether to be able to act as the dividing line between porch and chamber. Retraction has now gone so far that the tongue itself, in this part of its surface, lies over against the back wall of the pharynx, and effects there the constriction between porch and chamber which the production of the vowel demands.

It might, at first sight, seem very immaterial whether the required constriction was effected between the tongue and the edge of the uvula, or between the tongue and the back wall of the throat. But there is a very essential difference, not only in the position, but still more in the *shape* of the passages thereby respectively created. The one passage, being formed edge-wise, is merely an orifice ; but the other being formed surface to surface (or *dorsally*, as Sievers very conveniently phrases it), is a tube of appreciable length ; and we have already seen the important influence of an attached tube in modifying the resonance of cavities.

The porch of the *pull* vowel calls for little special remark. Further lip-contraction, tongue-retraction, and consequent porch-expansion are its leading features. The retracted tongue begins to pile itself still more opposite to the throat wall, thus lengthening the tube which now joins porch to chamber, both downwards and upwards.

Lastly comes the porch of the *pool* vowel, representing the limit of transformation in this particular direction. For the retraction is now so severe that the chamber is practically merged in the passage which leads to it, and both now lie in one curved sweep behind the tongue, shaped somewhat like a trumpet, with its wide end at the glottis, and its narrow end some distance up the soft palate.

We have thus traced out, in some of its features, the whole of the graduated chain of articulations corresponding

to that other graduated chain of English vowels from which we started ; beginning from the *i* vowel, whose configuration resembles a bottle with its neck in front, and ending with the *u* vowel, whose configuration is more like a bottle pointed the contrary way ; and though much remains to be said, we are now already in a position to ask and answer the question, What is it that former observers have meant when they spoke of some single tone as *the* resonance of a given vowel ? We hardly need do more than point at their prevailing method of experimentation in order to suggest the answer.

The whole of Trautmann's and a large part of Helmholtz's results repose upon observations made by means of *tuning-forks*. The observer silently adjusts his mouth for the pronunciation of a certain vowel ; but he stops short of pronouncing it ; and while his mouth is still in this position, he holds up various vibrating forks before it until he discovers that particular fork to which the mouth will resound. It is an easy and striking experiment, and whatever its meaning may be, it needs to be accounted for. Remembering the palpable doubleness of structure which we now see to run through all vowel configurations, and recalling the doubleness of resonance which was plainly discovered in bottle-shaped cavities, we are now disposed to look for two resonances in every vowel—the one of the porch, and the other of the porch and chamber combined, or of the totality. Which of these two has been directly and chiefly animated by the tuning-fork ? Probably the former, for it is easy to see that an *external* source of sound would animate the resonance of the porch much more readily than that of the chamber. And the result of my calculations has been to identify Trautmann's resonances fairly well in every case with those of ordinary-sized human vowel porches. If I am right here, it indicates a very remarkable experimental triumph on the part of Trautmann. These obscure reson-

ances have now been observed by various philosophers for more than a century, yet there is not a single vowel whose resonance is not the subject of disagreement between them to the extent of three, four, or five octaves. I point out this remarkable success, attained, as it would seem, without any help from calculation, with all the more satisfaction because I am compelled to controvert so decidedly the accompanying theory of absolute pitch.

For it is now clear that both the theory and the experiments leave entirely out of sight the existence of the inner chamber, and of any resonance due to the totality of the configuration. If vowel resonances were normally animated from without, this might not be very important, because then the backward part of the configuration might imaginably not come much into play; but they are all, without exception, animated from *within* by the heterogeneous noises of the glottis; and it is inevitable that these noises, originating at the inner extremity of the configuration, and necessarily traversing its whole extent, should bear, when at last they reach the outer air, some impress of the resonance of the totality.

Plausible as this dictum may seem in theory, it may reasonably be asked whether it has any confirmation in fact. It has many and strong confirmations, so much so that it will be sufficient here to cite those which are derivable from the experiments of Helmholtz alone. It is true that Helmholtz himself does not draw the same conclusions from his facts; but that is because he studied vowel quality in conjunction with, and in strict analogy to, the *timbre* of pipes and strings, and is consequently always on the look-out for some causal relationship between the vocal resonances and the *musical* tone of the voice.

In those configurations *i*, *e*, *ä*, where the resemblance to a bottle caused him to look for another deeper resonance, he

readily found one; (or rather, he found one of its overtones, for the true fundamental resonance can be calculated pretty closely from an experimental formula of Sondhauss, and is fully an octave or a twelfth deeper.) And when he proceeded to attempt the synthesis of vowels, it became abundantly clear that the remaining vowels had compound resonances too. It will be seen at once on surveying his tabulated results, p. 124, that all his artificial vowels, with one exception, are more or less compound. That exception demands brief notice, because it seems to be exactly the one exception which our theory allows to be possible.

If, as is here urged, the quality of a vowel is due to the proportionate composition of its resonance, irrespective of absolute pitch, it follows that there may be one vowel, and only one, whose resonance is distinguished by being sensibly uncompounded. And viewing the same matter from an organic point of view, it is evidently possible to frame one kind of configuration, and only one, which shall not be divided into porch and chamber, but shall vibrate as a simple undivided tube, upon one note only. We are aided to an approximate identification of this vowel in several different ways. There are some English vowels which refuse to be classified with any certainty in our graduated chain of vowels—the obscure unaccented *a*, *e*, *u*, &c. And it is equally difficult to classify the same vowels organically, because they are marked much less by any definite articulation than by the want of it. Their only discoverable pitch agrees closely with that which would be due to the whole voice-tunnel vibrating as one closed tube. Finally, Helmholtz, pp. 60, 69, in speaking of the quality of an unmixed tone, twice remarks that it is sensibly duller than the vowel *u*, which seems fairly descriptive of the obscure vowel of many English unaccented syllables, or better still, of that formless interjection of disgust which we generally

write *ugh*. The same sound is faintly heard when a sigh is heaved through a perfectly open throat.

It is clear then from Helmholtz's own testimony, that when we find him (p. 124) constructing an artificial *u* vowel from a simple unmixed tone of *b flat*, it is not a very perfect *u* vowel, but *sensibly duller* than the real one. The obscurest vowel in German is probably the final *e*, but it is sensibly brighter than the obscure English vowel which is represented by *a* in *portable*, *o* in *ballot*, *ou* in *cautious*, &c., and which might very naturally be classed by a German observer as a kind of *u*.

Returning from this digression to consider any further evidence which Helmholtz has to offer about vowels, we find him relating in reference to the *o* vowel two crucial experiments which might have been designed to prove what is the essential relationship between the two radical resonances of that vowel, and to demonstrate at the same time that the absolute pitch of the two resonances is immaterial so long as the right relationship is preserved. The one is his second artificial production of *o*, which was effected simply by the admixture of strong tones of *b flat* and its octave *b¹ flat*, (with a weak overtone of the Twelfth which might naturally arise from the lower *b flat* in actual resonance). The same fact is demonstrated in a more general manner (p. 60) when he takes two bottles, tuned exactly an octave apart, and finds, that though when blown separately they each give a dull *u*, they give when blown jointly a decided *o*. We therefore conclude that *o* quality depends upon a double resonance whose porch-note is just an octave above the note of the totality.

Let me here observe, parenthetically, that the first artificial *o* which Helmholtz constructed did not agree perfectly with the above conclusions—the double octave being partly substituted for the octave. But reasons will shortly be

given for thinking that the most essential and definite distinctions in vowel-resonances are never based upon differences of an exact octave in their stretch. The strong presence of the upper octave of the porch resonance has some effect undoubtedly, but my own observations tend to show that this effect is allied to what the organic phoneticians call "*narrowness*," or what may popularly be called *crispness* of vowel quality, rather than to any change in the essential character of the vowel.

Further evidence in support of our second set of propositions will appear when we come to examine all the evidence in the light of a third set, for which it is now necessary to pave the way. Enough has been said to justify the provisional assumption that all vowels having double configurations have also double resonances, and that each of them chiefly derives its special character as a vowel from the ratio which one of these bears to the other in vibrational frequency—i.e., from their relative pitch.

There is a remarkable fact about vowel sounds which the organic phoneticians completely ignore, and which even those of the acoustic school fail to bring out with the prominence which it deserves. Both schools entirely agree that there is a continuity of vowel sounds from one end of the scale to the other. It is manifestly possible, from the acoustic point of view, to slide from each vowel to the next in the series by a sort of *portamento*, in which every intervening shade of sound would necessarily be included. And the organic school have exactly the same story to tell, for there is in no case any sharp break between adjacent configurations of the series, and it is therefore always organically possible to pass from the one to the other by any number of small intervening steps. Yet in spite of this undeniable possibility it is an equally undeniable fact that human ears and human tongues do not regard all these

infinite possible varieties with equal favour, but, on the contrary, have, in most ages and countries, persisted in using the same, or nearly the same, members of the series as their cardinal vowels. When we subtract from existing human differences all that is due to the way in which vowels are commenced, or ended, or accented, or "voiced," or diphthongised, or nasalised, or "narrowed," or lengthened, or shortened, or slurred, or intoned, the differences between the pure substantive vowels of various nations will be found to be very much less than is commonly supposed. The question is, therefore, urged upon us with immense force, *Why* are certain double resonances preferentially employed in human speech so as to constitute a rather limited series of actual vowels?

I venture to advance, in answer to this question, the following third set of propositions, which, so far as I know, are entirely new. These propositions are, that the most definite and cognisable mixtures of resonance are those which are simplest in their composition, that is to say, which consist, as nearly as possible, of two tones only; that this condition is best realised when the ratio, in frequency of pulsation, between the upper and lower resonance, is expressed by what is called in arithmetic a *prime* whole number; that all the vowels between *i* and *o* are based upon assignable ratios of this nature; but that the few vowels intermediate between *o* and *u* are not based upon integral ratios of this kind, but upon very simple fractional ratios.

But it must always be borne in mind, in giving practical application to these principles, that no resonance exists, or can exist, in nature, which is absolutely composed of two elements only. To understand this, it is only necessary to recall the facts relating to *resultant* or *derivative* tones, as stated by Helmholtz or Tyndall. Whenever a body of air is simultaneously actuated by two sets of pulsations of different

frequency, they necessarily generate by their own interaction two other sets of pulsations, the one of which has a frequency represented by the sum, and the other by the difference, of the frequencies of the two generating tones. In other words, if a body of air is simultaneously animated by two resonances, one of which vibrates twenty times more rapidly than the other, there will always be generated, in some degree, both what is called a *summational* tone, vibrating twenty-one times as fast as the fundamental, and a *differential* tone, vibrating only nineteen times as fast. And vowel configurations seem to be particularly adapted to bring out these "resultant" tones with special force in such a case. For though we have now seen for every vowel that its configuration plainly comprises a porch and a chamber, we may see equally plainly in the case of each of them, except, perhaps, *a* in *path* and *man*, how difficult it would be to mark them off from each other by an exact boundary line; and we hence conclude that such an indefinite porch, though it might most naturally resound to the twentieth multiple of the fundamental, would not refuse to resound simultaneously to the nineteenth and twenty-first multiples, which are certain in some degree to accompany it.

Therefore, though I have found it quite possible to construct, with tubes and bottles, cavities of double resonance so calculated that the resonances of porch and chamber may have any desired ratio, it will be noted that even here there is not a complete absence of minor elements; much less is this the case in the less regularly shaped human voice-tunnel. And a still further influx of such elements is occasioned so soon as we attempt to evoke the resonances of such figures in the same way as they are evoked in nature—by injecting a confused medley of heterogeneous noise.

For such a stream of random vibrations is well adapted to evoke *every* kind of resonance to which the configuration

will respond, and though it will respond most readily and strongly to the two proper notes of the porch and of the totality, there are often a great many other pitches to which it will respond in a less marked degree. It is very noticeable that when the porch is a tube, and happens to have either a conical or doubly conical (dice-box-like) shape, the first overtone or octave of the porch-note is given forth with great energy, in addition to the porch-note itself, and seems very much to brighten and define the quality of the vowel. This observation seems to throw some light upon the phenomenon which the organic phoneticians vaguely call "narrowness" in vowel pronunciation.

But the minor resonances which are most important to the present argument are not those which lie *above* the proper tone of the porch, but those which lie between that note and the fundamental note, or note of the totality. The general effect of any resonant cavity upon an injected mass of heterogeneous vibrations is to convert their energy to its own use, appropriating and amassing greedily all those elements which can be made to minister to its own proper pulses, and checking or damping the remainder. But when a cavity has *two* definitely related resonances there is often an important section of the injected vibrations which neither exactly agrees nor exactly conflicts with the two leading tones. For if the number which expresses the ratio of the upper to the lower resonance is not a prime number, that is to say, if it is any number which possesses exact submultiples, there will be a note corresponding to every one of those submultiples whose vibrations will not be effectually damped by the configuration. For though the vibrations of such a note will not synchronise exactly with either of the principal resonances, it will partially synchronise with *both*.

Let us for a moment revert once more to a concrete example, and imagine a configuration whose two radical

resonances are related in the proportion of one to twenty; and let us further imagine that into this configuration is poured a stream of heterogeneous vibrations, including, of course, every grade intermediate between the two proper vibrations. The highest of these grades will be immediately bent to the service of the porch, and the lowest to that of the totality; but there will be four considerable masses of tone which will tend to vibrate at four other intermediate rates. These are the four classes of vibrations which are just about twice, or four times, or five times, or ten times as rapid as the fundamental, and which are consequently at the same time just about ten times, or five times, or four times, or twice as slow as the porch resonance. These partial synchronisms, operating on *both* sides, each tend to assimilate to themselves all those vibrational elements of the injected mass which respond most nearly to the respectively required conditions, and thus no less than four intermediate tones are added to the two proper resonances of the configuration.

But it is plain that if the ratio number had not been 20, but 17, or 23, or any other number which has *no sub-multiples*, the above consequences could not have happened, and the simple doubleness of the resonance would have remained undisturbed, save by the minor derivative tones previously mentioned. Experimental corroboration of this conclusion is afforded by the particular examination of the several vowels.

I do not propose to offer any reasons in favour of the proposition that the simplest mixtures of resonance are the most cognisable, except to say that it seems to follow as a corollary to Helmholtz's demonstration that the ear perceives all mixed modes of vibration by analysing them into simple (pendular) elements. And I have given reasons for thinking that the simplest mixtures of resonance are those which are based upon a prime integral ratio of two radical resonances.

I now proceed to attempt the identification of most of the leading vowels with specific resonances of this nature.

My own investigations of vowel-sound began from the *i* end of the series. Previous synthetic investigation had chiefly proceeded in the contrary direction. Helmholtz had much to tell about the making of *o*, *u*, and *a* vowels, but practically nothing about *i*. His mode of experimentation, by means of tuning-forks, did not lend itself conveniently to the construction of very high-pitched vowels. But by coupling his hint of the resemblance of the configurations of these vowels to a bottle, with some very serviceable formulæ of Sondhauss relating to bottle resonances, I was enabled to construct cavities possessing a double resonance, and severally characterised by the existence of a certain definite ratio between the resonances. When the resonances of these cavities were evoked, by injecting a weak stream of heterogeneous vibrations, they were found to bear considerable resemblance to whisper. But this whisper was not found to make any definite exhibition of vowel quality except in certain cases. The nearest approach to the *fiend* vowel was attained when the vibrational ratio was about 37; to the *fin* vowel about 80; and to the *hate* vowel about 18. The intervening examples had a certain resemblance to vowels also, but it was of a far less definite character; their whole quality as resonances seemed to be more or less blurred and obscure.

The facts, so far, did not point to any obvious law. I therefore turned to Helmholtz's and Preece's observations at the other end of the scale, and noticed, for the first time, that though the vibrational ratio of the *pole* vowel is certainly 2, and that of the *pall* vowel probably 8, there appears to be *no* cardinal vowel that can be based upon 4 as its vibrational ratio. One of Helmholtz's experiments is based very nearly upon that condition, but the result is

classified as a repetition of *o*. And when he came to construct the *path* vowel (German long *a*) which stands next in the scale, its differentiation from previous vowels is clearly effected by very powerful vibrations 5 times as fast as the fundamental. The same holds good of Preece's experiment also.

At this point, the theory of *prime* vibrations very naturally presented itself, but in that case, how were the characteristic mean ratios of 18 for the *hate* vowel and 30 for the *fin* vowel to be accounted for? On running out a list of prime numbers *seriatim*, it became at once noticeable that though eighteen and thirty are not prime numbers themselves, they are both *flanked* by prime numbers on either side; and when it was remembered that a tone mixture based on a ratio of 18 or 30 would infallibly generate resultant tones possessing ratios of 17 and 19 or 29 and 31, it seemed very possible that even here the prime numbers had much to do with the definiteness of the resonance.

It might seem unlikely that a vowel could repose upon a double basis of this kind without disclosing in practical use some corresponding duplicity of sound; one might expect that a vowel based decidedly on the ratio 29, would differ perceptibly from another based directly on the ratio 31, and also that, in passing gradually from the one to the other, some hiatus would be disclosed. But the considerations already adduced respecting the presence of resultant tones probably explain why there is no sensible hiatus felt in passing *gradatim* from the 29 basis to the 31, although we must needs pass through the 30; and when we express in octaves the difference in stretch between the 29 ratio and the 31 ratio, it is found to amount altogether to barely half a tone. It may well be that the perception of so small a difference in so wide a musical stretch (nearly five octaves) transcends the ordinary human power of perceiving these relations, and

therefore cannot afford to our senses any distinction in felt effect between these two ratios. But it may be that this distinction is precisely that which is drawn by Mr. Sweet between the two vowels of the word *pity*. It will be well now to tabulate our results so far, placing on the one hand a list of all the lower prime numbers, and on the other hand the vowel with which it has been, or seems likely to be, connected. In order that at the same time the steps of musical stretch which separate the various vowel resonances may be accurately appreciated, the vibrational ratios are also expressed in octaves and decimals of an octave. This is readily done by calculating their logarithms to the base 2. The table is made to reach and include the consonantal *y*, which marks the transition from vowel to consonant. The reason why the vowel scale ends here, seems to be that the lower resonance disappears, partly because it is greatly enfeebled by the close constriction of the mouth tube, and partly because it becomes so deep as to approach the limit of its audibility as tone.

Ratio.	Stretch in octaves.	Interval in octaves.	Symbol of vowel.	Nearest key vowel.	Nearest English key vowel.
43	5.43		<i>j</i>	German <i>j</i>	<i>y</i> in <i>ye</i>
		.07			
41	5.36		<i>j</i>	German <i>j</i>	<i>y</i> in <i>ye</i>
		.15			
37	5.21		<i>i</i>	Fr. <i>fine</i>	<i>fiend</i>
		.26			
31	4.95		<i>i</i> ^a	Eng. <i>fin</i>	<i>fin</i>
		.09			
29	4.86		<i>i</i> ^a	Eng. <i>finny</i>	<i>finny</i>
		.34			
23	4.52		<i>u</i>	Welsh "modified" <i>u</i>	
		.27			
19	4.25		<i>é</i>	Fr. <i>été</i>	<i>hate</i>
		.16			
17	4.09		<i>é</i> ^a	Fr. <i>les</i>	<i>hate</i>
		.39			
13	3.70		<i>ê</i>	Fr. <i>père</i>	<i>care</i>
		.24			
11	3.46		<i>é</i> ^a	Fr. <i>bête</i>	<i>man</i>
		.65			
7	2.81		<i>a</i> ^a	S. Eng. <i>man</i>	<i>man</i>
		.49			

Ratio.	Stretch in Octaves.	Interval in Octaves. of vowel.	Symbol of vowel.	Nearest key vowel.	Nearest English key vowel.
5	2.82		a°	S. Eng. path	path
		.74			
3	1.58		o°	S. Eng. pall	pall
		.58			
2	1.00		o	Ger. lohn	pole
		.26			
1½	.74				
		.15			
1½	.59		u°	Eng. pull	pull
1+2+3+&c.			u	Fr. poule	pool
1	.00	.00	o	obscure vowel, called "unmodified voice" by Sweet.	

I have been able to check most of the above results by the whispered resonance of experimental cavities, but not the last six. These have been set down partly from Helmholtz's and other evidence, and partly from conjecture. They may therefore need to be modified when satisfactory experiments have been devised. Something needs also to be said about the ratio 23, which is but sparingly represented in actual language, and then not usually in an unadulterated form. The fact seems to be that there is an organic difficulty in producing a simple tube and chamber to vibrate after this ratio. It is attempted in two ways by human organs. One of these is the *high-mixed* articulation of the organic phoneticians, and the other is the *high-front-round*. The former is that by which the Welsh and Russians produce a sound resembling the French *u*, and the latter is that by which the French (and Germans) produce it themselves. But in neither case is the porch strictly a tube. In the Welsh articulation the elevation of the tongue to form a tube along the highest part of the palate leaves a cavity behind the teeth; and in the French articulation there is also an anterior cavity which produces a nearly equivalent acoustic effect by being both very much smaller and very much more contracted at front. My experiments seem to disclose a certain resemblance between these vowels and the whispered

resonances of the 23 ratio, but not at all a perfect one, especially in the case of the French vowel. I am inclined to think that all the vowels of this class contain in actual use a *third* element, due to the anterior cavity. It seems reasonable to suppose that such configurations would have *three* radical resonances, the one of the anterior cavity, the second of the whole porch, and the third of the whole configuration—porch and chamber.

There are three other cases which demand a special word, because they illustrate, in a progressively increasing degree, that duplication of base which characterized the *fin* vowel (*i^a*). The prime ratios 29 and 81 are not the only ones which stand adjacent to each other in the series of odd numbers; the same relation is seen in three other cases on the list—17 and 19, 11 and 13, 5 and 7. We were able to say in the case already discussed that the two bases were sensibly indistinguishable, but I am inclined to think that a keen ear could distinguish between an *e* based strictly on the 17 ratio and another based strictly on the 19, and that this distinction is very possibly identical with that drawn by French phoneticians between the *e* of *les* and the *e* of *été*. The difference between the 11 and 13 ratios is a little wider and more appreciable; it seems more nearly represented by the French *ê* and *é* than by the English key-words. This difference is perhaps the same as that intended by the organic phoneticians in the sounds which they classify as *mid-front-wide* and *low-front-narrow* respectively.

Finally there are the 5 and 7 ratios, which not only present a still wider gap, but mark a noteworthy change in the musical conditions of a compound resonance. In the high ratios previously discussed, the development of adjacent derivative tones was strongly favoured by the configurations, and these derivative tones were always *inharmonic* to the intervening tone, and nearly always to each other. Helm-

holtz has pointed out the remarkably incisive effect of such combinations of tone in the case of brass wind instruments, whose ear-shattering effect he found to be conferred upon them by their high adjacent upper partials. But in the case of the 7 ratio there is only a partial dissonance between the porch-resonance and its adjacent derivative tones; and in the case of the 5 ratio there is no dissonance at all, for the two resultant tones are separated from the porch-resonance by exact intervals of a Major and Minor Third, and from each other by a perfect Fifth. This is probably the explanation of the pleasing musical character of the *a* vowel. I venture to identify these two ratios with what Trautmann calls the *e* basis of *a* and the *o* basis of *a* respectively, which seem to be fairly represented in actual speech by the Southern pronunciation of the English key-words *man* and *path*. In Northern pronunciation they are not so well differentiated, and the *man* vowel is less easy to appreciate because it retains its original shortness. The Italian *a* seems to be intermediate, and may perhaps depend on the 6 ratio, with resultant tones based on the 5 and the 7.

In concluding this brief account of a still incomplete inquiry, I desire to express my regret at its being presented in its present imperfect state, but the only alternative was to postpone it till next session, and I am rather anxious to arouse the timely interest of other students and experimenters in what I think may prove to be a very fruitful line of research.

It does not seem to me at all unlikely that the future progress of such a study might render it possible to register vowel-pronunciation completely in arithmetical terms, and to construct apparatus which would at any moment whisper forth the normal elementary sounds of contemporary English for the information and delight of lexicographers and philologists yet unborn.

STOICISM AND HISTORY.

By G. H. RENDALL, M.A.

To observe the interaction of thought and life, to watch the rise and fall of systems of philosophy, and note how they reflect the historic needs and circumstances out of which they spring, and to which they correspond, is always an interesting study, and there are few systems which admit such handling better or more suggestively than that great Stoic school of thought which, cradled among the ruins of Greek liberty, was destined to mount the throne of Roman empire, which bridged the passage from Paganism to Christianity, which sang the *Hymn of Zeus*, which mused the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, which at the deathbed of the old learning penned the last *Consolation of Philosophy*, and finally, incorporated rather than superseded, planted the precepts of the Porch deep in the disciplines of the Church Catholic.

GENESIS OF STOICISM.

Stoicism, like all the intellectual movements of pre-Christian Europe, proceeded from Greece. Historically it derived from Cynicism. Zeno, the founder of the school, was of the following of Crates the Cynic. While upon the moral side Cynicism attracted him by its severity, its self-reliance, its uncompromising veracity, upon the intellectual he felt the scantiness and insufficiency of a system which virtually solved perplexities by eliminating from life all the higher and more complicated modes of moral action. Concentrating all effort and attention upon individual virtue, the

true Cynic declined further intellectual analysis, repudiated all social relationship, disparaged society alike and the State as based on false distinctions and worthless conventions, condemned the family tie as a hampering and artificial bondage, minimised wants by discarding all refinements, and thus reverting to a crude and almost animal naturalism, found ethical contentment in the abolition rather than in the assertion or explanation of morality. The effort of Zeno and his school was to formulate and justify that primacy of virtue, which the Cynics preached so crudely. For this he drew on the resources of Megarian logic, and reverted from Platonic and Aristotelian schemes of ethics to the earlier formulas of Socrates.

The rise of Stoicism as an ethical system reflects unmistakably the historical environment from which it grew. The age that witnessed the breakdown of the Greek *πόλις*, as a stable arrangement of society ushers the way for Stoicism. Earlier Greek morality rests on the bond of citizenship. That is the soul of Spartan and of Athenian morals, the one realised as a discipline, the other as a free service. The tie of citizenship not only demands patriotism and creates a separate range of duties and obligations, but determines the whole code of moral requirement. To Greek and Roman morality a good man means first and foremost a good citizen. That is an indispensable minimum. "A Greek indifferent to duty as a citizen had almost no other duty to fall back upon; a Roman had absolutely none." *Within* the allotted circle civic requirement supersedes individual obligation; Plato approves community of wives on the score of benefit to the State. *Without* it, the duties of citizen to citizen are distinct from and not seldom opposed to the duties of citizen to alien; much more are they distinct from the duties and rights and dues of the barbarian and of the slave. Morality is civic or at most Hellenic, not universal.

Duty to neighbour is not yet amplified into a recognition of the rights of man. Plato, to determine the true meaning of righteousness, begins with constructing the Ideal state, that he may deduce from thence the ideal of individual virtue. Aristotle treats Ethics, the science or art of human conduct, as a branch of citizenship or statesmanship, upon the secure assumption that human well-being rests upon right political arrangement or relationship. The new philosophies, Cynicism Stoicism Epicureanism and Scepticism, agree in abandoning the *πόλις* as the basis of morality. The change may be regarded as a contraction or an expansion. In one sense much was renounced; the passage was from the state to the individual, from the altruistic demands and inspiration of patriotism to Cynic repudiation, to Stoic apathy, to Epicurean self-satisfaction, to Sceptic imperturbability; from this point of view the new doctrines represent the political helplessness of the age. They imply the decomposition of Greek Republicanism. Here, as so often, progress is achieved through visible or seeming loss; and at the time the sense of loss is often the most apparent and predominant. But on the other hand, potentially at least, and in retrospect most conspicuous, there is the expansion from the city to the world. The rise of Stoicism is the inauguration of a world-morality, the prophecy of the brotherhood of man, and of the universal citizenship of Rome.

PRECURSORS OF STOICISM.

Viewed in relation to its great forerunners, Platonism and Aristotelianism, Stoicism is in part an expansion, but still more a reaction. Here, too, as in the abandonment of a morality based upon the ties of the individual to the state, Stoicism represents in one sense philosophic helplessness and despair. Plato, possessed with the harmonious intuitions of a soul aspiring after truth and confident of its

attainment, on the one hand with his matchless metaphysical genius realised more fully than any of his predecessors how unstable were the foundations of knowledge provided by the impressions of sense; but on the other found or thought to find a refuge from the dilemma of scepticism in his Ideal Theory, implying an ultimate basis of intuitive truth inborn in man, attested by his highest reason and consciousness, and resting on divine immutable realities, transcending sense. Plato first grouped and defined the limits of the phenomenal and sensuous. Side by side with that delimitation he strove to vindicate the existence of higher and more stable forms of existence, extra-phenomenal, super-sensuous, Ideal—whose existence rests upon the attestation (or, as opponents said, upon the fabrication) of the Human Mind. To this Ideal philosophy, Aristotle, elaborating the metaphysical distinctions of matter and form, gave a yet more abstract and intellectual cast, and found man's highest activity in pure thought, occupying itself with a world, not of things or phenomena, but of ideas and essences. Now in one very plain and obvious sense, the Stoics represent a reaction from this Ideal Philosophy. They revert to a materialistic explanation not of sensation merely, but also of thought, of emotion, and even of the most abstract moral ideas. To them justice, or even a just act, was, scholastically speaking, a material existence. Viewed thus, Stoicism is a confession of defeat, the negation of the mighty hopes conceived and claimed by the most consummate speculative genius which Greece, or perhaps the world, has ever produced. As in morals Stoic individualism represents the despair and death of the Greek state, so in metaphysics Stoic materialism may be said to represent the despair and death of constructive Greek philosophy. It is the collapse of speculative self-reliance.

Yet in another sense, Stoicism, and to some extent Epicureanism, continue the line of movement. Plato and Aristotle turn men's highest contemplation from the outer world of things to a world of ideas apprehended and evidenced from within. It is an extension of this to refer man solely to himself, to teach that in conduct and in emotion, even more than in thought, man is independent of the universe and self-sufficing. Though Aristotle conceives that man's happiness or well-being (*εὐδαιμονία*) depend primarily on right fulfilment of function and exercise of the highest reason, yet he practically assumes some measure of external goods, including material wealth, as an indispensable pre-requisite of perfected well-being. The Stoics go beyond him, they throw man more completely upon himself, making the whole of happiness to consist in a moral state of self-consciousness, in an inner peace of mind, superior to and independent of all external goods or phenomenal environment. Stoic "Apathy" gives one solution of the problem, for which Epicurean "imperturbability" devises another. Both isolate man from the world, and point logically on to a *moral* self-centredness that may be well compared with the *intellectual* self-centredness in which the Buddhist discerns perfection.

Beside these influences there appears a new and extra-Hellenic strain. It is one more characteristic mark of the place of Stoicism in history, that though the centre of this (as of all pre-Alexandrine schools) was at Athens, the founders and almost all the leading exponents of the school were of Eastern origin. Greek city life went down before the phalanxes of Macedon. But the destroyer of Greek political liberties and Oriental monarchies became by his conquests the founder of new intellectual franchises. From this point forward classical and Oriental thought touch and react. "Stoicism is the earliest offspring of contact between

the religious consciousness of the East and the intellectual culture of the West." It is in this sense the precursor of the Alexandrine philosophy of Philo, or the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus; only the proportions differ. The Stoics are Hellenists tinged with Orientalism; Philonists or Neo-Platonists are Orientals suffused with Hellenism. Zeno, the founder of the sect, came of Phœnician Citium in Cyprus; Cleanthes, his successor, of Assos, in the Troad; Chrysippus, the second founder, of Soli in Cilicia. Babylonia, Phœnicia, Syria are the homes of others; Apamea, Ascalon, Ptolemais, Hierapolis all boast their representatives. Every one of them is Asiatic, and nursed in Eastern modes of thought: not one belonged to a great Hellenic commonwealth. The few pure Greeks who took rank in the School, were men of third or fourth-rate capacity. If here and there a name of note arrests attention, not hailing from Asia, it is from the islands of the Mediterranean or Aegean, from Carthage or from Spain, from spheres, that is, of Phœnician influence or ascendancy. And it is strange to see how this tendency constantly reasserts itself even in the latest developments of the School. Posidonius, perhaps the most successful propagator of Stoicism at Rome, sprang of Syrian Apamea. Seneca was born at Corduba in Spain, a settlement of Phœnician origin, and in a district permeated with Phœnician influences. His own name suggests Semitic associations. Epictetus was a Phrygian slave. The special elements of Eastern thought thus contributed to Greek philosophy are the moral seriousness and earnestness, which permeate Stoic doctrine, the concentration upon moral rather than intellectual problems and solutions, the new and wholly un-Hellenic bias towards asceticism, the tendency to lean on *intuition* rather than induction or analysis, the mystic and at times theistic Pantheism, which dominates all Stoic theology; finally, the vein of fatalism, which is

cognate to the Kismet of Eastern acquiescence, rather than to the naiver Nemesis teaching of Aeschylus, Herodotus or Sophocles. Zeno, Chrysippus, and Panaetius formulated Eastern creeds in terms of Hellenic thought, somewhat in the same way as in later centuries Origen, Athanasius or Basil rendered Christian doctrines into their Hellenic and intellectual equivalents.

STOICISM.

The system itself must not too long detain us, but certain points deserve emphasis for their historical significance. The Stoics were at one with their contemporaries in insisting upon the threefold division of philosophy into Logic, Physics and Ethics. Their paramount interest lay in the latter; philosophy is the art of virtue. If the processes of thought or the study of nature are of interest, it is as aids to the comprehension of virtue. If here and there a Herillus or Diogenes accords the primacy to reason, or a Cleanthes to natural science, it is expressly upon the ground that knowledge contains all virtue, and that Nature is the highest synthesis of life, including in itself morality.

In Logic, whether as an art of reasoning or as a doctrine of cognition, the Stoics made no serious advance upon their predecessors. It was elaborated indeed with painful minuteness by Chrysippus and successors; but in formal Logic they accepted all that was cardinal in the Aristotelian scheme, encumbering it with superfluous categories and subdivisions, and doing nothing meanwhile to extend or clarify the processes of Inference, inductive or deductive. In Grammar they added a few useful innovations, but soon lost their clue in futile controversies upon Analogy and Anomaly. In Rhetoric they abandoned themselves to frigid pedantries, and only deepened the scholastic

jungle; while in Literature, whether of Rhetoric or Poetry, the austere verbosities of Chrysippus permanently killed freedom, grace, and power of sympathy. A narrow intellectual asceticism fell like a blight upon all sense of art, and took a churlish pride in renouncing the pursuit of the beautiful. Missing at the outset the stimulating reactions of healthy civic life, they reduced themselves to impotence in the very sphere where in the later stages of their history—the Roman phase—noble openings lay disregarded by philosophy. Nor did they attain any compensating success in their Logic of thought. Their theory of knowledge breaks down helplessly in the attainment of its end, a solid criterion of truth. Knowledge with the Stoics rests on sense-impressions, which are conceived in uncompromisingly materialistic terms. They are literal impressions—dints made on the impressible organ of sense by effluences from the object of perception. Accumulated or repeated perceptions, by aid of memory, build up experience, and experience gradually forms general conceptions (*κοινὰ ἔννοιαι*), to which the Stoics by a sudden leap attach a virtue and validity superior to sense-impression. The sole criterion supplied is the fixity, the immovability, the invincibleness of the conceptions. No claim is made for a higher reason, as in Aristotle, or for latent intuitions, as in Plato; on the contrary, they denied the reality or self-existence of thought. The validity of the conception rests solely on the strength of conviction, the completeness of assent, which it is able to command. The wise man's irresistible convictions are true, is the sum of the Stoic theory of cognition. When driven back upon their premisses by the dialectic of the Sceptics, they virtually took their stand upon the assertion that without trustworthy knowledge of truth, right action and fixed principles would be impossible; therefore, was the argument, virtuous convictions must be trustworthy and right.

But such a defence abandons an intellectual basis for knowledge and substitutes a moral axiom.

Their Physics are more interesting. They did not indeed in what we understand by Natural Science attain results of value. The instruments were wanting, and all knowledge of right methods. The thirst for extended knowledge of the material world, "science for science sake" had not yet arisen. They did not even possess those forms of inspiration which are natural to the utilitarian, the hedonist, or the materialist; their philosophy withdrew, rather than supplied, motives for relieving life of outward accidents of misery, for increasing its fund of pleasures, or for disengaging it from false beliefs by clearer insight into the world of things. On this side Epicureans had the advantage. Their interest in Physics was moral, and their explanations *a priori*; but in thus moralising nature, they adopted, developed, and even popularised thoughts pregnant with philosophic range and power. Their theory of Physics, like their theory of cognition, is in basis materialistic—hardly, if at all less so, than the Atomic theories of Democritus, adopted by the rival Epicurean School. All forms of action are material, the action being attributed to atmospheric or gaseous currents, which keep up a constant activity and account for all relations, subjective as well as objective. Not only sense impressions and emotions, but even such abstractions as intellectual judgments or moral attributes, are treated as corporeal. Virtues and vices, in Stoic diction, are atmospheric currents permeating the soul, and producing the varieties of tension, which we denote as given virtues or vices. No action is possible except in and through matter: so far did they press this mode of thought, as actually to attribute corporeity to day and night, to months, and years, and seasons. This is less absurd than it sounds at first hearing. Daylight is after all an agita-

tion of the ether, and it was not so unpardonable to regard it as atmospheric diffusion of a substance ; summer was a heated air-state ; month was a physical moon and earth relation—and so on. But Stoic Physics are not so much science as theology. They are not an investigation or explanation of natural phenomena, but a theory of natural energy. The formulas, if not the conception they adopted, were those of Heraclitus. "All things are in flux." The world represents a continuous motion of matter, an incessant cyclic flow of being. This motion is ascribed to an interpenetrating force, distinct from yet diffused throughout all material existences : it is a vitalising energy, that everywhere makes its presence felt, metaphorically known and named as the *Anima Mundi*, or World-Soul. The action of the universe is dynamically interpreted : force is distinct from matter, and in a higher category. It energises it and makes it live. But this force, and this is the most significant article of the Stoic creed, was affirmed to be *One* ; everywhere the same, though differing in manifestation and in name. A unity of Cause, and with it a unity of the whole Universe, which derived all motion and action from this efficient Cause, was proclaimed. This unity was not deduced from scientific divinations or forecasts of the transformation of energy ; it was concluded from the orderliness of the whole. The world was a cosmos, not a chaos. The harmonious disposition and correlation of parts were held to prove unity in the motive power. Conflicting or even independent forces could not produce such visible unity of results. From this unity of force or world-soul, attributes may be inferred : for our own consciousness, our own reason, become attestations of its character. Within ourselves we are conscious of it as reason or soul ; in the phenomenal world as variant modes of energy—life, heat, motion, or what not. Thus we attain a very comprehensive form of

Pantheism. The materialistic conception of all forms of action leads to equally materialised conceptions of God. God was perceived in matter only, and became limited to matter, much in the same way as Aristotle had reduced *form* to a property of matter. As the great pervading world-life God can be expressed in the most various terms, sometimes as the vitalising breath or Air-Current, sometimes as Heat or Fire, sometimes as Reason or Soul, sometimes in more generic terms as Nature, Law, or Destiny, sometimes in more theological phase as Providence, or God, or Zeus. The world is the sum of existence, and its Being (whether motion, life, reason or soul) is God.

Whence this Pantheistic conception arose is far from clear. It is not Greek, and may probably be attributed to Eastern forms of thought. It is associated indeed with the Heraclitean doctrine of the perpetual flux of Being; but Heraclitus himself came of Ephesus, and it was there (rather than in Greece) that his school survived, and that his physical *dicta* received mystical interpretations. Cleanthes of Asia,* has left us one of the earliest and amplest utterances of this Stoic Pantheistic faith. This Pantheistic interpretation of the universe, with its suggestions of a majestic all-embracing unity, makes a far higher imaginative appeal than any other portion of their creed. It inspired the noble cadences familiar to all readers of Vergil;† and re-echoes in the Pantheistic fervours of Wordsworth and of Shelley. In Marcus Aurelius‡ it tinged the thought of Nature with a pathetic fallacy, and interpreted it with an 'accent of emotion,' that elsewhere hardly escapes the lips of antiquity. Upon the strength of it Seneca writes of the Holy Spirit, the *Sacer spiritus* or *divinus spiritus*, that

* The *Hymn to Zeus*, from which or from Aratus of Tarsus, S. Paul quotes the *τὸν γὰρ καὶ γένος ἰσμεν*, Acts xvii, 28.

† esp. *Æn.* VI, 724 vv.

‡ e.g. *Thoughts*, iii, 2; iv, 48; vi, 36.

breathes in man, and of the God who 'is near us, is with us, is within us;' Marcus Aurelius makes reiterated appeal to the indwelling God (ὁ ἐνδὲν δαίμων), who is the spiritual guide of life; and Epictetus writes—"When you have shut the doors, and have made all dark within, remember never to say that you are alone, for you are not; but God is within and your divinity (δαίμων); and what need of light have these to see what you do?" Yet in reading such passages it must not be forgotten how materialistic were the conceptions and the terms of Stoic theology. Their theology is from one aspect what in current parlance would be called materialism or atheism. God is force, energy; the unity of God is in other terms the transformation, the eternity of God the conservation, of energy. The presence of God, or the indwelling of the spirit, is reducible to the possession of reason, and the inhalation of breath. The fatherhood of God, Prayer, Life with God (συζῆν θεῷ;) denote wholly different concepts to the same terms on Christian lips.

For its rational basis of Ethics Stoicism reverted to the cardinal Socratic formulas. "Virtue is knowledge; vice is ignorance." "Virtue can be taught." "No one does wrong on purpose." The insufficiency of such statement was in truth exposed by the analysis of Aristotle. It lands the philosopher in alternative paradoxes; either he must allow vice to be involuntary, or he must affirm ignorance to be voluntary. The latter horn of the dilemma is the less dangerous to morality, and as such the Stoics chose it. But practically this exchanged the idea of sin for that of voluntary ignorance, a vigorous denunciation of which is out of place. Into the ethical eccentricities that were deduced—the perfection of the hypothetical Wise Man, the indivisibility of virtue and such like—maintained by verbal logic in defiance of the facts of life, we need not enter. It will be more instructive to consider the ethical consequences of

Pantheism as held by the Stoics. The tendency of such a Pantheism is to destroy moral responsibility. A theory which identifies the world with God and believes him to be the motive force alike of the evil and the good, effaces necessarily the sense of sin. It identifies God with man instead of perceiving in man a possibility of relationship with God. And from this consequence Stoic logic did not shrink. Chrysippus boldly argued that the wise man is as useful to Zeus, as Zeus is to the wise man. "Jupiter," said a later teacher, "is not better than a good man; he is richer, but riches do not constitute superior goodness; longer-lived, but greater longevity does not ensure greater happiness." Seneca can endorse such language as this. The good man differs from God, only in length of time. He is like God, excepting his mortality. For guidance of conduct such a creed is on a par with evolutionary philosophy, which making man a phase or incident in the world evolution, yet gives no hint as to the line of progress expected of him for his own well-being. "Whatever is, is right" is the inevitable inference. "*Find fault with no one*"—" *Armpits are what they are*"—are aphorisms of Marcus Aurelius. "He who would not have the bad do wrong, is like the man who would not have the fig-tree bear juice in her figs, or the infant squall, or the horse neigh, or any other law of nature." This deficient sense of sin, with the moral apathy which it involves, is conspicuous in Stoic doctrine; it is to escape from it that the language of the later Stoics takes more and more a theistic colour.

Once more, a thorough-going Pantheism logically implies a strict determinism. If all action, impulse, life, is but an effect of the World-Soul residing in the individual, no place is left for the action of free-will. "If this be so, be sure, that if it ought to have been otherwise, the gods

would have so ordered it. For had it been just, it would have been also possible; had it been according to nature, nature would have brought it to pass. But because it is not so, if in fact it is not so, be certainly assured that it ought not to have been so. To put such questions is to find fault with God."* The ancients, Stoic or otherwise, concerned themselves little with the problems of free-will and determinism. Epictetus, realising the moral power of will, and giving it unconditional supremacy over all else, never attempts to reconcile the idea of individual freedom with the conception of an indwelling power not himself. He simply claims for it omnipotence and independence. In the outer world it is powerless: it cannot touch circumstance. But within it is supreme: it can defy poverty, pain, the rack, death. The meanest slave had but to exercise his will, and whatever pains or privations it might be his lot to bear, he issued 'more than conqueror.' Yet Stoicism by the hardihood of its antitheses is bringing the problem into prominence, and heralding the Pelagian controversy.

Another favourite formula of Stoicism, the offspring of its Physics, is 'Conformity with Nature.' 'Life according to nature' is perhaps the most hackneyed of their precepts. In a sense, upon their Pantheistic theory, no other life was possible. But when we go beyond this, and ask precisely what it means, no phrase could be more equivocal. 'Life according to nature' upon a Cynic interpretation would mean the completest possible reversion to animalism. Rousseau would mean unquestioning indulgence of each instinct or desire, animal, sensuous, or intellectual, authorised by some primitive and ideal state of innocence. To Hobbes the 'state of nature' means a state of war preceding contract and the recognition of the social tie. To Roman law, on the other hand the *Jus Naturale* meant all those recognised rights of

* Marc. Aur., xii, 5.

man towards man, to which centuries of development had given universal validity. To Bishop Butler it meant a higher harmony discernible in the general course and direction of the world's governance, towards which man was invited to conform himself. This last comes nearest to the meaning of the Stoics. But they never analysed their formula. They picked and chose at will from the universe around. They started with an untested assumption that the life of nature was analogous to the life of man, and were gradually led on to overlook all that was specifically characteristic of man in consciousness, in will, and in emotion, and nickname the residue 'life according to nature.' They never fairly defined their own term. Sometimes 'nature' is opposed to convention, and the result in morals is revolutionary: sometimes 'nature' means what exists everywhere or generally: sometimes again, what would exist *if* man recognised his proper end and place in the universe. This latter perhaps is the most common rendering, and gave the most paradoxical corollaries. Vaguely it implied some equable balance of the impulses and faculties of man, that might be compared with the passionless movement of phenomena, and secure internal harmony of soul. Deluded by the false analogy between nature and man, and desiring to conform man to the seeming laws of matter, the Stoics in the name of conformity to nature, became no less rudely and contumeliously defiant of nature than a Simeon Stylites. Not only was the formula alleged in support of the paradoxes that privation and pain were no evil, but it was used as the logical justification of Stoic ἀπάθεια, the suppression of the emotions. Nature has no emotions—shows a front of ever impassive, inexorable law. Stoic theory, obedient to its formula, demanded like impassivity of the Wise Man. By crushing the emotions he must triumph over pain. "Did I not tell you you would break my leg?" Epictetus remarked,

with unruffled serenity under his master's tortures. But not pain only, but the affections must be crushed. Desire, sympathy, hope, pity, much more the more violent emotions and enthusiasms break in upon the passionless serenity that belongs to nature and to reason. They are forms of weakness and of self-deception, that can only cloud and perturb the soul. Virtue consists in the suppression, not the cultivation of the emotions; the sage must stand superior alike to aspiration and to discontent. Thus Seneca—"To condole and grieve for the misfortunes of another, to weep at the sight of suffering, is a weakness unworthy of the sage, for nothing should cloud his serenity or shake his firmness.

. . . He will not make ado or be unmanned at the sight of emaciation or squalor. Only weak eyes flush and smart to see the ophthalmia of others." And again—"The wise man will be clement and gentle, but he will not feel pity, for only old women and girls will be moved by tears; he will not pardon, for pardon is the remission of a deserved penalty; he will be strictly and inexorably just." Epictetus treats personal bereavement in the same tone. "Never say of anything 'I have lost it,' but 'I have given it back.' Is your child dead? it is given back. Is your wife dead? she is given back. Are you defrauded of your property? that too is given back. 'But he is wicked who deprives me of it.' Nay, what is that to thee, at whose hands the giver demands his own? So long as he gives you leave, steward it as a property in trust, as travellers use an inn.'" Such counsels of perfection, with their gospel of insensibility to sorrow or to suffering, lead logically on to an inordinate self-centred egoism. The theatrical suicide of Posidonius is an instance of the lengths to which this could go. They made Stoicism fatally inefficacious, and this denial of nature fully explains the unsucess of Stoicism as a propaganda. They stamp it with hardness, and inexpansiveness: stereo-

type it as a philosophy for wise men, a doctrine of virtue for the already virtuous, an exhortation to morality, making no appeal except to the moral. Its motto *Bear and forbear*, or more literally, *Endure and refrain*, meaning insensibility and tolerance on one hand, and self-mortification upon the other, became "bare and unattractive, a renunciation without reward to the renouncer, or even gain to the world, a seed sown in tears and reaped only with the barren self-glory of asceticism." Yet cased in this hard asceticism were thwarted germs of nobleness, adapted strangely well to the surroundings for which it was destined.

STOICISM—GREEK AND ROMAN.

Upon Greek life the actual influence of Stoicism was almost inappreciable. Not one great name in politics or literature derived its inspiration from Stoic impulse. Stoicism, born of declining freedom and the East, was alien to the mood of classic Greece, to its instinctive sense of proportion, its blend of intellectual acuteness and sanity, its versatility, its unreserve, its buoyant and self-satisfied humanity, its frankly sensuous delight in life, its free emotional play, its genius for art, its stirring zest for practical activities. The intellectual appeals of Stoicism were paradoxical, weak and unconvincing. But in the intellectual field few labourers know for what harvest their seed is sowing, or where it will bear fruit; they 'cast their bread upon the waters.' So did the Greek Stoics—nor was the crop gathered in till Stoicism was transplanted to soil prepared at Rome. There the intellectual husk was dropped, and the moral affirmations emerged and blossomed.

Panaetius carried Stoicism to Rome in the middle of the second century B.C., and gained for it a place in the cultured Scipionic circles, the first Roman assimilators of Greek culture. There it was destined to a high career. In

thought, in character, in national bent, in constitutional aim, Rome might have been, as it were, fore-prepared by Providence for Stoicism to find a home. As Latin Christianity, it has been observed, built up the fabric of a stately moral and social order upon a foundation of Greek creeds, so was it in a Latin home, and wielded by Latin hands, that Stoicism became a motive power in the world, and achieved those results which entitle it to lasting respect. Upon a large scale, the great Stoic doctrine of the unity of the Cosmos provided the Roman sense for order, authority, unity, with just that kind of philosophy which was best suited to it. The Roman genius was conservative, unspeculative and unanalytic; it was best satisfied with a large commanding synthesis, which appealed to its moral instinct, and did not excite intellectual or theological misgivings. But much more did it appeal to Romans upon the moral side, as a philosophy of conduct. The emphasis it laid on morals, the firmness and austerity of its code, the harshness of its judgments on defaulters, the stern repudiation of sentimental considerations or emotional impulses, even the narrowness and inflexibility of its moral logic, all commended it to Roman sympathies. The Stoic range of virtues covered accurately the field of qualities denoted by Roman *virtus*—manliness. Reverence there was, obedience, discipline, justice, integrity, the sternness of a Brutus ordering his disobedient son to execution, the devotion of a Decius, the dogged self-sacrifice of a Regulus, boundlessly loyal allegiance to the call of duty and the state, but nowhere—in domestic, personal, or civic relation—a touch of emotion, affection, or ruth. Nowhere could Stoicism have found material so congenial. Cato is typically Roman, and by his faults and limitations as much as his backbone of virtue became the ideal of Roman Stoicism. There was in him the same high-minded, stolid, impracticable consistency

that characterises the Stoic system of Ethics; the same stubborn narrowness of view, the same contempt for moral facts.* Later Roman Stoics were often feeble copies, more or less conscious, of Cato. Like him, they were hard, impracticable, perverse, studiously antagonistic to the prevailing spirit or the dominant power of their age; but, like him also, they were living protests, when protests were most needed, against the dishonesty and corruption of the times; and their fearless demeanour was felt as a standing reproach alike to the profligate despotism of the ruler and to the mean and cringing flattery of the subject.

Once more, Stoic theology harmonised with the unimaginative materialism of the Roman religious sense. Contrast Roman belief with its impersonal goddesses of abstract qualities, Faith, Fortune, Virtue and the like, or its yet more sordid Terminus, god of the boundary, Cloacina, goddess of sewers, with the exuberant, picturesque, suggestive, fanciful imagery of Greek mythology, and consider how much more akin it is to Stoic moods of physical Pantheism. It is reticent, prosaic, sombre, affording little food to the imagination, and no point for the crystallisation of allegory and mystic thought. But it tends from the first towards unity. Its abundant abstractions, mere epithets of the supreme power of which Rome appeared the incarnate expression, reveal its true meaning, and, prosaic as they are, yet prepare a place for the One. There is a natural correspondence between the monotheistic Pantheism of the Stoics, revealing itself and actively immanent in every individual, yet harmoniously directing a far mightier whole, and that vague worship of the Genius of Rome, which was

* "The Republican opposition," writes Mommsen, "borrowed from Cato its whole attitude—stately, transcendental in its rhetoric, pretentiously rigid, hopeless, and faithful to death; and, accordingly, it began even immediately after his death to revere as a saint the man who in his lifetime was not unfrequently its laughing-stock and scandal."

probably the most commanding object of national belief. Rome compared well with the Stoic thought of God. Her rule was a hard and crushing despotism, inexorable and irresistible as Nature's own. Through justice and injustice, made tolerable chiefly by virtue of its irresistibleness, it moved resolutely, passionlessly, to its end. This sense inspires the verse of Vergil with much of the same touching resignation and acquiescence that haunt the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius. Sorrow, endurance, patience weave themselves into the web of his verse. Rome is the spirit of order in history, much as Nature is the spirit of order in the universe. The very thought and name of Natural Law is borrowed from the majestic sovereignty of Roman Law. Stern, ruthless, cruel, and therefore tolerable, Rome decides and metes the destiny of nations. Each vista of national vicissitude leads up to and terminates in the majesty of Rome. So far as the person or the city or the nation is concerned, there appears no loving Father, not even a just award of individual fate. But we perceive a single ruler, a single plan, a single goal; we descry far off a central idea and historic purpose in life, enough to give dignity and strength to resignation, if not enough to give life to hope! The order of Rome, the *Romana Maiestas*, to Romans themselves, and still more to the subjects of Rome, belongs to that order of colossal events which must be explained by Divine purpose, and in our attitude towards which submission takes almost the aspect of a religious duty. Of Roman history it has been said, as a reader of Mill's Essay might say of the course of Nature, that 'the chief interest centres in its victims.'

And the conjuncture at which Stoicism first made its appearance was singularly favourable. It sprang historically we have seen out of the death of the Greek city-states, and the expansion of Greece into the world-empire of Alexander.

Now once again history was repeating itself in other forms. Carthage was down ; Rome was launched upon her imperial career ; she was no more a city, but a nation ; each consulship almost witnessed some new advance from city-republicanism to world-empire. The days of the Republic were numbered, and dissolution was at hand. Already the reigns of terror were beginning, that heralded the new Caesarian empire. The historical and moral parallel are of singular interest. It is the stage where the city is lost in the world, expanded into a vast empire, which folded in its rigid embrace races so various, that it might well seem to include all humanity. Between the individual and this world-wide empire came no smaller unity. So was it too with the individual and the Cosmos in the moral world as figured in the Stoic creed. And with this new expansion came likewise a craving for membership within that larger unity—a sense of the magnitude of that great order, which finds its expression and gives its dignity to Roman law, and therewithal a consciousness of membership in what was great. These instincts found expression in the Stoic thought of world-citizenship : a unity and brotherhood of man. More and more does the thought emerge in the great Stoic writers of the empire, that men are of one family, that to disclaim the tie of brotherhood is an act of schism, a violation of the appointed order of things. Each man is in an organic sense a *member*, not merely a portion ; and the co-operation of the human member with the organic whole, of which he is a part, is among the most reiterated thoughts of Marcus Aurelius. The loyalty due once to Athens or to Rome, known by a narrower name of patriotism, expands into membership in the great human family and allegiance to the great Cosmic law, which included the known human world and the world which was not human. Further it may be observed that under the empire, or at least the earlier

empire, the virtues on which most demand was made were the passive virtues, belonging to the order of resignation. It was an age of perhaps unparalleled servility, when the world lay in submission at the feet of a master, when the ghost of the idea of loyalty to the republic made even strong men cringe before the word of him, who still represented and embodied that master idea of the past: an age when genius sunk to unintelligible self-abasement in flattery of tyrants, and when the victorious general casts himself upon his spear at the mere bidding of a voluptuary: an age, in fine, in which virtue could only exhibit itself in the guise of endurance, fortitude, and resignation. It was not unnatural that in such an age Stoicism should become the creed of the noblest characters, or that its most typical mouthpiece should be a slave.

The actual influence of Stoicism upon Roman life has been very differently appraised. That 'two or three noble houses lived on poor fare to please the Stoic' is Mommsen's scornful summary of its first days, and of its whole career Bishop Lightfoot concludes 'that it produced, or at least attracted, a few isolated great men, but on the life of the masses and on the policy of states was almost wholly powerless.' Thus viewed the circle of the Stoics might justly be compared with some such small sect as the Positivists of to-day, esteemed for nobility of motive, for ideality of aim, and purity of life, but not exercising any widespread influence on politics, on society, or upon belief. It is unquestionably true that Stoicism is rather the expression of the best Roman type of character, than a motive power for the conversion of men. It formulated for the noblest their idea of duty, rather than stimulated them to its discharge. And for this reason the Roman character reacted more powerfully upon the theory of Stoicism, than Stoicism upon the lives of its professors. In Roman

surroundings Stoicism forgot or compromised its moral paradoxes; it parted with its logic; it confined its physics to their ethical applications; even in the field of morals it made concessions at every point. To national creeds it had always taken up an accommodating attitude; its scheme of Pantheism was large enough to admit the whole Pantheon of national gods, revered at Rome or in the world. But the new concessions extend to the dogmas upon which it had been most rigid. It begins to pose as a philosophy of common sense. It drops its futile paradoxes regarding the totality of virtue and of vice. It ceases to draw trenchant and impracticable lines between absolute right and absolute wrong. It admits degrees of virtue under the temperate title *καθήκοντα* "proprieties," Ciceronianised into *officia*. Things "indifferent," under which austerer spirits of the school had included almost all the environments of life, are regrouped as things, not indeed absolutely essential to peace of mind, but yet as deserving preference or reprobation. Feeling is allowed on tolerance, at least in temperate forms, and under titles somewhat colourless. A general kindliness tempers the old rigidity and countenances gentleness, even to slaves. In a word, it becomes more and more eclectic, more and more adapted to the needs of common life, more humanely ethical, and more religious minded. By these condescensions Stoicism passed from the lecture-room to the hearth and to the market place, and as a current of thought, rather than a formal creed or symbol, helped to mould Roman life. The evidence is unmistakable. In social range it bound Epictetus the slave to Marcus the Emperor. Poets of so high an order as Lucan and Persius, politicians like Thræsea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus, not only wives of professed philosophers like Seneca and Paetus, but also the low-born and the slave, owned its influence. Not only sages enlisted

disciples, but in the family circle many an unnamed teacher took his place as tutor, director, or minister of consolation. The figure of the philosopher becomes familiar at death-bed scenes, not only of the serious but likewise of the fashionable, and the pages of the satirist record his activities not less vividly than the tributes of the disciple. He is pictured as pedant, as dilettante, or as hypocrite; now by the rhetorician and now by the essayist. But these disparagements of pretenders testify to the existence and the influence of the genuine article. Not only the records of personal life or the gossip of letter-writers, but also the pages of the historian and the enactments of law attest the influence of Stoicism. The earliest of great Roman lawyers, M. Scaevola the augur, and the yet more famous Pontifex, were among the first to welcome Panaetius to Rome. So was it with a later generation, the contemporaries of Cicero. In the imperial times there is a general absence of explicit information.* Here and there a sumptuary law, a professorial privilege, or an educational endowment, betray the Stoic legislator. But systems of thought, except they become a dominant and proselytising creed, do not enact laws; it is rather their work to affect the temper and drift of legislation, and among the humaner influences that are the glory of the Flavian and the Antonine successions, Stoicism played its part in leavening society, in softening manners, in mitigating the rigours of Roman paternity, in securing justice for women, for the orphan and the ward, in ameliorating the condition of the provincial, the freedman and the slave, in fostering that equity and furthering that civilisation, which finds its most enduring monument and influence in the digest of Roman Law. So much must be conceded;

* Among Augustan lawyers, S. Sulpicius Rufus, Sextus Pompeius, and others, the Stoic strain continues, but among the great Imperial jurists (Ulpian, Papinian, etc.), it is hard to discover professed Stoics.

yet upon the whole it is surprising for how small a residuum, even of the legislation of Marcus Aurelius, indubitably Stoic paternity can be claimed. Constructively, Stoicism remained to the last ineffective—the watchword of an opposition, not a charter of reform. In the passing of the old order it was the death at Utica, not the life at Rome, that gave Cato name and significance. Amid the degradations of Neronian rule, it was what Thrasea had *not* done,* that every eye scanned eagerly. Stoic negations—ἀνίχεσθαι καὶ ἀπρίχεσθαι—could not cope with the Christian propaganda, and succumbed without a struggle; that which was strenuous and noble in them was incorporated without effort in the new faith, which, obedient to the authorisations of nature, gave impulse and emotion their proper place beside right reason and self-restraint.

* *Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit.*—TAC., *Ann.* xvi, 22.

CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM.

By ROBERT FREDERICK GREEN.

THE question asked and answered by our president in his address * this session, must have struck many of us as somewhat significant. That it should be *necessary* to ask now-a-days a question so old is strange, for its very simplicity should have commanded an answer long ago. But it is one of those seemingly simple questions one answers to satisfy oneself rather than others, of which the settlement by one generation is repudiated by the next, and which constantly re-presents itself demanding new consideration. Now if one reads ever so little of what has been written on this subject, when one realizes, as one may do easily, how opposite and contradictory are the ideas the very word religion conveys to different minds, this seemingly simple question is seen to be one of extreme difficulty. Mr. Higgins says, that it has never had a fair chance. Perhaps not, the difficulty seems to be in treating it fairly, but it has certainly not suffered for want of attention. We shall be safest, perhaps, even if we are only partially successful, in pursuing our inquiry so far as possible on the lines of natural science—looking upon religion as we look upon language or national character,—simply as one of the many phenomena society presents to us, and accepting ethical systems, motives, and aspirations as facts, without committing ourselves to an admission or denial of their truth. If, by a comparison of the systems and motives societies adopt or avow, we can discover a common

* "What is Religion?" The Inaugural Address at the opening of the Seventy-ninth Session, by the Rev. H. H. Higgins, M.A.

system or motive, we must accept that as our definition of religion. If, on the other hand, the closest comparison fails to disclose any common belief or motive, the definition of religion must be postponed until new data warrant a new attempt; but the failure will go far to show that a religious idea is not, as has been asserted, inherent in man, but makes its appearance at a comparatively late stage of social development. The comparative method has, as a matter of fact, been adopted by more than one writer, notably by Max Müller, and it was the subject of an intensely interesting course of lectures in this town by the late Charles Beard; but by no one, so far as I know, has it been carried out so fully as by Viscount Amberley, in his *Analysis of Religious Belief*.* This work, of which the publication called forth strong expressions of disfavour from theologians, is, I believe, an honest attempt to classify the doctrines and dogmas of the chief religious systems. All, so far as the reader can judge, are stated fairly, though the claims of any to supreme authority are repudiated. After an examination of eight systems—a number which includes every religion of importance extant—the author finds that there are three beliefs—fundamental postulates he calls them—involved in the religious idea:—

First, that of a hyper physical power in the universe.

Second, that of a hyper physical entity in man.

Third, that of a relation between the two.

Now, if this definition can be applied successfully to the systems, such for instance as fetichism, which Amberley has not taken into account, it must be acknowledged to be much more complete and satisfactory than such a vague formula as the spirit of Alliance, even though the latter be qualified by such a noble and beautiful amplification as our president has

* *An Analysis of Religious Belief*, by Viscount Amberley. London, Trübner & Co.

given to it. In any circumstances it is worthy of note that Amberley, uncompromising sceptic as he is, enunciates a religion to which the belief in a supreme power is essential; while our president, a teacher of religion, offers us a formula to which a belief in a supreme power is not essential. There are many reasons why a comparison of religions should begin with the systems of Buddhism and Christianity. They are numerically the most powerful in the world, they have both come into existence in historic ages, and they have developed on lines which, if not identical, assimilate very closely. Their institutions, dogmas, and doctrines show such a marvellous resemblance that every writer upon them is constrained to use the very words of one to describe the other; and yet, behind all this likeness, and in spite of it, there is an essential unlikeness, a fundamental antagonism which can never be overcome, and which it is no wonder has driven them as far as the poles apart.

One of the first points of resemblance that strikes us in connection with these two systems is their intense aggressiveness; they are both missionary religions, and have sprung from older systems which were essentially exclusive. To Brahmanism, with its insurmountable caste barriers, contemptuously tolerant even of its own heresies, and never seeking or accepting a convert, it must have appeared incongruous for any one to change his religion; and Judaism, content with its faith in Jehovah, sure, as his chosen race, of his protection, accepted placidly the fact that other nations had their gods who would look after them, and would have scouted the idea that another race could by any possibility share its advantages. From these exclusive systems sprang religions, both of which aimed at universal acceptance, and both of which were propagated without reference to social status, race, or country. Another point of resemblance between Buddhism and Christianity is that each owes its

foundation to the moral influence of one man, whom it has accepted without question as its supreme teacher. Gautama is as clearly the founder and guiding spirit of Buddhism as Jesus is of Christianity. Both are men for whom transcendent claims are made by their followers, and both may be said to justify these claims by the extraordinary effect of their teaching. Both are men whose lives, stripped of the halo of legend and enthusiasm that has surrounded them, have come down to us unsullied by the suspicion of a single evil deed, and illumined by patience and courage, by fixity of purpose and stern devotion, by the most heroic self-denial and the most perfect charity.

About five hundred years before our era there lived in the north of India a certain tribe called Sakya. They were one of the many semi-independent but civilized tribes, scattered over the country between the Ganges and Himalayas, living by agriculture, and owning authority only to their chief, and through him to their religious rulers, the Brahmins. Their chief was one Suddhodana, who had his palace at Bhula, then called Kapilavastu. He was not a king, nor was his son a prince in the strict sense; he governed a district of about the area of Yorkshire, and his importance among the neighbouring chiefs would depend partly upon his wealth and partly upon the strength of his tribe. His wife was Maya, daughter of a neighbouring chief, and she died seven days after giving birth to her only child—a son. The boy, who was named Gautama, was committed to the care of his aunt, his father's second wife.

It is proper to mention here that a miraculous conception and birth are affirmed of Gautama throughout Buddhism. The sudden appearance of a brilliant star presaged his coming to earth,* he is spoken of as having descended from heaven

* "We saw his star in the East and are come to worship him."—Matt. ii, 2.

to his mother in the form of a white elephant, and as not having been born as other men, but as having been taken from her side by the god Brahma. There is a legend also that at the moment of his birth all nature was still and silent, that the wind dropped, the birds stayed in their flight, and the deer drinking at the stream were seen to raise their heads and wait. Gautama was trained for a soldier, though as a high caste Brahman he had the right to be instructed in the Temple and to study the Vedas. He does not seem to have had much taste for military life, being of a contemplative and reserved disposition, and we are told that one day, when he was about twelve years old, his relatives reproached him for his lack of proficiency in various manly sports. He thereupon appointed a day by beat of drum, and proved his skill on foot and with the bow, by defeating all comers.*

He married, probably early as his position obliged him, his cousin, Yasodhana, daughter of the Rajah of Koli, and then for some years, until he was twenty nine, history is silent about him. Then, it is affirmed, the command came to him to give up the idle and luxurious life he was leading, and begin his work of teaching.† The command came to him in four visions, of which the account in all the Buddhist scriptures is substantially the same. It relates that one day the prince set out in his chariot to visit his father's gardens. On the way, standing in the street, so as to stop the path, there appeared the form of a blind and infirm old man, with shrivelled skin and tottering limbs. Seeing him, Gautama asks his charioteer "What form is this so miserable and distressing, the like of which I have never seen?" The charioteer answers, "This is an old man;"

* The legends connected with the boyhood and youth of Jesus, though not generally received as historic, are familiar to all theological students.

† Luke ii, 49.

and the prince asks "What is the meaning of old?" and is told that age implies the loss of bodily power and failure of mind and memory—that the poor man is approaching the end of his life; and the prince asks if this will happen to every one, and is told that it is the common lot, that all who are born must die. Soon after this, another form presents itself, it is that of a sick man, worn by disease and suffering, and scarcely able to draw his breath. In answer to the prince's questions the charioteer tells him that it is a sick man, and that sickness is common to all. After each of these visions the prince turns back to his home and meditates. His third vision is that of a corpse, borne upon a bier and surrounded by weeping friends and relatives, and the prince learns that this is death, and that death is common to all. The next day, on going out by a different gate, the prince sees a man with shaven crown and in a monk's robe. "Who is this," he asks, "who walks with such slow and dignified steps, looking neither to the right hand nor to the left, and absorbed in thought?" "This man," said the charioteer, "devotes himself to charity and restrains his passions, he hurts no one and does good to all, and is full of sympathy for all." The prince approaches the monk, whom he asks to give an account of himself and of his condition. The monk answers:—"I am an ascetic. I have forsaken the world, relatives, and friends. I seek deliverance for myself and desire the salvation of all creatures, and I do harm to none." On hearing these words the prince goes to his father and expresses the wish to become a wandering ascetic, relinquishing, of course, his inheritance. Suddhodana naturally tries to dissuade him, pointing out his duty to his people and to his family, but cannot alter his determination. Gautama remains in his father's palace for some days, walking about the gardens in deep meditation. While there he receives the news that a son has been born to him. This is

a new and terrible temptation. He foresees that the child will be a bond to home and to his present life such as he cannot sever. He must leave at once or not at all. The women at his father's house come round entreating him to stay, or at any rate delay his departure. He pays no attention to them, and returns to his own home. The villagers meet him, delighted at the birth of their Rajah's only grandson, and express their joy by singing and cheers. One of the village girls recites some verses composed in his honour, which refer to the new duties his child will impose upon him. The verses have another meaning for Gautama, and he sends the girl his necklace, saying, that it is her fee as a teacher. She is flattered by the attention, thinking the prince has fallen in love with her, but he takes no further notice and passes on.

That night, at midnight, he sends Channa, his charioteer, for his horse, and while it is being got ready he goes to his wife's room. There is a lamp burning, and he sees her for the first time since his return. She is asleep with her hand on the head of their child. He had wished for once to take the little one in his arms, but he sees that this is impossible without waking Yasodhana, and so he leaves them—leaves his home and a life of certain luxury and happiness, without one farewell word, and rides away to meet no less certain hardship and danger. Gautama rode all that night till he came to the river Anoma, beyond the Koli (his wife's) territory. Being then safe from recognition, he dismounts, takes off his jewels and ornaments, and gives them with his horse to Channa to be taken back to Kapilavastu. Channa asks to accompany his master, but is refused permission. "How will they know where I am?" says Gautama "unless you return to tell them." Channa goes back sorrowfully, and Gautama then cuts off his long hair, changes clothes with a passing beggar, and begins his life as a wandering ascetic.

He first attached himself as a disciple to two Brahmins, from whom probably he learnt all that Hindu philosophy could teach, and from whom no doubt he derived the Brahminical doctrines afterwards incorporated in his system. Leaving them, and dissatisfied with the effect of their system, he withdrew to the jungle, where he was joined by five disciples—Brahmins—and where he subjected himself to the severest fasting and self-mortification. It had long been a firm belief among Brahmins that such discipline was the surest method of attaining supernatural knowledge and power, and Gautama, striving after such knowledge, prolonged his penance almost to the point of death. He was, however, unsuccessful in his attempt to gain it, his bodily sufferings only produced a mental agony even more difficult to bear, and he began to fear that he might die and leave his work undone. For it must be remembered that however mistaken he may have been, Gautama was no impostor, his belief in his mission as a saviour of the world was absolute. If there is anything historic in the accounts of his life, it is this fact—which is insisted on throughout Buddhist literature, and admitted by every writer. One day, when walking slowly up and down, he staggered and fell, his disciples thought him dead, though he had only fainted. He recovered, and with his recovery came the conviction that his discipline had failed, and that the guidance and power he sought must be attained by other methods. He began to eat regularly, and in doing so, incurred so much the disapproval of his companions that they left him—alone and weak as he was—and went to Benāres. Then began Gautama's second mental struggle, the real nature of which the legends clearly indicate. He begged his breakfast from the daughter of a neighbouring villager, and then went to a quiet part of the jungle and sat down under a tree—the ever after sacred Bo tree—to think.

So far he has failed. His fasting and self-mortification have been useless, and his resolution to continue them has broken down. The mystery of life and sorrow that he has tried to solve is still a sealed book to him, and his mind is still filled with the most agonising doubt and uncertainty. He thinks of his home and the life he has left, his old affections and associations come back to him, and he longs to return and see his wife and child once more. The difficulties of his future life rise before him, and he sees how great, if not impossible, is the task he has set himself to do. All day he sits thinking, and at night comes Mara, the evil spirit, with all his attendant demons. They assume frightful shapes, and hurl poison and fire, but he sits unmoved, and the poison is changed to flowers, and the fire forms a halo round his head. Then the evil spirit alters his tactics, and sends his sixteen enchanting daughters. Gautama still sits impassive, and they are forced to retire discomfited and disgraced by his rebuke. Then Mara makes a final effort, for the night is passing, and he must not let day come to help his victim. He approaches alone, acknowledges that Gautama has attained supernatural power, tells him that he has qualified himself for eternal happiness, and urges him to enter Nirvana, and end his trials and sufferings on earth.* This is the last temptation, it is resisted, and at once the light of true knowledge breaks, Gautama doubts no longer, he has become the enlightened one—the Buddha. "He had grasped," says Rhys Davids, "as it seemed to him, the great mystery of sorrow, and learnt at once its causes and its cure. He had gained the haven of peace and the power over the human heart of inward culture, and of love to others, and had learnt to rest at last on a certitude that could never be

* Then the devil taketh him into the holy city, and he set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down. Matt. iv, 5, 6.

shaken."* Buddhist writers tell us that, when the true and perfect knowledge came to Gautama, his face was illuminated, and flames issued from his head. These latter are always represented in statues of the Buddha by a vase shaped structure—it never takes the form of a nimbus as painted round the heads of Christ and of Christian saints. After his enlightenment, Gautama remained seated under the Bo tree for seven days, absorbed in meditation. It is in this attitude that he is represented by statues throughout India and Buddhist countries, seated cross legged, with hands crossed or resting on his knee, his right shoulder bare, denoting monkhood, and his eyes half closed. After the seven days meditation under the Bo tree, he spent seven periods of seven days each, alone in the jungle,† eating little, seeing hardly anyone, and employing himself in formulating the doctrines he was about to go forth and preach.

Monier-Williams‡ asks us to contrast the forty-nine days' fast of Gautama in the jungle, with the forty days' fast of Jesus in the wilderness, and certainly the two narratives are not without points of resemblance. Jesus, as Matthew tells us,§ began his mission immediately after the temptation in the wilderness. Ending then his meditations, Gautama leaves the jungle and goes towards Benares, then a great centre of Eastern thought and life. On his way he enquires for his two Brahman teachers, and is told they are dead. He finds his five disciples, who left him when he gave up fasting, still practising their austerities in the deer park outside the city. They receive him as a friend and as a

* *Buddhism*, by T. W. Rhys Davids. London. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

† "And Jesus full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and was led by the Spirit in the wilderness during forty days. . . . and he did eat nothing in those days."—Luke iv, 1, 2.

‡ *Buddhism*, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams. London, J. Murray.

§ Matt. iv, 17.

Brahman of high caste, but refuse to acknowledge him as a master. He tells them that he has found the way of salvation, and enunciates for the first time his new religion. To be saved, to attain eternal happiness, man must take throughout life the great middle path. He must avoid on one hand the path of pleasure and passion, which is degrading, and, on the other hand, he must avoid the path of self-mortification which is painful, ignoble, and profitless. The middle eight-fold path which he must take is that which was discovered by the Buddha, and which will lead to understanding, to charity, to wisdom, to peace of mind, to knowledge, to perfect knowledge, and to the final extinction of all passion and suffering. This middle path Gautama sums up in eight principles:—Right belief or views. Right resolves. Right speech. Right deeds. Right labour. Right endeavour. Right mindfulness. Right meditation. The necessity of walking in it arises from a recognition of four great truths—the fundamental postulates of Buddhism:—

1st. Suffering. Life involves suffering.

2nd. The cause of suffering. A craving after sensual pleasures, or wealth accompanied by lust of life. These are the causes of suffering.

3rd. The end of suffering. The complete conquest and destruction of these cravings and this lust of life. This is the end of suffering.

4th. The path leading to the cessation of suffering—the middle eight-fold path, of which we have just spoken.

It would not be difficult to put three of these four fundamental postulates of Buddhism into Biblical language, and two of them have, in fact, their exact counterpart in Christianity, in the doctrines of a primeval curse and of original sin. There is, however, one radical difference that must not be passed over. The Buddhist convert must pursue this difficult middle path unaided, must trust to his own deter-

mination and sense of duty to keep him in it. The Christian claims and believes that he will have divine help in his striving after righteousness. *He* acknowledges that his passions and his sin are too strong for him to cope with unaided, and he invokes a higher power to aid him.

Having enunciated his religion, Gautama is careful to disclaim anything like inspiration in connection with it. He declares that he has arrived at the recognition of these truths, not by the study of the Vedas, nor by the teaching of the Brahmins, but by the light of reason only, that the same enlightenment is attainable by all if they will only follow the path which leads to it. The five Brahmins were so much impressed by Gautama's enthusiasm that they attached themselves to him as his first disciples, and he quickly made other converts. His moral influence, indeed, like that of Jesus, seems to have been so great as to have been irresistible, and his personality seems to have impressed itself on every one, rich and poor alike, with whom he came in contact. As his converts increased, he was not long in establishing an *order* of ascetics. Asceticism, a professed renunciation of the world and its pleasure, he always held to be the surest way of attaining Nirvana. Though his asceticism differed from that of Brahmins in not involving bodily torture, his aim was alienation of the mind rather than of the body only. Of course his system makes provision for marriage and family duties. He is very strong indeed on this point. He says:—To support father and mother, to cherish wife and child, to follow a peaceful calling. This is the greatest blessing. His order of ascetics differed moreover from those of the Brahmins inasmuch as it was universal, it was open to all men, whether of high or low caste. It was not, moreover, a hierarchy, having no ecclesiastical organisation; the brethren were simply bound together by obligations of celibacy, moral restraint, poverty,

and confessions to each other. Even vows were forbidden, the novice had to repeat the triple formula :—

I take refuge in Buddha.

I take refuge in his law.

I take refuge in his church.

He had to answer certain questions as to his fitness for the life, and he had to satisfy the brethren as to his sincerity. To the sacerdotalism of the Brahman monastic institutions, to their claims to authority, and to their exclusiveness, Gautama was radically opposed, and he put the finishing touch on his heterodoxy by acknowledging the equal power and right of woman to attain to perfect truth.

Gautama's first disciples seem all to have been of high caste—men acquainted no doubt with the intricacies of Brahman theology, and enabled by their culture to appreciate and to propagate the new doctrines intelligently. When they reached the number of sixty, Gautama called them together, and, impressing upon them the principles of his religion, sent them forth into the world to proclaim his doctrine of deliverance. "I am delivered," he says, "from all fetters. You, too, O monks, are delivered. Go forth, and wander everywhere out of compassion for the world, and for the welfare of men. Preach the doctrine in its spirit and its letter, making everything clear, and keeping nothing back." He impresses upon them earnestly that their mission was one of peace, that they were to have pity rather than contempt for ignorance, and were to strive only to enlighten it. They were to be tolerant of all religions, and to speak lightly or disrespectfully of none. They were reminded of the necessity of enforcing precept by example, of requiting injury by forgiveness, of overcoming persecution by friendship. They were not to kill or hurt any living thing, and they were neither to claim nor accept any authority but the law of the Buddha.

Now, we need hardly trouble to compare this with the religion that Jesus sent forth his disciples to preach—the two are almost identical in precept, and, if they had but the same starting-point would be indistinguishable ; but look how different is the starting-point. With Gautama these precepts are those of duty and humanity. They constitute the obligations a man is under to his fellow man, and, in the highest sense, to himself. With Jesus these same duties, the same conduct, is the command of God. Gautama acknowledges no God. In rejecting the anthropomorphic deities of Brahmanism, he dismisses at the same time the belief in a deity at all. He sees in human life only a weak and suffering part of nature striving in vain after happiness, and he sets to work only to attain that happiness, and to help others to its attainment. His disbelief in God does not, it is true, amount to a denial, but it is the most hopeless Agnosticism, and it excludes altogether the idea of divine guidance or interference in human affairs. To him and his followers life is a weary pilgrimage, but with the end in view. To the Christian life is a discipline, a preparation for immortality. To the Buddhist, the future depends solely on himself and his conduct. To the Christian it is an appeal to the mercy of God. Death to the true Christian is welcome as the beginning of eternal happiness. Death is welcome to the Buddhist as the beginning of eternal peace.

In rejecting the idea of God, Buddhism necessarily rejects with it all idea of prayer, worship, and inspiration. The true Buddhist does not pray, he has no one to pray to ; and he does not worship in any sense that we use the word. His churches are cenotaphs, representations of the tomb of Gautama, to which he can repair and meditate. He believes Gautama to be dead, his personality extinct, though his influence still exists as the church. The Buddhist scriptures repudiate any claim to inspiration ; yet their words are

now looked upon as talismans, and are repeated incessantly as a religious exercise. It is not long since in Christendom that texts from the Bible were written out and sewn in the dress of children as a protective charm, and the lotos jewel and other invocatory formulas of Thibet and China invite comparison with the iteration, so rapid as to be almost mechanical, of *paters* and *aves*.

Of course Gautama had his own system of philosophy, his own theories about the beginning and end of things. These he seems to have adopted from Brahmanism, but he has stripped the Brahman philosophy of much of its crudity and grossness. He accepts the pantheistic doctrine of a life-giving power throughout the universe, of a power not centred in any one spot, but omnipresent, and manifesting itself constantly in the life of men and other animals. Each new birth is an embodiment of part of this universal life-power, and each death is the return of such a portion to the great All. When a man lives, the life in him is distinct, when he dies his individuality dies with him, and the life-power that he had is again diffused throughout the universe, death therefore is extinction—this is Nirvana. The theory of death and individual extinction is however modified by the theory of sin. If a man has not lived a good life, the life-power or soul in him has become impure, unfit for absorption into the universal soul, and it must be cleansed; it is condemned to take refuge in some other lower form of existence; it is put back in the scale of life and is compelled to work its way again through intervening forms to man before it is free. It is this theory that gives such impressiveness to Gautama's warning that punishment of evil deeds is certain—that a man's sin will find him out inevitably—and that he cannot hope to escape the consequences of it.

Gautama's sixty disciples applied themselves with great fervour to the dissemination of his religion throughout the

whole of northern India, adopting in all cases the language of the people, preaching a doctrine readily comprehended by the most uncultured, and above all, bringing the tidings of a salvation open to all without distinction of caste. They made numerous converts and founded branches of his order of ascetics at various places throughout the country. Gautama himself limited his wanderings to the district in which he had first taken up his mission, and his success there was certainly phenomenal. He had, as had Jesus, in a supreme degree, the faculty of bringing home his teaching to the minds of his audience by connecting it with some passing incident, by the use of some familiar trope, or in the form of parable. The fame of the new teacher was not long, as may be supposed, in spreading to his native town, and one day he received a message from his father, who was now very old, and who wished to see his son before he died. The account of this visit, as translated by Rhys Davids,* is so simple and touching that I cannot refrain from reading it.

Suddhodana sent to him (Gautama) asking him to visit his native city that his now aged father might see him once more before he died. Gautama accordingly started for Kapilavastu, and on his arrival there stopped, according to his custom, in a grove outside the town. There his father, uncles, and others came to see him; but the latter at least were by no means pleased with their mendicant clansman: and though it was the custom on such occasions to offer to provide ascetics with their daily food, they all left without having done so. The next day, therefore, Gautama set out, accompanied by his disciples, carrying his bowl to beg for a meal. As he came near the gate of the little town, he hesitated whether he should not go straight to the Rāja's residence, but at last he determined to adhere to a rule of the Order, according to which a Buddhist mendicant should beg regularly from house to house. It soon reached the Rāja's ears that his son was walking through the streets begging. Startled at such news he rose up, and holding his outer robe together with his hand, went out

* *Buddhism*, p. 64.

quickly, and hastening to the place where Gautama was, he said, "Why, master, do you put us to shame? Why do you go begging for your food? Do you think it is not possible to provide food for so many mendicants?" "Oh, Mahārāja," was the reply, "this is the custom of all our race." "But we are descended from an illustrious race of warriors, and not one of them has ever begged his bread." "You and your family," answered Gautama, "may claim descent from kings; my descent is from the Buddhas of old, and they, begging their food, have always lived on alms. But, my father, when a man has found a hidden treasure it is his duty first to present his father with the most precious of the jewels." And he accordingly addressed his father on the cardinal tenet of his doctrine. Suddhodana made no reply to this, but simply taking his son's bowl, led him to the house, where the members of the family and the servants of the household came to do him honour; but Yasodhāra did not come. "If I am of any value in his eyes, he will himself come," she had said, "I can welcome him better here." Gautama noticed her absence, and attended by two of his disciples, went to the place where she was, first warning his followers not to prevent her should she try to embrace him, although no member of his Order might touch or be touched by a woman. When she saw him enter, a recluse in yellow robes, with shaven head and shaven face, though she knew it would be so, she could not contain herself, and falling on the ground, she held him by the feet and burst into tears. Then, remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood on one side. The Rāja thought it necessary to apologise for her, telling Gautama how entirely she had continued to love him, refusing comforts which he denied himself, taking but one meal a day, and sleeping, not on a bed, but on a mat spread on the ground. The different accounts often tell us the thoughts of the Buddha on any particular occasion. Here they are silent.

His visit to his native place was the means of attracting to his side many of his relatives, among them his cousin Ananda, who became his most intimate disciple. Of his subsequent life, the stories are so confused, and so inextricably mixed with legend and folk-lore, that no English writer has anything like a connected biography. He is credited with the performance of many miracles, and seems to have been

successful as a peace maker in various clan quarrels. His religion spread rapidly, though marred by more than one important schism. That of his cousin, Dewadatta, may be noted, since it was an attempt to found a new religion, and several writers have remarked that the relation in which Gautama stood to Dewadatta resembled, in many essential points, the relations between Paul and the Judaizing Christians.

After wandering for over forty-five years, Gautama is seized with a severe illness, and feels that his end is near. He still travels slowly, collecting the mendicants of his order together, and exhorting them to maintain his doctrine. His Cousin Ananda was with him at the last, and to him and to the few disciples who were present he addressed himself, "O Ananda, I am now grown old and full of years, and my journey is drawing to a close. I have reached eighty years, my sum of days, and just as a worn out cart can only with much care be made to move along, so my body can only be kept going with difficulty. It is only when I am in meditation that my body is at ease. In future be ye to yourselves your own light, your own refuge, seek no other refuge. Hold fast to the truth always." Then after a short dissertation on the duties of the order, he became exhausted. His last words were, "O, Mendicants, I would impress it upon you, every thing that cometh into being passeth away; work out your salvation with diligence." He then became unconscious and died peacefully, and his body was cremated as that of a universal ruler. This was about the year 450 B.C.

It is hardly possible to imagine a greater contrast than there is shown us in the lives and ministries of Gautama and Jesus. Beginning their work about the same age, one was able to continue it for forty-five years untroubled, or perhaps we may say unassisted, by persecution (since there is no surer method of propagating a doctrine than by persecuting

it); the other had only six or seven years allowed him, and carried on his work despite the most violent opposition, in the face of imminent personal danger. One lived to see the success of his work, and died peaceably at a ripe old age surrounded by his friends and honoured by his nation; the other, reviled and treated as a criminal, met with a violent death at the age of thirty-three, at a time when his doctrines were held in derision, and at the hands of his own people.

After Gautama's death one of the earliest acts of his disciples was to meet in council and put on record by common consent his words and doctrines. One could wish that the disciples of Jesus had taken such a step so early, for no council of the Christian Church was held until that of Jerusalem about the year 50 of our era, and there was no *Æcumenical* Council until that of Nicea, three centuries later. It must be remembered however that the teachings of Jesus had not at the time of his death been systematised into a religion. His ministry was so short and troubled that this could not be done, and it was left to the apostles, to St. Paul particularly, to construct the theological system of Christianity.

Well then, the chief disciples of Gautama, to the number of about five hundred, assembled the first rainy season after his death in a town south of Patna. They discussed the life and sayings of their master, and for the first time wrote down an account of his life, and a complete record of his doctrines. For this purpose they employed the vernacular, wishing, no doubt, to record the actual words of Gautama, which they could not do in the classic Sanscrit of Brahmanism. The language used, now known as Pali, has since been known as the sacred language of Buddhism all over the world. It should be noted that Gautama himself, like Jesus, never wrote anything, and indeed writing, known only to high caste Brahmans, would have been useless as a means of

propagating a popular religion. The first council then simply placed on record the new religion, and enforced some strict rules of discipline for the order of mendicants. A second council held about twenty years later was rendered necessary by certain laxities which had crept into the order, and which threatened at one time to divide the religion on the subject of discipline. Some seven hundred monks assembled at Vesali, a place twenty-seven miles north of Patna, and there, after protracted discussion, the original stringent regulations were again enforced, and unanimity restored. This second council is compared by many writers to that of Nicæa, when the Nicene creed was promulgated—both were convened for a similar purpose. At neither of these two councils was any attempt made to alter or extend Gautama's system of propagating his religion. It was still to all intents and purposes a sect of Brahmanism, a heterodox sect of course, but its members still observed caste regulations, as did Gautama, who was a Brahman, and conformed to the laws of his caste throughout his life. No attempt had yet been made by his disciples to convert any but the followers of Brahmanism, but as time went on, and the new doctrines developed more and more in opposition to the old system, differences of opinion began to make themselves felt, rival schools sprang up, and the controversies they engendered had a disturbing effect upon the whole community. A third council was necessary, and was summoned by Asoka, the first Buddhist king, and perhaps the greatest Hindu monarch of India.

Asoka did for Buddhism exactly what Constantine did many years later for Christianity, he adopted it as his state religion, gave state aid to its propagation, and enforced its doctrines by royal edict. The third Council was held at Patna, about 244 B.C., and was attended by a thousand of the oldest members of the order. The chief was a very old man, so old, indeed, that he had to be carried from his

hermitage in a boat, and it seems to have been his influence that was chiefly instrumental in once more quelling dissensions, and restoring unanimity in the order. Under his presidency, the canon of scripture was settled, and the important decision arrived at, to extend the religion of Buddha to all nations. Accordingly missionaries, supported by the king's authority, were sent out in all directions. To Nepal, and beyond the Himalayas in the North, where the great Northern and hierarohical school of Buddhism afterwards devoloped, to Burmah and further India in the East, and to Ceylon in the South. We cannot of course follow their successes in these directions, it must suffice to say they succeeded in establishing the new faith, and in obtaining an extraordinary degree of popular sympathy. It concerns us now only to follow these Buddhist missionaries to the West, to the Tartars of the Volga, to the Grecian colony at Bactria, to the Caucasus, to see how their religion fared in contact with Western civilization, to note that they laid there the foundations of Christianity.

Burnouf states that oriental ideas are to be traced in Hebrew literature after the captivity, but not before.* He states that the belief in a Messiah arose at that time, and with it other beliefs and institutions directly traceable to Eastern thought. Be this as it may, it seems certain that about the year 150 B.C., that is about one hundred years after the great Buddhist Council of Patna, and the sending out of Buddhist missionaries, there existed among the Jews, sects or communities whose doctrines represent a fusion of those of Judaism and Eastern religions. At that time, among the Maccabees, was an organised body of Assideans or Saints, whom critics identify with the Essenes. The latter certainly existed in 148 B.C., and probably earlier.

* "Le Bouddhisme en Occident," by Emile Burnouf. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. lxxxviii, p. 240.

They differed in many ways from ordinary Jews, and were accountable for much of the opposition between the synagogue and the temple. They preached baptism, unquestionably a Brahman and Buddhist rite, they believed in a universal priesthood as opposed to the caste of the Levites. They condemned the killing of animals in sacrifice, and replaced this rite by meditation and by the sacrifice of the passions. John the Baptist belonged to this sect, and in allowing himself to be baptised, Jesus identified himself with them. It must be remembered, moreover, that the term Christian was not applied to the followers of Jesus for many years after his death, not until after the martyrdom of Paul; before that time they were called Essenes. "The identity," says Burnouf, "of the Essenes with the early Christians is fully established by Eusebius, who says also that the writings of the Therapeutics, or Egyptian Essenes, have been utilised in the gospels and epistles of Paul."

But the one essential dogma of Christianity, the fact which is at the beginning of its founder's teaching, and without which that teaching would be unintelligible—the unity of God—that is not Indian. From no system in the East could that have come, and we need not go far to seek its origin. Judaism, despite its lapses, has maintained and kept clear in its history, the cardinal doctrine of one God, and it has impressed that, if it has impressed nothing else, upon Christianity and Islam alike.

A glance finally at the present position in the world of these two great systems will show us at once that the older, so far as its missionary character is concerned, is practicably dead. It has disappeared from India, hardly ever persecuted, hardly ever opposed, but simply absorbed by the great Brahman system. It still obtains in Ceylon, but associated now with much lower forms of worship. In further India it shows signs of yielding, as Brahmanism is yielding, to

the aggression of Islam, the latter creed has already gained possession of the East Indian Archipelago. In China, Buddhism exists in company and even confusion with other systems, and whatever may have been its effect when introduced, it has now little or no moral force. The same may be said concerning Japan, where Buddhism exists in hopeless intermixture with the worship of the Shinto. In both China and Japan, Islam has gained entrance. In Thibet, and throughout the whole of Central Asia, Buddhism has developed into an ecclesiastical system which one can only call stupendous. It has its hierarchy of saints, its liturgies, its degrees of priesthood, its ritual, images, relics, and rosaries, and the whole presents such an extraordinary outward resemblance to the Roman Catholic system, that the pious Christian missionaries wrote home to say that the devil had been at work imitating Christianity. Buddhism has lost its missionary ardour, its primitive purity, it is gradually losing itself among other religions, and the time seems coming when, as Gautama said, his church would be forgotten. Whether the Buddhists still look for the second coming of their master does not matter; it is certain that they have forgotten his teaching.

The present position of Christianity is not without its suggestion of a comparison, though many divisions of our own religion retain much of its original missionary spirit. The spread of Christianity in our own time is of course a spread of race, and has little to do with purely missionary work.

Out of Europe its conquests have been confined to Central and South America, and its success in these countries is a sad story of cruelty and persecution. It has been driven out of Turkey in Europe and North Africa, in both cases by Islam. It seems to be losing its hold in France, and we are told by those who are in a position to form an opinion, that

a spirit of infidelity is increasingly active in this country and in Germany. As to its development in Eastern Europe, who shall say that the primitive teaching of Jesus is not in danger of being lost sight of amid the mysteries of doctrine and the fumes of incense.

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